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OUTLINES OF ISLAMIC CULTURE

OUTLINES OF ISLAMIC CULTURE

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS

[SECOND EDITION, VOLS. I & II COMBINED]

BY

A. M. A. SHUSHTERY

*Professor of Iranian Language and Literature
The University of Mysore*

WITH A
FOREWORD

BY

SIR ABDUL QADIR, KT.

Member, His Majesty's Council of India



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MAHARAJA OF MYSORE

THIS WORK IS MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED WITH
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BY
HIS MOST LOYAL AND DUTIFUL SUBJECT

THE AUTHOR

IN ADMIRATION OF HIS HIGHNESS'
ABIDING INTEREST IN THE
ADVANCEMENT OF
CULTURAL STUDIES
IN INDIA

PREFACE (SECOND EDITION)

THOUSAND copies of the *Outlines of Islamic Culture* are now in the hands of its readers and it is a great encouragement to the author that the book has been well received by the public.

The First Edition was published long after the First Great War, and the second is under press after the conclusion of the Second Great War. During this period human society has undergone important changes. People of distant countries have come to know one another much better. There is less distinction between high and low born. By constant meetings, and exchange of thoughts, much of misunderstandings, especially with regard to religious belief and differences is removed, and we may hope for further improvement in relation between the followers of different religions. People of distant countries are no more strangers to one another as they had been fifty years ago, and thanks to Air Services, one can cover long distances of over 1,000 miles in few hours, and can hear and see his friends from long distance as if both are in a room. Thus, in one sense the great world has become small, but in another sense it has become much larger. Fifty years ago few politicians, administrators, military commanders and men of high intellect could become master of many millions. Majority of the people were indifferent and had no voice in the affairs of their country, but now every individual asserts himself and demands his due share in society.

About the end of the 19th century, a gun-boat of a strong Power would have been enough to force its will over a weak nation, and a naval demonstration would have brought to the knees the great Sultan of Turkey; but in these days, a semi-civilized nation of Africa would not yield to such threats. Therefore, it has become extremely difficult for the present rulers to force their will upon unwilling subjects. European kings and dictators disappeared one after the other and the remaining few also may disappear about the end of this century. Yet, Democracy is still in its infancy, especially among Asian Nations and the lust for power and domination and supremacy is not diminished among the Great Powers. Struggle between strong and weak is continued. Great prophets and sages who were considered to be superhuman and were venerated as gods, and obeyed as higher beings, in future will be considered as such individuals who wanted to reform the human society, and have suggested certain mode of life which they believed may bring peace, happiness and love among their followers. Spiritual class, once all-powerful,

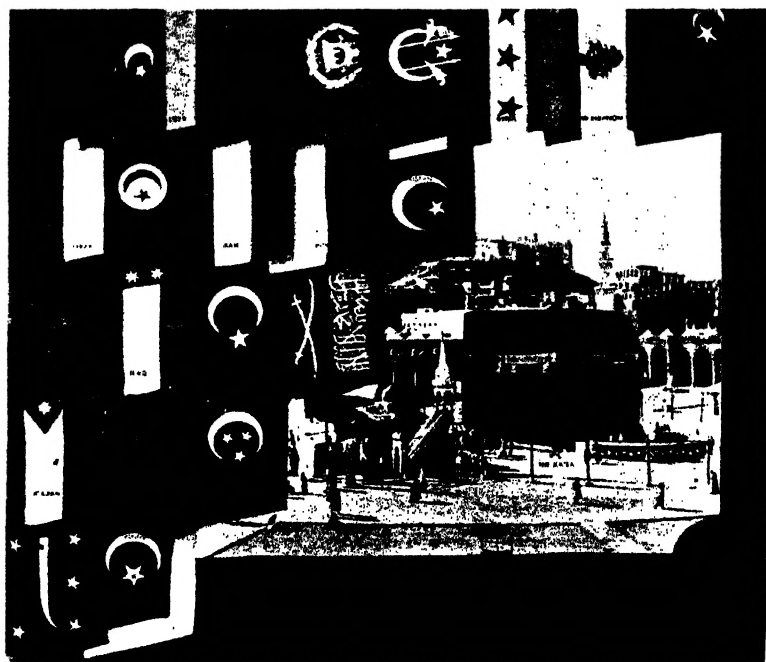
step by step are coming down to the level of ordinary men and women.

The idea of one government for the whole world is slowly gaining ground and this dream will become a fact when the Great Powers give up the idea of supremacy over small nations and sincerely work for the good of all, without reserving the key position for themselves. More than the dread of war, there is fear of defeat. It is for this reason that the Great Powers hesitate to start the war and be known as aggressor. The victors of Second Great War know how the victors of Third Great War will treat the vanquished nation; therefore, unless sure of cent. per cent. victory, not one of them will jump in the fire. All of them preach for peace in theory, but work for war in practice. Unless there is a sincere desire for peace, the future of the human being appears to be gloomy. The 20th century has produced some great administrators, politicians, reformers, military leaders and peace-makers. Among them are Joseph Stalin of Russia, and Mr. Gandhi of India. Both were great organisers and fighters for freedom. Joseph Stalin adopted physical force and bloodshed to gain his object, but Mr. Gandhi believed in moral pressure. One became the Marshall of the Army and the other Mahatma.

There is a general awakening all over the world and Muslims are not an exception though their progress is slow. In all subjects of culture, Western influence is predominant in Asian countries, though a feeble attempt is still made to retain old tradition, especially in language, architecture and music. National feeling is gradually changing into international understanding and co-operation. Islam itself is international. There is no common and uniform feature in Islamic culture. Muslims, wherever they are, with the exception of religion and some tradition, are one in culture with their countryman. It will not be a surprise that in future, a culture may develop which will be common to all nations.

Bangalore,
April 1953.

M. A. SHUSHTERY.



KA'BA AND FLAGS OF MUSLIM STATES

PREFACE (FIRST EDITION)

I AM indebted to my friend Professor B. M. Srikantiah, M.A., B.L., formerly Registrar of the University of Mysore, for the idea that I should write a work of the kind covered by these two volumes. His proposal was that I should prepare a short outline of Islamic Culture suited for easy translation into intelligible Kannada for the use of those studying in the Intermediate Colleges of the Mysore University. I had some misgivings as to my competence for undertaking such a work, and it was only after considerable hesitation that I decided to accept my friend's suggestion. But when I began to write I found that it was extremely difficult to compress a work of the kind I had in view within the limits prescribed by him. I had divided it into twenty chapters and each chapter required adequate space if it was to be comprehensive. Despite considerable abbreviation, the result has been the present work in two volumes running to about 800 pages. I hope it will be found useful as much by University students as by the general reader, Muslim or non-Muslim, to whom it incidentally opens the whole panorama of Islamic Culture.

The point of view I have adopted throughout this work is to place before my readers accurate information, so far I could gather, as to what Islam has taught and what Muslims have contributed for the benefit of mankind. All that I have said has been elaborated in greater detail by more competent and able writers than myself. I have only endeavoured to summarise their views and to impartially exhibit both the favourable as well as the unfavourable aspects. How far I have succeeded in my object, it is for my readers to judge. I have explained briefly the similar and dissimilar features of Islam in relation to other religions and cultures. In particular, I have stressed the points which are common to Islamic and other cultures, which, if correctly appreciated, would, I feel confident, help to remove much of the current misunderstanding and promote fraternal feelings and goodwill between Muslims and non-Muslims. Discord is a form of ignorance. Knowledge generates love; and love inspires human beings to become friendly and devoted to one another.

This century will take its place as a great landmark in the cultural history of Muslims. Their past culture, based on the orthodox teaching of Islam and the old traditions of Iran and Central Asia, is assuming a new phase and spirit, as it

has to adjust itself to new conditions. Cosmopolitanism, international harmony and the old type of absolute monarchy are yielding place to nationalism and democracy. East, once the teacher, if not the conqueror, of the West, has now assumed the rôle of a humble and obedient pupil. Turkey, once the seat of the Khilafat, and the Turks, ardent supporters of Muslim orthodox law, have wholeheartedly accepted European ideals and adopted modern Western codes of Law and morality. A great revolution has been effected by the Great War of 1914. To-day, Turks, Iranians, Arabs and Afghans are no longer obstinate in their views, nor think of rivalry with European powers, but wish to follow them in all aspects of life. What the outcome of such intellectual, social and cultural imitation will be may, perhaps, become clear to historians of the next century. Bukhara, once the great seat of Muslim learning and the home of great Muslim theologians, traditionists, poets and philosophers, has now become a member of the Soviet Republic. Egypt and Iraq have gained the status of independence, but they are still in need of external help. Turkey and Iran are strong modernized Muslim states, but they too appreciate the importance of cordial intercourse with neighbouring nations. Friendly relations with the British have been established all over Western Asia and it cannot be doubted that the maintenance of such relations will be for the good of all.

It now remains to acknowledge the help which I have received from my friends in preparing this work. I am particularly indebted to *Rajacharitarisharada Rao Sahib* C. Haya-vadana Rao, B.A., B.L., for his valuable help. He has enriched it with additional notes and has carefully gone through the manuscripts and examined the proofs. I acknowledge my indebtedness first to him. I am also indebted to my colleagues and friends, Messrs. J. C. Rollo, M.A., J.P., Principal of the Maharaja's College; A. R. Wadia, B.A., Bar-at-Law, Professor of Philosophy; V. Subrahmanya Iyer, B.A., Retired Registrar, University of Mysore; and Abdul Huq, M.A., Professor of Arabic, Madras, for valuable suggestions. My two dear pupils Messrs. Muhammad Valiyullah, B.A., B.L., and Khizir Ali Khan, M.A., have helped me in preparing the Indices to both the volumes.

It is my duty to express here my profound gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, whose generosity has enabled me to publish this book.

THE UNIVERSITY,
MYSORE,
22nd June 1937.

A. M. A. SHUSHTERY.

LIST OF MUSLIM INDEPENDENT AND SEMI-INDEPENDENT STATES
IN EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA AND INDIAN OCEAN

Name of the Country	Remarks	Area	Population
Afghanistan	.. Independent	270,000	12,000,000
Albania	.. do	10,629	186,000
Azerbaijan	.. U.S.S. Republic	41,160	2,734,973
Bahrain	.. Under British Protection	2,138	125,000
Daghestan	.. U.S.S.R.	14,750	900,000
Egypt	.. Independent	386,110	2,045,000
Indonesia	.. do	583,479	79,260,000
Jordan	.. Excluding the portion received from partition of Palestine, <i>i.e.</i> , 2,350 --with a population of about one million	34,750	400,000
Kuwait	9,000	120,000
Labuan	.. Muslim, Christian country	3,475	1,267,574
Lybia	670,000	1,250,000
Morocco	.. Including 7,589 sq. miles under Spain and 232 of Tanjah	161,691	9,849,009
Malaya	50,850	4,908,086
Ozbekistan	.. U.S.S.R.	145,908	6,282,446
Pakistan	.. Excluding part of Kashmir	337,524	75,687,000
Qazakhstan	1,059,184	6,600,000
Quba	.. Arabia	4,000	25,000
Sudan	.. Under England and Egypt consists of Arab Nubian Muslims and some Chris- tian negroes	967,500	7,547,500
Saudi Arabia	790,000	6,600,000
Syria	73,587	3,252,614
Sheikhdom of Persian Gulf	1,600	155,000
Tajikistan	.. U.S.S.R.	55,584	1,485,091
Turkaministan	.. do	171,384	1,253,985
Turkistan or Sinkiang	China	118,323	6,524,000
Turkey	296,185	20,902,628
Tunis	.. French Protectorate	48,313	3,231,000
Uman (Musquet)	65,000	830,000
Yaman	31,000	1,600,000
Zanzibar	.. British Protectorate	1,020	235,428
Total		256,404,144	256,617,334

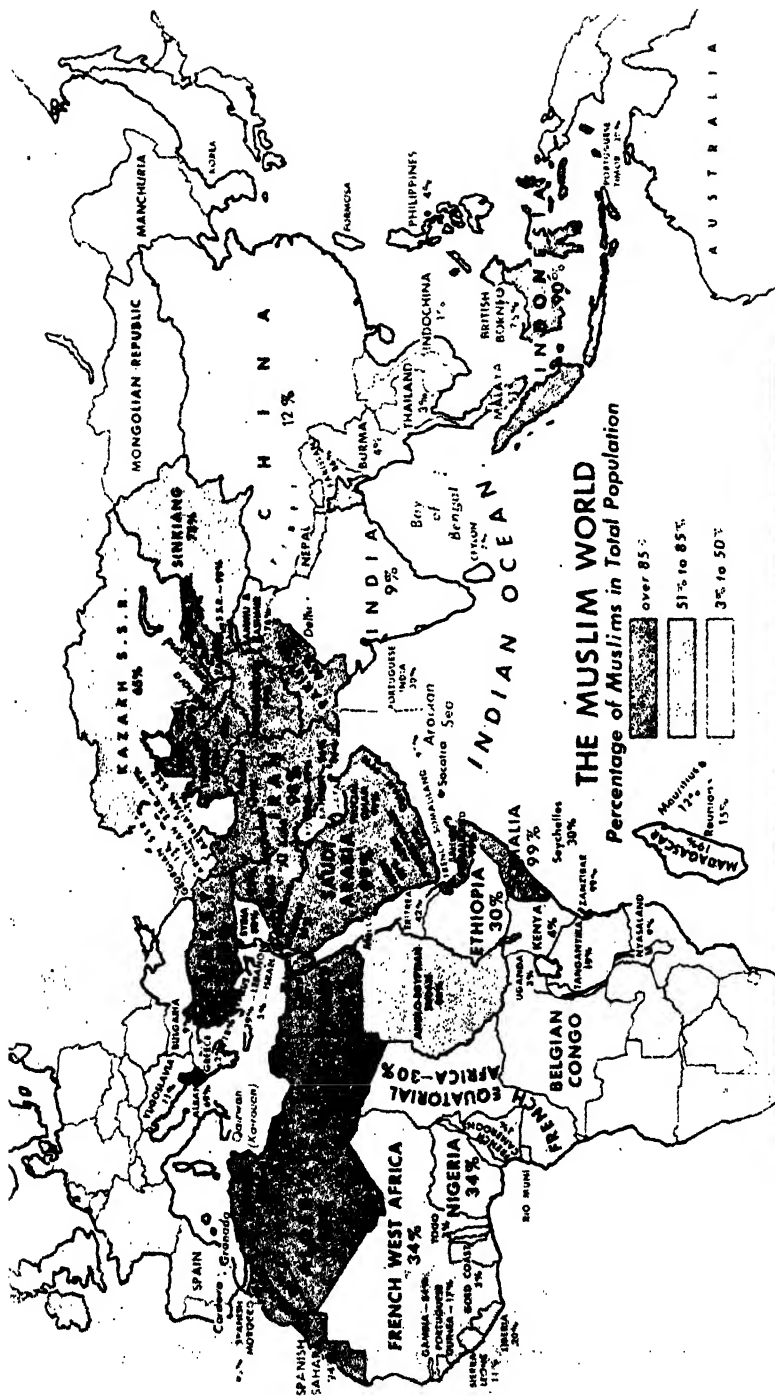
Besides the above-mentioned, there are other States (such as Somaliland) in Africa and Asia. Between forty-five to fifty million Muslims are subjects of China, and about forty millions of India. There are Muslims in Yugoslavia and some other countries of Europe and America.

PERCENTAGE OF MUSLIM POPULATION IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES

No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
1 Aden	.. 99	29 Liberia	.. 20
2 Afghanistan	.. 99	30 Libya	.. 96
3 Albania	.. 69	31 Madagascar	.. 19
4 Algeria	.. 88	32 Malaya	.. 51
5 Arabia (Saudi)	.. 99	33 Morocco (French)	.. 94
6 Borneo (North)	.. 75	34 Morocco (Spanish)	.. 93
7 Bulgaria	.. 9	35 Muscat	.. 99
8 Burma	.. 4	36 Nigeria	.. 33
9 Cameroon	.. 50	37 Nyasaland	.. 9
10 Ceylon	.. 7	38 Pakistan	.. 90
11 China	.. 8	39 Philippines	.. 4
12 Eccara Leone	.. 11	40 Portuguese India	.. 30
13 Egypt	.. 92	41 Sarawak	.. 75
14 Eritrea	.. 42	42 Siam	.. 3
15 Ethiopia	.. 32	43 Singapore	.. 45
16 French (East Africa)	.. 30	44 Somalo	.. 99
17 French (West Africa)	.. 34	45 Somaliland (British)	.. 99
18 Gambia	.. 84	46 Sudan	.. 80
19 India	.. 10	47 Syria	.. 80
20 Iran	.. 98	48 Tanganyika	.. 19
21 Indo-China	.. 2	49 Tunisia	.. 90
22 Indonesia	.. 90	50 Turkey	.. 98
23 Iraq	.. 95	51 Uganda	.. 3
24 Jordan	.. 95	52 U.S. Ind.	.. 90
25 Kashmir	.. 85	53 U.S.S.R.	.. 11
26 Kenya	.. 4	54 Yugoslavia	.. 11
27 Kuwait	.. 99	55 Zanzibar	.. 99
28 Lebanon	.. 39		

LIST OF MUSLIM INDEPENDENT AND SEMI-INDEPENDENT STATES
IN EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA AND INDIAN OCEAN—(Contd.)

Name of the country	Remarks	Area	Population
		Miles	
Aden	British Colony	75	50,000
Aden	British Protectorate	112,000	600,000
Algeria	French Colony	851,284	7,234,684
Eritrea	..	15,754	600,513
Iran	Independent State	630,000	16,000,000
Maldiv	British Protectorate	115	82,068
Nigeria	.. do	372,674	21,826,389
Onan	.. do	82,000	500,000
Sinkiang or Khotan	Chinese Provinces	660,077	4,012,330



THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MUSLIM WORLD

FOREWORD

THE contribution of Muslims to the literature, art and culture of the world, is the theme of a very interesting book, *The Outlines of Islamic Culture*, which we owe to the research of Professor A. M. A. Shushtery, of the University of Mysore. He has covered an immense field and has succeeded in compressing in two handy volumes, an amount of information about the growth and development of Muslim culture, which, if expanded, would suffice to fill many volumes of an Encyclopædia of Islam.

The First Volume is devoted to the historical and cultural aspects of the theme, and the Second deals with its philosophical and theological phases. Starting with a brief reference to the life of the Prophet of Arabia, and giving the chief essentials of the simple faith preached by him, the author goes on to describe the rapid spread of Islam to Syria, Egypt, Iraq, Iran, India and China within a short period after the death of the Holy Prophet (Peace be on him!).

There is a chapter dealing with Muslim Sects, which mentions not only the two main divisions of Islam, namely, *Sunnis* and *Shiahs*, but deals also with some of the more modern sects, like the Ahmediyya Movement of Qadian (in India), and the Bahai Movement, which, having sprung from Islam, now claims to be a distinct system of faith. A small paragraph in this chapter is devoted to Mustafa Kamal, but I do not know why the Ata Turk, (the name by which Mustafa Kamal is now known), should have been given a place among religious reformers or founders of Sects. His work is more appropriately described in another chapter on the political history of Islam, in which the origin of the Khilafat (Califate) is traced, and we are told of the phases through which it passed, till it came to the Sultans of Turkey and was eventually abolished by Mustafa Kamal in 1924. In this connection the author gives us his own views on modern Turkey and on Afghanistan, Egypt, Iraq and Albania, and refers to various Muslim dynasties which ruled in India, including the Moghals. He tells us about the Civil and Revenue administration of the Moghal period, and about its army and artillery. There is a passing reference even to the navy, but Professor Shushtery frankly admits that the "Muslim conquerors in the East, with the exception of the Arabs, had no experience of the

sea...and that the absence of a strong navy was the weakest point in their administration".

From a cultural point of view, one of the most instructive chapters in the book, is that dealing with the history of Muslim literature. Within the limitations placed on himself by the author, he has referred to Arabic, Turkish, Iranian and Urdu literatures. His range of information is very wide and he is cognizant of the modern trends of these literatures. It is interesting to learn, for instance, that Yaziji, one of the comparatively modern writers of Arabic in Egypt, "may be compared to Muhammad Husain Azad of India". Another interesting comparison is between Jurji Zaidan, a well-known modern Egyptian novelist, and Abdul Halim Sharar of Lucknow, both of whom have written historical novels. We are told about a writer of short stories in Egypt, named Muhammad Taimur (born 1891, died 1921), whose work was very much like that of Premchand, a well-known Hindu writer of Urdu, who has recently passed away and was a very popular writer of short stories in India. Among modern writers in Turkey, the author mentions Abdulla Jaudat (born 1869, died 1932), as the most distinguished literary man of his period in that country. He says that he was not only a poet but a pioneer in reforming Turkish society, religion and language, and was one of the founders of the great Turkish party named "Union and Progress", which forced Sultan Abdul Hamid to grant constitutional government to Turkey in 1908. Another great Turkish writer was Abdul Haq Hamid, who is considered the founder of the modern style in Turkish poetry, and was at one time a Turkish consul in Bombay and later on councillor of the Embassy in London. The author regards *Hali* as his parallel in India. We are told that Abdul Haq Hamid loved India and wrote many stories of Indian life, among which the *Dukhtare-Hindu* may be particularly mentioned. This shows how literature can form a link of sympathy and understanding between people of different countries and it is worth while to bring out these facts in the interests of such understanding.

It is refreshing to find that Taufiq Fikrat, a patriotic Turkish poet, who flourished in the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid, wrote a book on Sanskrit literature. This example deserves to be followed by scholars in India, who can help the cause of a friendly co-operation between Hindus and Muslims, through a study of the literary treasures of their respective classical languages. Professor Shushtery reminds us that work of this kind was done with great zeal and with good results

in the past. Faizi, the brother of Abul Fazl, the famous minister of Akbar, translated the *Mahābhārata* in Persian and also reproduced the story of Nala and Damayanti. Mirza Abdur Rahim, Khane Khanan was also well versed in Sanskrit. On the other hand, a large number of Hindu scholars eagerly studied Arabic and Persian.

The remarks of Professor Shushtery on *Urdu* and *Hindi* literature deserve a careful consideration by all lovers of *Urdu* as well as *Hindi* in India. He is himself an Iranian and is a Professor of Iranian literature in the University of a great Hindu State. He is in a position to take a detached view of the linguistic problem in India. He observes: "*Hindi* and *Urdu* are different in name but one in origin and spirit. *Urdu* is *Hindi* which has been Iranised during Muslim rule in India. . . . *Urdu* is more the outcome of Hindu needs than those of Muslim". The concluding words of Professor Shushtery's observations on this subject are particularly worthy of attention. He says:—"Urdu must not be considered and made an exclusive property of the Muslims. It has taken its birth in the Hindu-Muslim family, and must remain under the protection of that joint family for ever and ever."

The chapter devoted to Education, Universities, and Arts is full of interesting information about the Muslim seats of learning which flourished in Asia, North Africa and Western Europe. We are told also about the numerous libraries, containing hundreds of thousands of books, which were founded and endowed by Muslim kings and noblemen in various parts of the world. They were often in charge of the most distinguished scholars of their period. "The great philosopher, Avicenna, was in charge of the library of the Samanid king. Ibn-e-Maskuvaih was librarian at Ray, and Ash-Shabushte was librarian of the Fatimid Khalif Al-Aziz." It is interesting to learn that sometimes women were also employed as attendants in the libraries. There was a library at Shiraz (in Persia), which was noted "for its fine buildings, furniture and arrangements. It was surrounded by parks and roofed with domes. There were 360 rooms and pavilions: the books were arranged on shelves, with a complete catalogue." It was founded by Azad-ul-Doula, a king of Iran, who was reigning about 360 A.H., i.e., nearly 1,000 years ago. A library at Cordova, in Spain, possessed 400,000 volumes. It is said that it required six months to remove the books from one building to another. There was a magnificent library at Tripolis, in Syria, the number of books in which is said to have been three millions. We are told that it was, unfortunately, des-

stroyed by European invaders on the occasion of the First Crusade. Most of the libraries in Central Asia were destroyed by Chengiz.

The services of Muslim scholars to history, geography, botany, mathematics, astronomy and to medicine and chemistry are also mentioned in this chapter and show how great is the debt which the world owes to them.

The author goes on to deal with trade, commerce and navigation and passes on to æsthetic culture, which forms one of the most attractive chapters in the book. It begins with the story of the development of music and of the various influences which helped its progress, in spite of the discouraging attitude originally adopted towards it by orthodox Islam. The best contribution of Muslims to æsthetic culture has been made through their architecture. In his survey of this subject, the author shows how this architecture "started from Arabia, developed in Mesopotamia, Syria, Iran, North Africa, Spain and Central Asia, and reached its zenith of artistic beauty in India". Muslim architecture began with the mosque, which became the centre of Muslim life, and next in importance were the tombs of kings, saints, nobles and other noted personalities. After these came public buildings, palaces, forts, etc. The author observes that "Muslim architecture is neither the work of the Arabs, who were the earliest Muslims, nor of any particular nation. It is international in character, in the moulding of which many nations—of North Africa, South Europe, West, Central and South Asia—have taken an active part."

Coming to the Moghal period, Professor Shushtery pays a well-deserved tribute to the great Emperor Akbar and "his policy of combining Iranian elegance and richness of colouring and ornamentation with the exactness and mathematical calculations of Hindu workmanship".

Speaking of the Emperor Shah Jahan, the grandson of Akbar, as the greatest builder of palaces, forts and mausoleums, the author says: "He was gifted with a natural taste for æsthetics of every kind, including music, architecture and the fine arts, which the prevailing long internal peace and amassed wealth encouraged him to engage in."

The First Volume concludes with a discussion of miscellaneous Muslim arts and crafts, such as calligraphy, pottery, glass, textile fabrics, carpets, metal work, jewellery, painting and drawing.

The Second Volume is mainly devoted to the domain of things spiritual. The opening chapter gives the history of

Muslim philosophy and traces the influences of Greek philosophy on it. The superstructure built by Muslim scholars, like Averroes and Avicenna on the foundations laid by Plato and Aristotle, is then described. From a study of the philosophical aspects of Islam, the author passes to a discussion of Sūfis and Sūfism. I think this chapter may be considered the most valuable in the whole book and could, perhaps, be enlarged with advantage in a future edition. The Sūfis produced a silent revolution in Islam, in more ways than one, and introduced in it many doctrines which were more or less foreign to its origin, but most of them led such beautiful lives, in the light of what they taught and preached, and had such a marvellous influence over those among whom they lived, that it cannot be denied that the wide appeal of Islam among the masses, on the one hand, and among the philosophical minded elect, on the other, is largely due to the work of the Sūfis.

The chief object, which the author has had in view, in writing this book has been served by the kinship which he has traced between the *Vedānta* of the Hindus and the Sūfism of Islam. In his Preface to the book he says that he has stressed the points which are common to Islamic and other cultures, to promote fraternal feelings between Muslims and non-Muslims, and rightly observes that "hatred is a form of ignorance. Knowledge generates love; and love inspires human beings to become friendly and devoted to one another."

It may be said to the credit of Sūfism that in its many ramifications and its division into several schools of thought and practice, it has always adhered to the doctrine of love as its guiding principle, and has based its success on the love of God and, through that, the love of humanity and of nature in general.

The subject next dealt with is Muslim scholasticism, the need of which arose when studies of philosophy and science created a school of sceptics. The scholastic scholars stemmed the rising tide of doubt and disbelief and tried to show that the teachings of philosophy and science were not inconsistent with the teachings of Islam, if properly understood and interpreted. The two chief scholastic schools were the Mota-zala and the Ashæra. Among the latter the greatest names are Rāzi and Ghazzāli, who are briefly described by the author.

A chapter devoted to Muslim jurisprudence and theology and another to Muslim sociology, bring the Second Volume

to a close, with the exception of a concluding chapter on "the future of Islam", in which the author gives his opinion as to the lines on which it is possible for Islam to advance in future. Among the Appendices added is one giving the names of some distinguished Muslim women, who have been famous in history, as rulers and administrators, as orators and speakers, and even as warriors in the battlefield.

The main commandments of Islam, regulating the daily life of a Muslim in the matter of worship, of fasting and pilgrimage, of sacrifice, of alms and of regulating his relations with his neighbours, are set forth with great clarity in the chapter devoted to "jurisprudence and theology". Great stress has been laid by Islam on fair dealing between man and man and the fulfilment of promises and contracts. Exploitation of the poor by the rich is prohibited, and the rich are enjoined to do all they can to help their needy brethren. As observed by Professor Shushtery, "Islam inculcates moderate socialism and with it prescribes a rational and just mode of dealing as between members of the Muslim community. Each individual has the right to possess what is his own property and to enjoy what is his own wealth, but only to the extent that by that he does not injure the happiness or interests of others. He may amass wealth, but the surplus wealth, of which he has no need for immediate use, must be used in helping those who badly need it."

The chapter on "Muslim Sociology" is very informative and would be of special interest to those non-Muslim readers of this book who have a curiosity for some of the quaint notions and practices which have found their way among Muslims, owing to their contact with non-Muslims in various countries, or are the remnants of the old beliefs and rituals of those who embraced Islam but have not been able to shake off some of their old rites and customs. Perhaps it was necessary for the author to mention these things briefly to make his survey exhaustive, but I hope the readers of the book will not regard the superstitions described under this heading as a part of Islam, nor treat them as 'culture'.

I may say, in conclusion, that the task before Professor Shushtery was a very difficult one and he deserves to be congratulated on discharging it successfully. His discussions of the different sects of Islam has been, on the whole, fair and unbiassed and in his estimate of the influences of Islam on Hindu culture, and of Hindu culture on Islam, he has endeavoured to give each one its due. I am sure the book will find a wide circle of readers. It should particularly interest

the Indian students, as a study of this subject has a special value and importance for them, but it should also attract Western students and scholars, so many of whom are now eager to learn about cultures other than their own.

The book has been dedicated to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, by permission, and the author has acknowledged with gratitude the encouragement and patronage he has received from the enlightened ruler of that State, who is well known for his broad-minded appreciation of all learning and culture.

LONDON,
3rd *September* 1937.

ABDUL QADIR.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGES
I.	MUHAMMAD THE PROPHET	1-12
II.	THE SPREAD OF ISLAM	13-26
III.	MUSLIM SECTS AND THEIR DEVELOPMENT ..	27-34
IV.	POLITICAL HISTORY OF ISLAM	35-85
V.	HISTORY OF MUSLIM LITERATURE	86-119
VI.	EDUCATION, UNIVERSITIES, DEVELOPMENT OF ARTS AND SCIENCE	120-145
VII.	TRADE, COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION ..	146-156
VIII.	MUSLIM ÆSTHETIC CULTURE	157-205
IX.	MISCELLANEOUS MUSLIM ARTS	206-255
X.	HISTORY OF MUSLIM PHILOSOPHY ..	257-345
XI.	SŪFIS AND SŪFISM	346-415
XII.	MUSLIM SCHOLASTICISM	417-451
XIII.	MUSLIM JURISPRUDENCE AND THEOLOGY ..	452-508
XIV.	MUSLIM SOCIOLOGY	509-571
XV.	THE FUTURE OF ISLAM	572-584
	APPENDICES A-C	585-607
	INDEX	609

OUTLINES OF ISLAMIC CULTURE

CHAPTER I

MUHAMMAD THE PROPHET

His Ancestry—His Birth and Early Life—Beginnings of Public Career—Mecca in Those Days—Family Life—Founder of a Religion—The Main Articles of Faith—Conception of God—Soul and Its Immortality—Object of Existence—Resurrection—Predestination—Fundamental Principles.

HIS ANCESTRY

THE Arab tribe from which Muhammad descended was called Quraish.¹ This tribe occupied a very prominent place, since the expulsion of Khuzaites out of Mecca, by Qussay, a descendant of Feher, who was supposed to be their great ancestor. Qussay was born in about 398 A.D. and married the daughter of Hulayl, Chief of Khuzaites. When Hulayl died, Qussay claimed the Chieftainship of Mecca and the guardianship of its great temple. He induced the Quraishid to occupy the surroundings of the temple, called the Ka'aba. He built for himself a house, close to the temple, and assumed the rôle of the Chief of Mecca. His house became a Council Hall, where the tribe of Quraish used to assemble and discuss important problems of common interest. It was his privilege to hand over a banner, called the "Liva", in time of war to the man appointed to lead the tribe. By collecting a tax known as "rifadah", he fed poor pilgrims, thus encouraging foreigners to visit the temple. Qussay lived for about 82 years, and before his death made himself the acknowledged Chief of all the Quraish. He was its leader and law-giver. He was succeeded by his eldest son Abdad-Dar, and when the latter died, the functions of the Chieftainship were distributed among his nephews. The work of supplying water to the pilgrims and feeding them was entrusted to Abdush-Shams, the son of Abde-Manaf and a grandson of Qussay, who after sometime relinquished his right to his brother Hashim, the great-grandfather of the Prophet. But Umayya, the son of Abdush-Shams, after his father's death, claimed the functions entrusted to Hashim.

¹The Quraish have been described as "the most noble and polite of all the Arabians".

He failed in his dispute with his uncle, but the rivalry for power between the descendants of Umayya and Hashim continued in each generation, and one on either side took the lead against the other; for instance, Abu Sufyan, Vice-Prophet, and his son Moawiya against Ali, the fourth Khalif, a cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet; and Yazid, son of Moawiya, against Husain, the son of Ali. This rivalry continued till the Umayyads were defeated by the Hashimites, who, with the help of the Iranis, established their dynasty and ruled the Muslim world for over four hundred years.

HIS BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE

Hashim died in 510 A.D. and was succeeded by his brother Muttaleb, who followed him in 520 A.D., leaving the leadership of his family to Abdul-Muttaleb, the son of Hashim. Abdul-Muttaleb had twelve sons and six daughters. Among them was Abdulla, the father of the Prophet. He married a lady named Amina, of the Zuhra clan, a well-known family among the Quraish. Muhammad, their only child, was born soon after his father's death in about 570 A.D. He was made over to Suwaibah, a slave woman, who nursed and suckled him for a few days, and passed the baby to another nurse named Halima, a woman of the tribe of Banu-Sad. Muhammad was taken by his nurse to her own house in the desert and after two years brought back to his mother. Amina died when the Prophet was but six years old. Abdul-Muttaleb, his grandfather, took charge of him, but he also died in 577 A.D., and the orphan boy was committed to the care of his uncle Abu-Taleb. When he was twelve years old, he accompanied his uncle and guardian to Syria, and for the first time came into contact with the outside world, especially Christian monks. As a youth of sixteen or seventeen, he took part in local wars between the Quraish and the tribe of Banu-Huwazin. He was known for his good character, purity of morals and uprightness. He was called Amin or the trusted. He passed his time in helping his uncle, who was a merchant, sometimes tending the sheep and goats. At the age of twenty-five, he was sufficiently known in trade circles so that on the recommendation of his uncle, he was employed by a rich Quraishi widow, named Khadija, as her agent in carrying and selling her goods in Syria. She found his services satisfactory and appreciating his honesty, sincerity, contentment and noble bearing, to which his handsome appearance proved a further attraction, offered herself in marriage to him. She was forty years old at the time, and had been twice a widow and had had children by her former husbands. Muhammad, a young bachelor of twenty-five, accepted the offer and, with the consent of his uncle, married her. Both became much attached and devoted to

each other and unlike the prevalent custom of polygamy, Muhammad remained contented and happy with his aged wife till she died at the age of sixty-five. He had several children by her. The sons died while yet young, but four daughters survived, married and had children. Fatima was the youngest. She was the most beloved and respected and was the only daughter who survived the Prophet by six months. She was married to Ali, the son of Abu-Taleb. Her sons were named Hasan, the elder, and Husain, the younger, and the descendants of these two are now known by the sobriquet of Sayyid.

BEGINNINGS OF PUBLIC CAREER

In the year of his marriage, the Prophet became a member of a society whose object was to protect oppressed and helpless people against powerful but lawless tyrants. He also adopted his cousin Ali, who was six years old, to relieve his uncle from the burden of large family with a limited income. At the age of thirty-five or thirty-six, he was asked to settle a serious dispute among the Quraish in replacing the sacred black stone in the wall of the temple. Muhammad placed it in his own garment and asked the members of each clan to hold a corner and thus satisfied them all. When it reached the place where they wanted to deposit it, he took it out and placed it there. Between the thirty-fifth and fortieth years of his life, nothing occurred worthy of note. Though pursuing his trade, he was inclined to seclusion and to a retired life. At this time, there was no chief authority in control at Mecca. Abu-Taleb, the son and successor of Abdul-Muttaleb, as head of his family, was not rich enough to assert his authority over the elders of the other clans. He was respected but not obeyed. The other most important tribes of Quraish were Bani-Makhzum and Bani-Umayya. Both these were clans opposed to Bani-Hashim, to which the Prophet belonged. The remaining tribes took sides with one of these three.

MECCA IN THOSE DAYS

Mecca, which figures so largely in the life of the Prophet, is a city in the West Central Arabia. It is the chief sanctuary of Arabia. At the time we are writing of, it was inhabited by the tribes known by the collective name of the Quraish. Among them, the following lived in the city and furnished most of the great generals and leaders known to Islam —

1. Hashim, son of Abde-Manaf.
2. Muttaleb, son of Abde-Manaf.
3. Umayya, son of Abdush-Shams, son of Abde-Manaf.
4. Naufal, son of Abde-Manaf.
5. Asad, son of Abdul-Uzza.
6. Zuhrah, son of Kilab.

7. Taim, son of Murrah.
8. Makhzum, son of Yaqzah.
9. Adi, son of Ka'b.
10. Sahm, son of Amir.
11. Jumah, son of Amir.
12. Amir, son of Luvai.

The temple at Mecca, known as the Ka'aba, was a great centre of pagan religion. Pilgrims were visiting it from all parts of Arabia. It was also a centre of commerce. As is usual with places where people gather from different parts of the country, for worship and commerce, Mecca also became a place for adoration and enjoyment. Women devoted to dancing and singing settled in it. During the pilgrimage season, women from outside of Arabia, such as Abyssinia and the Roman and Persian Empires, used to visit Mecca. Such women were called *Kanya*, a word curiously reminiscent of Avestan and Sanskrit *kanya*, meaning an unmarried girl. Play-games, gambling, drinking and other vices became prevalent. Idolatry had degenerated to the extent of praying to any idol known or unknown to worshippers. There were as many as 360 or more idols in the great temple of Ka'aba.² Above these, there was one great God called Allah. Therefore, some enlightened members of the Quraish felt a keen desire to reform society. They were disgusted with their religion, especially idolatry. Some of them had embraced Christianity while others wanted to reform the usages of their ancestors. Among these was Muhammad, whose very nature was against idolatry. He used to carry his food to Mount Hira, close to Mecca, and pass his time in prayer and meditation. He must have passed many hours in pondering over the miserable condition of his people who were rich, intelligent, and compared with other parts of Arabia, more civilized and enlightened. They were enjoying supremacy and respect over other parts of the country as guardians of the great temple. But their jealousy and rivalry, combined with the vice that corroded social life, proved great obstacles to their progress. Those who wanted reform did not know how to obtain it. At last Muhammad came to their rescue. With a determination, which is the characteristic of great minds, he decided to help not only his countrymen, but the whole of humanity. He came to certain conclusions which

² It is said that at the time Muhammad was born, it was the custom for each tribe to worship its own tribal deity, special veneration being due to the Ka'aba, called *Baitullah*, or the House of God. The practice of idol worship grew, it is remarked by Ibn Ishak, the earliest biographer of the Prophet, from the custom of visitors to the Ka'aba carrying away stones from the Ka'aba at the end of their pilgrimage and worshipping them afterwards wherever they went.

he believed would prove the only means to human salvation.³ At first he opened his mind to his beloved wife, who immediately admitted that he had been commissioned from God to convey the message to brethren. She became the first adherent to his religion and encouraged him to preach the same to others. The next converts were his cousin, Ali, a boy of nine or ten years of age ; his slave Zaid ; and his friend Abu-Baker. The last named was a merchant, and a man of mild and noble character. He had many friends whom he persuaded and soon succeeded in making them adherents to the new religion. For three years, the Prophet preached in secret and then, encouraged by his enthusiastic followers, particularly Hamza, his uncle and foster-brother, and Umar, a young, intelligent and bold Quraishid of Bani-Adi clan, he began to preach in public and the result was strong hostility. For ten years, his followers suffered the fiercest persecution imaginable. Some of them sought refuge in Abyssinia. In the meanwhile, his devoted wife Khadija, and faithful uncle, Abu-Taleb, who were two of his supporters, died. The hostility of the Quraish clan increased. At last, he succeeded in converting a number of inhabitants of Medina, who had come to Mecca as pilgrims to the great temple. They promised to help and support him, in case he and his Meccan followers went over to their city. This offer was accepted and the Prophet recommended his followers to leave for Medina. He followed them in the company of Abu-Baker. But the Quraish were not content with so much of success. They continued to create trouble even at Medina. At first, the Prophet remained on the defensive, but gaining sufficient strength and finding the Quraish opposition a great obstacle to his life's mission, he took the offensive, and within a few years succeeded in completely breaking up the power of the Quraish. In 630 A.D., two years before his death, the Prophet marched towards Mecca and occupied the city. A general amnesty was granted to all his foes. This treatment had a deep effect on the Meccans, who could not expect mercy after the cruelty they had shown to the Prophet and his followers. The Ka'aba, the great temple, was cleared of its

³ Though opinion is still divided on the point whether Muhammad's mission was to be strictly for his own people or universal, the more accepted view seems to be in favour of the latter. Several texts could be quoted from the *Quran* in support of this view, cf., *Suratu Yusuf* (XII) 104: "It (the *Quran*) is simply an instruction for all mankind." *Suratu's Saba* (XXXIV) 27: "We have sent thee to mankind at large." In keeping with this view, are those of Professors T. W. Arnold and D. S. Margoliouth. The former holds that from the beginning Muhammad considered his mission to be universal (see *The Preaching of Islam*, 28). Similar is the view of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad who declares that "the mission of the Prophet was.....to be universal" (*Teachings of Islam*, 79-80).

360 idols, even pictures on the wall being destroyed. Meccans took the oath of allegiance at Mount As-Safa, binding themselves to obey the doctrine of Islam, to believe in one Supreme God, Allah, and to abstain from idolatry, backbiting, lying, theft, adultery, killing of infant daughters, practising usury, etc. The fall of Mecca proved a decisive victory for the Prophet. One result of it was that people came in large numbers from all parts of Arabia and willingly and voluntarily accepted Islam. About the time of his death in 632 A.D., the Prophet had become the supreme temporal and spiritual authority over the whole of Arabia and the adjacent islands. He died at the age of 63.

FAMILY LIFE

His first wife, as already stated, was Khadija. She died before the Prophet migrated to Medina. After her death, the Prophet took several wives, but none of them had children by him, except a Coptic slave girl. This wife gave birth to a son, named Ibrahim, who died when he was but one or two years old. The descendants of the Prophet trace their pedigree to Fatima, who was married to Ali. Zainab, the eldest daughter of the Prophet who had a daughter named Amama, who, after Fatima's death, was married to Ali. Her children, however, are not considered as Sayyeds. Among his wives, Aisha, the daughter of Abu-Baker, the first Khalif, is well-known as the narrator of tradition. She was the only lady who took an active part in politics.

All his wives were widows, some with children by their former husbands, except Aisha, who was married a virgin. The Prophet had the double task of training men as well as women. He had a number of intelligent companions, whom he had trained and appointed in different parts of Arabia to collect taxes and to teach the religion he had preached. But in the case of women he could not make them, strangers as they were, his direct students and this must have been the chief reason for his marrying a number of ladies, who served the sacred purpose of disseminating the message of Islam. At this time, he was old and busy fighting with the Quraish, the Jews and the nomad tribes, effecting social reforms and carrying out various other duties. He married eleven or twelve ladies. Some of them enjoyed his company for a very short time, but all served the cause of Islam by teaching the same to others.

FOUNDER OF A RELIGION

Muhammad was the founder of a religion and not of a philosophy. But every religion is based on certain philosophical notions, and Islam, in this sense, has its own philosophy which may be considered under certain comprehensive heads.

THE MAIN ARTICLES OF FAITH

These heads, however, are neither mutually exclusive nor exhaustive of the Prophet's teachings. They are set down only to enunciate clearly the fundamental articles of faith which the Prophet taught and which form, as it were, the corner-stones of the religion he proclaimed.

1.—*Conception of God*

Muhammad's chief message to humanity is a standing protest against polytheism, dualism, atheism and idolatry. His God, the Universal Ego, is one and eternal. He is not limited to anything which man can imagine. Every sin, small or great, may be forgiven but not the sin of associating anyone or anything in any sense whatever with God. The Prophet did not tolerate any kind of symbol in which there was a possibility of forming an idea of the creative power or other attributes of God. Muhammad was the most sincere devotee of such a Supreme Being. He was willing to reconcile himself with anything, but was most determined in opposing any idea against the unity of God. His God is above matter and spirit as defined in Chapter II of the *Quran*, where it says :—

"Allah is one on whom all depend. He begets not, nor is begotten and none is like him."

Thus, in the above-mentioned short chapter, the idea of the eternity of matter and spirit or making the one dependent on the other or inserting a third power to combine and harmonize the two has been refuted. It is also a reply to the dualism of Iran, the Trinity of Christianity and to the belief that anyone other than God can possess any of the attributes of God and the idea of incarnation. His God is the most beneficent, the most merciful, master of the day of resurrection ; Him alone one must serve and to Him alone one must beseech for help. Again and again, the *Quran* emphasizes the doctrine of unity, the all-powerfulness and mercy of the one Universal Ego. The whole teaching of Islam is based on this conception. Matter, time, space and even spirit, have no independent existence. It is said in the *Quran* that if there had been in them (heaven and earth) any God except "Allah", there would have been a state of disorder. The *Quran* draws the attention of its readers by pointing to Nature, its laws and phenomena—the gathering of clouds, the fall of rain, the growth of plants, the existence of animal and human life, the movement of the stars, the rise and fall of nations, the change of seasons, life, death, historical events, and mythical wonders. In all these we can detect the same law prevalent : That in all apparent diversity, there is a unity of purpose and therefore unity of the originator.

2.—*Soul and Its Immortality*

According to the *Quran*, man is the vice-gerent of God on earth. He is the microcosm of the Universe. His soul is pure in its essence and is manifested by action. The human ego in relation with the Universal Ego has a beginning. It possesses a personality and an individual will for its own development and perfection, which, however, must be in harmony with the Supreme Will. It depends upon the Universal Ego. Death is a birth into a more real life, for a new existence. The *Quran* uses the words "ruh" (Heb-ruakh) and "nafs" (Heb-nephesh) for soul, and separate words signifying the creation of soul and body. As, for instance, concerning the soul it says thus:—

"They ask you about the spirit; say the spirit is by command of my Lord and of its true knowledge ye have been given but little." (17-85)

With regard to the body, it says:—

"He it is who created the heavens and the earth." (LVII-4)

"For Him is the (power) of command, (manifestation) of soul and creation (of body)."

The soul has the capacity to rise itself higher and higher till it realizes its true self and reaches close to the divinity. If dominated by lust and passion, it may be eclipsed and degraded as low as animals or even still lower. So says the *Quran*:—

"We created the man in the best form, then reduced him to the lowest of the low." (XCV-4-5)

The *Quran* says that the human ego is self-conscious and responsible for its rise or fall.

"Soul and Him who perfected it, and inspired (with conscience, so that it can distinguish) what is wrong and what is right for it. He is indeed successful who causeth its (own) purity, and he is indeed a failure who stunteth it." (XCI-710)

Various names are given in the *Quran* to the human ego in its different stages of development, for instance:—

(1) Ammarah (animal soul). (XII-53)

(2) Lawwamah (self-accusing soul). (LXV-2)

(3) Mulhama (inspired soul). (XCI-8)

(4) Mutamannah (at peace). (LXXXIX-27)

(5) Raziah (content). (LXXXIX-27)

(6) Marziyyah (pleasing to God). (LXXXIX-27)

The last is the stage when the conscience is fully developed and the virtuous tendency predominates over human vice. Man is content and submissive to the Universal Ego. The highest stage is "Kāmelah" or perfect in itself, losing all material drawbacks, when his actions are in perfect harmony with God's command. The *Quran* says that man lives for Him and in Him.

"Surely my prayer and my sacrifice and my life and death are all for God, the Lord of Worlds."

3.—Object of Existence

To serve God so that the ego may become free from material attachment and shine in its full brightness, through the body, which means action, just as the Universal Ego does in the whole creation. He must serve Him, says the *Quran*, till his animal self is annihilated and the true self is realized.

"And I (God) have not created the Jinnis and men except that they should serve me."

"And serve your Lord until there comes to you that which is certain." (XV-99)

All human beings are imperfect, and each seeks his perfection in his own way and according to his own capacity and awakening. The *Quran* says:—

"Every one acts according to his manner, and thy Lord is best aware of him whose way is right."

Human imperfection is due to the eating of the forbidden fruit, which means the evolution of humanity from a simple natural life resembling other creatures to a conscious stage, when man began to assert himself as a supernatural being, and gradually became more strongly attached to worldly pleasures. His perfection comes when he is relieved from such attachment and finds contentment and peace within himself which he can achieve by serving God and reflecting over His creation. As is said in the *Quran*:—

"Verily in the creation of the heaven and of the earth and in the succession of the night and of the day, are signs for men of understanding, who, while standing and sitting and reclining, bear God in mind and reflect on the creation of the heavens and of the earth and say 'Oh Lord! thou hast not created these in vain'." (3-188)

And the result of man's self-assertion over the laws of Nature and aspiration for a higher, happier and ever-enduring life makes him struggle hard, while other creatures are submissive to Nature and are happy. The *Quran* says thus:—

"We offered the trust unto the heavens and the earth and the hills, but they shrank from bearing it and were afraid of it. And man assumed it and proved a tyrant and senseless."

Thus man is supposed to be a superior being aspiring for something better and higher, and the Supreme Being has promised him His support and guidance. The following passages from the *Quran* bear on this point:—

"From state to state shall he surely be carried onward."

"Call me, I shall respond to your call."

4.—*Resurrection*

In Resurrection, one sees for himself the result of his action. In this, even birds and animals are included. It is said in the *Quran* :—

"There is no animal in the earth nor flying creatures flying on two wings but there are people like unto you and unto their Lord they will be gathered." (6-38)

But in the case of a human being, Resurrection is the moment when he is awakened from his present state of ignorance concerning his true self and he is made to realize the good or bad of his past life. Each individual has to seek his emancipation and perfection in himself. The *Quran* says :—

"The day on which no soul shall control anything for another soul." (LXXXII)

"The day on which a man shall fly from his brother, and his mother, and his spouse, and his sons." (LXXX-34-36)

"Man on that day be informed of what he sent before and what he put off." (LXXV-33)

"Every soul is held in pledge for what it earns."

(LXXIV-38)

And those who are given knowledge and faith will say : Certainly you tarried according to the command of Allah till the day of awakening, so this is the day of awakening, but you did not know.

"And every man's fate have we fastened about his neck, and on the resurrection we will bring forth to him a book which shall be given to him wide open." (17-24)

5.—*Predestination*

"Taqdir" (or measuring out) means that nothing can happen in the universe unless it is decreed by God. But this idea does not come in the way of freedom of human will. It is true that the *Quran* contains passages offering the idea of predestination but the object there is to show the omnipotency of God. Man is responsible within the limits of his capacity, but his will and power are subordinate to the Universal Will and Almighty Power of God. It is said in the *Quran* :—

"Man shall have nothing but what he strives for and his striving shall soon be seen (by him) and you will not, unless (it be) that Allah willeth, the Lord of creation."

"All things have we created under a fixed decree." (LIX-49)

"It is he who causeth you to laugh and weep, to die and to live."

"God will mislead whom He pleaseth and whom He will place upon the straight path."

Thus, what we can understand from the above self-contradicting passages is the subordination of the individual

will to the Universal Will. Man is responsible for action within his power. According to the famous Muslim philosopher Ibn-ur-Rushd, the human will is determined by some exterior cause, and therefore his will is limited by exterior causes, which are not under his control. The relation between the human will and the causes which move the will to action are determined by one other than man. You may call it Nature, or the Universal Will.

Sir Muhammad Iqbal, in his six lectures on the reconstruction of religious thought in Islam, says :—

“Destiny is time regarded as prior to the disclosure of its possibilities. Time regarded as destiny forms the very essence of things. The destiny of a thing is not an unrelenting fate working from without like a taskmaster, it is the inward reach of a thing, its realizable possibilities which lie within the depths of its nature, and serially actualize themselves without any feeling of external compulsion.”

6.—Fundamental Principles

Islamic doctrine is based on the three principles of :—

1. Belief in “Allah”.
2. Belief in the day of judgment.
3. Belief in virtuous deeds.

In the following passage, the *Quran* teaches that the follower of any religion, be it Islam, Judaism, Christianity or any other, can achieve spiritual perfection and salvation if they believe and act on the three above-mentioned principles.

“Surely those who believe (in Islam) and those who are Jews,⁴ and the Christians⁵ and the Sabians,⁶ whoever believes in Allah and the last day and does good, they shall have their reward from their Lord, and there is no fear for them, nor shall they grieve.” (2-62)

Based on these principles, the practical side of the doctrine is given in the following passage :—

“It is not righteousness that you turn your faces to the East or West but righteous is he who believeth in Allah and the last day and the angels and the scriptures and the prophets

⁴ Throughout Arabia, there were Jewish colonies, where the Jews had sought shelter since the sack of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar and the many other calamities which overtook that unhappy nation.

⁵ Christianity was introduced into Arabia about the 4th century A.D. It became the State religion in Hira, a kingdom in the north of Arabia, about the 6th century A.D.

⁶ The Sabians were probably of Hamitic descent (see *Genesis*, X-7). They believed in Divine Unity, but worshipped the heavenly bodies as well. The latter practice was condemned by Muhammad [see *Suratu'l-Fursi-lat* (XII-37)].

and giveth his wealth, for love of Him, to kinsfolk and to orphans and the needy and the wayfarer and to those who ask, and he sets slaves free, and observeth proper worship and payeth the poor (their) due. And those who fulfil their promise (treaty) when they make one, and are patient in hard circumstances and adversity."

Thus a Muslim is one who prays, fasts, visits Mecca once in his life, gives charity, is true to his promise and patient in the time of distress.

CHAPTER II

THE SPREAD OF ISLAM

Arabia—Syria—Egypt—Iraq—Iran—Russia and Siberia—China—
Turkey—Malay Archipelago—North and Central Africa—India—
Muslim Missionary Activity—Hindu Nationalism and Islam.

ARABIA

ARABIA is bounded on the west by the Red Sea, on the east by the Indian Ocean, on the north by the Syrian desert and Iraq, and on the south by the Indian Ocean. With certain exceptions, it is a desert country, covering an area of about one million square miles. Rainfall is insignificant. The present population is estimated at about seven millions. Its climate is on the whole warm. Its earliest inhabitants, according to local tradition, were called Badya, of whom very little is known. They were succeeded by A'araba, who were followed by Mustaraba. At the rise of Islam, the inhabitants were divided into what are known as the Northern and the Southern tribes. The condition of the country then was such that, with the exception of those who had settled as agriculturists in Yemen, Hadramaut, Umman, Asir, Hejaz and Nejd, the others as nomad tribes used to move constantly from one place to another in search of pasture. Scarcity of food was such that sometimes they were forced to migrate to the neighbouring countries. Badavis or wandering Arabs, had to live on cattle rearing and hunting. They did not like an organized, responsible Government. They were intelligent, courageous, hardy, generous, and chivalrous, but cruel and pitiless in seeking revenge and in avenging an insult offered to their tribesmen and relatives. They were loyal to their chief, proud and independent. They loved freedom, women, wine and plundering trade caravans or attacking their enemies.

The Quraish, who inhabited Mecca and were the guardians of the temple Ka'aba, traced their descent from Ismael, son of Abraham. About the time Muhammad was born, most of them were idol worshippers, but a few, called Hunafa, did not believe in idolatry. Some were atheists. Some did not believe in the resurrection and thought death as the end of life. A few had become converts to Judaism and Christianity.

One or two years before the death of the Prophet, almost the whole of Arabia acknowledged him as its spiritual and temporal head. Medina became the seat of the new Empire. The Prophet died in 632 A.D., and was succeeded by Abu-

Baker, who ruled for about two years and ten months. During this short period, he subdued the tribes who had revolted and commenced the invasion of Iranian territory in Mesopotamia and the Roman in Syria. During the reign of Umar, the second Khalif, Persia, Egypt and Syria were conquered. Usman, the third Khalif, extended the Islamic Empire towards Afghanistan in the East, and Tripoli (Africa) in the West. Ali, the fourth Khalif, transferred the seat of Government to Kufa in Iraq. Since then Arabia remained a province of the Islamic Empire. At present, it is divided into the kingdoms of Nejd, united with Hejaz, Yemen, Kuvit, Umman and a few other small States in the south. British influence is to-day predominant. The inhabitants are for the most part Sunnat-Jama'at and Wahabi. There are Shiahs in Iraq and Yemen, and Kha-warej in Umman.

SYRIA

Syria was the battle-ground between the Roman and Persian Empires. Its inhabitants are a mixture of Arabs, Greeks, Romans, Jews, Macedonians, Persians and aborigines. The Semitic race form the majority. It was a country sacred to the Arabs. The Prophet had prophesied its subjugation by his followers. He had himself sent an expedition just before his death. It was to leave Medina in the beginning of the reign of the first Khalif. In 637 A.D., Jerusalem was surrendered to the second Khalif and Syria became Islamic territory. Moaviya, the first Umayyad Khalif, made Damascus his capital, and it remained so to the end of Umayyad rule. When the Abbasids succeeded, they made Baghdad their seat of Government. Syria was attached to Egypt under the Fatemite rule. After that, it passed to Ayyubite and the slave rulers and finally was subdued by the Ottoman Turks, who retained it till the Great War of 1914.* At present, it is a Mandatory State under France, divided into several small States. Palestine is administered by the English. The majority of its inhabitants are Muslims, but there are considerable numbers of Christians and Jews also in it. The spoken language is Arabic. The people are intelligent and progressive. The first Arabic drama was composed by a Syrian.

EGYPT

Egypt was invaded by Amr, son of A's, in the reign of the second Khalif, in the year 639 A.D., with an army of three to four thousand men. He captured Pelusium. In 640 A.D., he defeated the Roman army under Augustales

* Now there are four independent States known as Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq. Pabertini is divided between Arabs and a small Jewish State, Israel.



THE CHRISTIAN CRUSADERS AND THE SARACENS

(From a picture on a window of the 12th century, in St. Denis' Church, Paris)

'Theodorus at Heliopolis'⁷ and occupied Babylon (Egypt), a city close to present Cairo. Since then, Egypt has remained an Islamic territory. The Arabs ruled upto the extinction of the Fatemid dynasty in 1171 A.D. They maintained a policy of non-interference and toleration in the religious affairs of their subjects. During Fatemid rule, Egypt became an independent country, stretching from Algeria to the frontiers of Iraq, and was one of the chief centres of Islamic learning and culture. Salah-ud-din, the hero of the Crusades, deposed the last Fatemid Khalif in 1171 and founded his dynasty, which lasted upto 1250.⁸ Afterwards, Mamelukes, or Slaves, ruled the country till the year 1510.⁹ They repulsed the Moghal invasion towards the west, as the Slave rulers of India pushed them back from the east. Thus two Slave dynasties saved two great ancient civilizations from destruction by the Moghals. In 1510, the Turkish Sultan, Salim, invaded, subdued and made Egypt a Turkish province. Egypt continued to be Turkish territory till the rise of Muhammad Ali Pasha, when it became semi-independent under the suzerainty of Turkey. In 1914, the British Government deposed Khedive Abbas Hilmi and declared Egypt a British Protectorate, but soon recognized its independence, with certain safeguards. At present, its inhabitants enjoy a nominal freedom under a king, who is a descendant of the celebrated Muhammad Ali Pasha.

Under Islam, the history of Egypt may be divided into three distinct periods. The first may be called the period of Arabic rule; the second as Perso-Arabic; and the third as Turko-Arabic. During the first period, the Arabic language became the common medium of Egypt and Islam spread rapidly, owing to continuous emigration and settlement of the nomad Arabs and direct influence from Mecca and Medina. The celebrated Islamic University known as El-Azhar was established (971 A.D.) and it continues to the present day a centre of Islamic learning, attracting annually to itself 10,000 students from all parts of the Muhammadan world. During the second period, numerous Sufi monasteries were built, and

⁷ Near the apex of the Delta of the Nile. One of the most ancient and important of Egyptian cities. It was the chief seat of the wisdom of the Egyptians.

⁸ The "Saladin" of history books; the hero of the third Crusade on the Muslim side. First a soldier under Nur-ud-din and then Vizier of Egypt and ultimately sovereign; captured Damascus, Aleppo, etc.; defeated the Christians at Tiberias and took Jerusalem and laid siege to Tyre; found in Richard Cœur de Lion a foeman worthy of his steel; concluded a truce in 1192, and died in the following year. He lived between 1137-93. A man of noble and chivalrous character.

⁹ Originally slaves from the Caucasus region; bought in the market-place or captured in war, they became the bodyguard of the Sultan of Egypt.

a Sufi Brotherhood was organized by the Muslim-Kurdish family of Salah-ud-din.

At present, with the exception of a small minority of Copts (Christians) and European settlers, the whole country is inhabited by Muslims, who, next to the Turks, have been foremost in modernizing Islam.

IRAQ

Babylon and Assyria are two of the oldest seats of ancient civilization. The former is in the south and the latter in the north of the present kingdom of Iraq. These countries are the meeting points of the Iranian and Semitic civilizations. They were captured by Cyrus the Great (560-529 B.C.) and since then, with the exception of a short period during the time of Alexander and his successors, the Seleucide, for over one thousand years have remained under Persia. During the reign of the first Khalif (632-635 A.D.), the Arabs invaded them and within fifteen years, not only Iraq but the whole of Persia was subdued and annexed to the great Arab Empire. The right bank of the Tigris was inhabited mostly by Iranians and the left bank by Arab tribes, such as the Taghlib, Iyad, Nimar, Kelb, etc. There was a small Arab State with its capital at Hira, under Persian suzerainty. The Prophet had foretold the conquest of Iraq by his followers. When the Arabs established themselves in Iraq, Kufa and Basra¹⁰ became two important cantonments, and, after sometime, two chief seats of learning as well. The Abbasides, who ruled from 750 to 1258 A.D., made Baghdad their capital. In the thirteenth century, Iraq was invaded by the Moghals under Holagu Khan. Baghdad was captured and about eight hundred thousand inhabitants were put to the sword and the last Khalif, Mustasim, was, with a large number of his family, put to death. Iraq became a province of Perso-Moghal rulers. From the 16th to the 18th century, it was occupied alternately by Persia and Turkey and finally it was annexed to the Turkish Empire and remained a part of it till the Great War of 1914. At present, it is in name an independent State, managed by an indigenous government, but really under the protection of Great Britain. It is at present the chief seat for the study of Shiah theology. The majority of the inhabitants are Shiahs. There is a considerable number of Sunnis also, besides a small minority of Christians and Jews.

IRAN

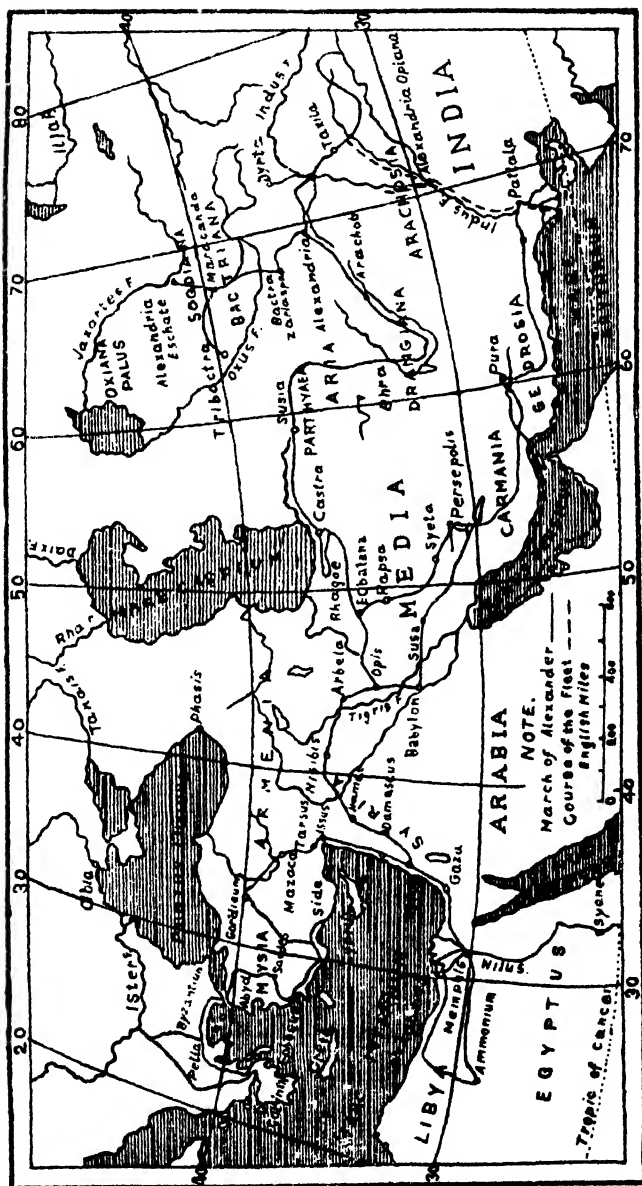
The Iranian plateau extends from the Tigris to the Suleiman Mountains in the east and from the Jaxertis to the Persian

¹⁰ On the Shat-el-Arab; became a place of great commercial importance when Baghdad became the seat of a Khalif.



ALEXANDER THE GREAT

(From the Bust in the Capitoline Museum, Rome)



THE CAMPAIGNS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Gulf in the south. Its area is over a million square miles. Its historical period begins with the rise of Median Dynasty, who were succeeded by the Achæmenians. After the short foreign occupation of Alexander and the Seleucide, a new Iranian Empire was formed under the Parthians, who ruled for about 450 years. The next dynasty, called the Sasanian, was formed at the fall of Parthians and lasted till the rise of Islam. The last great Sasanian king was Khusroe II (Parviz). After his deposition and assassination, anarchy prevailed in Iran for over ten years and the condition of the government was so bad that the empire collapsed and became an easy prey to Arab invaders. The Prophet had foreseen the spread of Islam beyond the Euphrates and had foretold that Muslims in the near future would be masters of Syria and Iraq. Abu-Baker, the first Khalif, taking advantage of the chaos and misrule that prevailed in Iran, despatched an army and his successor followed his policy. By the end of 650 A.D., Arab rule had been extended to the most distant parts of Iran. Their ascendancy may be divided into two periods. The first was the period of pure Arab rule, which lasted from the reign of the second Khalif upto the establishment of Abbasid dynasty. The second may be called the Perso-Arabian and the Turko-Iranian supremacy, when semi-independent and independent States and Empire were formed in Iran, which, however, recognized the Khalif at Baghdad as their nominal spiritual and temporal head. Iranian conversion to Islam was gradual and in most cases voluntary. They found some similarity between their old Zoroastrian creed and Islam and willingly or with the hope of gaining a better social status or political rank, or as the result of benevolent treatment and the desire to create confidence in their rulers, accepted the new religion. They took great interest in Arabic language, literature, theology and philosophy. The majority of Iranians were of the Sunnat-Jam'at sect of Islam till the rise of the Safavid dynasty in the 16th century, when Shiahism became the State religion. At present the Iranian plateau is divided into the independent kingdoms of Iran and Afghanistan. Khawrezm and Sughd are under Russia and have been formed into the Soviet Republics of Uzbekistan, Turkamanistan and Tajikistan. Kurdistan and Baluchistan are partly under Iran and partly under Turkish and English rule. With the exception of Iran proper, in other parts of the Iranian plateau the Sunnat-Jammat sects are in the majority.

RUSSIA AND SIBERIA

Chengiz Khan, the great Moghal conqueror, after subduing the Moghal chiefs, invaded Iran, and, as narrated by almost all eastern and western historians, his hordes slaughtered men

and women including children, plundered and razed cities, cut down forests and destroyed whatever they could not carry with them. After Chengiz Khan, his vast Empire covering Chin, Siberia, Iran and a portion of Russia, was divided among his sons. Ogotay became the supreme Emperor; Jogotai occupied the Eastern Turkestan; Baku, the land surrounding the Caspian Sea, became known as Khan of the Golden Horde. Tulay obtained possession of Iran, but the first actual Moghal Emperor of Iran was Holagu, who founded a dynasty destined to last about a century and a half. Shamanism was the religion of Moghals. As conquerors, they came in contact with the three world religions of Asia, viz., Buddhism, Christianity and Islam. Leaders of these religions tried to convert their rulers and each in turn succeeded to some extent. For sometime Christianity appeared to be gaining ground and found converts in the Royal Family. The future of Muslims was gloomy but finally Islam defeated its rivals and succeeded in converting the Emperor, with whom thousands of Moghals adopted Islam as their religion. Gradually, the majority of the people of Turkestan, Siberia and even Russia were converted to Islam.

CHINA

According to Chinese tradition, a certain S'ad, son of Vaq-qas, or Wahab, the son of Abu-Kabshah, was the first Muslim who reached Canton by sea, as early as 629 A.D. But our historical knowledge dates from the time of Yazdagerd, the last Sasanian king of Iran, who sought Chinese help against the Arab invaders of Iran. His son Firuz also appealed to the Chinese Emperor for help and the first Chinese Ambassador arrived at Medina during the Khilafat of Usman, the third Khalif. Friendly relations continued to exist between China and Muslims during the rule of Umayyads and the Abbasides. During these periods a few Muslim traders and adventurers settled in China, and the first Mosque was constructed in the province of Shen-Si about the year 742 A.D. According to Chinese sources, Mansur, the second Abbasid Khalif, despatched 4,000 Muslims to help the Chinese Emperor against certain rebels in the year 755 A.D. This statement is apparently a fiction; nevertheless it may be accepted as a fact that Arab and Iranian traders were risking the Indian Ocean and the China Sea, and had intercourse with China, both by land and by sea. When Moghals invaded and occupied Iran, many Iranians, particularly from Khorassan and Sughd, went to China as soldiers, traders, and artisans in the Moghal camp. Most of them settled down there and married Chinese women. Gradually Moghals employed Iranians in various administrative departments. They even appointed one of them as Governor over the Province of Yun-nan and entrusted to him its

subjugation. There was a gradual but continuous emigration of Muslims from the west during the whole period of Moghal ascendancy. Yun-nan was the Punjab of China. The majority of its inhabitants, from as early as the 14th century, were Muslims.

Probably Muhammad Shah Toghluk had heard of the growth of Islam in China through travellers who had gone there and therefore risked to invade it, expecting support from the Chinese Muslims. Unlike India, Chinese Muslims have largely identified themselves with the rest of their countrymen, despite religious differences. They respect Chinese laws, sacred books, customs, dress, and go to the extent of joining with non-Muslims in their religious ceremonies. Their mosques resemble Chinese temples with the exception that minarets are parts of them and the pulpit is to be found in them. The number of Muslims in China is estimated at about 30 millions. The majority of them are found in the province of Shen-Si and Kan-Suh. In the first-named province, their number is over 85 per cent. and in Kan-Suh about 77 per cent. of the total population are Muslims. Besides these places, Muslims are found all over China. The majority of them are in South Mongolia, in Shan-Sichli, Sze, Chunan, Honan, Yun-nan, Kean-hsi, Kiang-hsu, Knang-tung, Knang-hsi, Kuei-chon and Che-keang. They had taken part in Baxer rising and other political movements in China. Sultan Abdul Hamid of Turkey endeavoured to open a direct intercourse with Chinese Muslims, but the Great War of 1914 changed the policy of Turks. The idea of pan-Islamism was given up with the result that the future relation of Chinese Muslims with their co-religionists in Western and Central Asia should, if at all, come about under the suggested League of Asiatic Nations.

TURKEY

In the beginning of the 15th century, some 5,000 Turks migrated from the East through Persia to Asia-Minor and were permitted to settle in its North-Western part (ancient Dorylæum-Phrygia), in recognition of the services they had rendered to Kaikobad II (1245-54) of Iconium, the Seljukid king, against his enemies. Gradually, they rose in power and under their able chief they became masters of the province where they had been permitted to settle. In 1353, they invaded the Balkan Peninsula. Their first Sultan was named Usman and hence the Empire was called Usmani or Ottoman.

In the zenith of its power, the Turkish Empire covered all Asia-Minor, Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Arabia, the whole of Balkan Peninsula including Hungary and the Islands in Ægæan Sea stretching from Crimea to Vienna in Europe, including Egypt, and a great portion of Northern Africa. The

rulers of this vast Empire did not interfere with the religion of their subjects and with few exceptions left them free so long as they paid the taxes levied and remained loyal subjects. In fact, Turkish Christian subjects enjoyed more freedom and power under the Turks than under their own co-religionists. The spread of Islam was slow and the conversion of Christians was due to the rivalry between the Catholic and the Greek Churches, and the ignorance and the tyranny of their respective priesthood. Casually, Government also encouraged them to adopt Islam and serve in the military. But during insurrections, which were common throughout the history of the Ottoman Empire, Government had to take drastic measures, followed by persecution, and even massacre of not only non-Muslims but also Muslims of the Shiah sect. Such action was indulged in more for political reasons than by reason of religious prejudice.

At present, with the exception of Albania and South Russia, the Muslims form a minority in Bosnia, Bulgaria, Western Thracia, Roumania, Crete and Cyprus. In the Great War of 1914, Turkey sided with the Central Powers of Europe and as the result of the defeat sustained, lost all her possessions in Africa and in Europe and shrank to a small corner of East Thracia, with an area of about nine thousand and odd square miles. In Asia, she could retain Asia-Minor, a portion of Kurdistan, and Armenia. The present population, according to the latest Census, is about 19 to 20 millions, an overwhelming majority of them being Muslims. They are fast becoming Europeanized in dress, habits, and in outward appearance as well. Though Muslims in religion, they are adopting a new outward form agreeable to European taste. They have changed their script from the Arabic to the Latin. The following reforms have been recommended by a Commission formed under the orders of the Government in this connection :—(1) That religious places such as mosques, shrines, etc., should be accessible to all visitors ; (2) that Muslims should be allowed to enter mosques without removing their shoes ; and (3) that prayers and sermons should be said in Turkish and not in Arabic as in the olden days.

MALAY ARCHIPELAGO

As in the case of China, Islam was introduced into the islands of the Pacific Ocean through Arab and Persian traders, soldiers and adventurers. They spread their faith with their commercial enterprise. Unlike Christian Missionary organization of modern times, it was individual, private and voluntary effort that helped to spread Islam in these regions. These merchant and military adventurers went direct from Persia or Arabia, and others were from among those who had settled

in India. They used to risk the voyage in the Bay of Bengal and the China Sea and wherever they reached and found means of settlement, used to adopt the local language, marry indigenous women, and accept the customs and habits of the people of the area. Thus they made themselves one with the inhabitants of the country they went to and this enabled them to preach their religions effectively and to purpose. As early as the 16th century, a Muslim family ruled in North Sumatra. Ibn-Batuta, the famous Muslim traveller, gives us glimpses of Muslim colonies in China and the Malay Islands. In Java, the progress of Islam was slow, but in course of time it spread everywhere in New Guinea, Borneo, Sambava, Celebes, Moluccas, Philippines, Sulu and other islands of the Pacific. Although European nations, such as the Portuguese, the Spanish, the Dutch, the French, and the English, following Arabs in adventuring towards the East from the 16th century onward, captured the sea trade from the Muslims and became supreme power all over the Indian Ocean, the China Sea and the Pacific, still Muslim individual effort in missionary activity continued. The struggle was hard and the competition keen, nevertheless there was slow but steady progress. In some cases, even Christians were converted to Islam. At present, the Muslim chiefs of these Islands have lost their political power. They are subject to European nations and in the Philippines to America.

NORTH AND CENTRAL AFRICA

After the conquest of Egypt, Arab generals continued to advance towards the West under the Umayyad dynasty. North Africa was subdued, and the conversion of Berbers began as early as 8th century A.D. In the year 711 A.D., Tariq, a Berber convert to Islam, with 12,000 Muslim Berbers, crossed the sea and invaded Spain. Thus, within seventy years after the death of the Prophet, Islam reached the Western continent of Africa and thence Europe. Spain was soon subjugated and Muslim Khalifs and kings ruled there for about seven hundred years. During the 11th century, Islam advanced towards the Sahara and Abdulla, a Muslim missionary, after converting a considerable number of heathens, led them against the neighbouring tribes in 1042 A.D., who surrendered and voluntarily embraced the new faith. Abdulla died in 1059 A.D., but his work was taken up by his successors, and gradually Islam extended into the interior and reached as far as Soudan. By the end of the 16th century, it had spread over the greater part of Sahara and several Muslim States such as Timbucktoo, Bornu, Darfur, Wadai, etc., came into existence. About the end of the 18th century, a religious enthusiast named Usman Danfadir returned from Arabia. Fully imbued with Wahabi

doctrines, he organized a strong body of followers and forced upon the African Muslims his puritanic ideal, reformed and organized them and with their help attacked more heathen tribes and compelled them to embrace Islam. In the beginning of the 19th century, one Ahamed, son of Idris, the spiritual head of the Qadriah Order of Sufism, sent his disciples on a missionary endeavour into Africa. He achieved great success at Kordofan and the surrounding country. In 1837, Muhammad, son of As-Sanusi (1791-1859), founded his well-known religious society with branches all over the country between Egypt and Morocco. The centre of this society is at Jaghbut,* now under Italian control. The members of this society are active in reforming Muslims, spreading Islam among heathens, and struggling against the aggression of Italy in Tripoli. Muslim missionaries are still active in Central and East Africa. Indian Muslim missionaries also have been there in the last century. Christianity has also made good progress under its well-supported missionary organizations, backed up by the different interested European powers. Though Muslims have neither the aid of well-organized Missionary Societies nor the strong political backing that the Christian Missionaries usually get, the simplicity of the Islamic doctrine, the brotherhood it proclaims and the equal status and treatment it accords to Negro converts with their more civilized Muslim brethren have done much to help its spread.

INDIA

Trade relations between India and Western Asia were established as early as the semi-historical period of the Babylonian ascendancy. Probably they go back even to earlier times. There was also regular commercial intercourse between India and the Roman Empire. The chief articles of export from Malabar were spices, mahogany, ivory, gems, etc. Egyptians, Iranians, Greeks, Romans and Arab merchants were constant visitors to the Western Coast of India. The relations with the Indians were friendly. Foreigners and natives used to tolerate and respect each other's religion and social customs. According to tradition, a few merchants, whose names show that they were Iranians (or at least not genuine Arabs), such as Sharif, son of Malik, Malik, son of Habib, and Malik, son of Dinar, were the earliest known Muslim visitors to Malabar. They landed at Cranganore and succeeded in converting a Hindu chief. Their arrival and conversion of the local Raja was accidental, but it was the beginning of Muslim Missionary

* At present Libya is an independent country and Al-Janusi is its first King. It has an area of about 700,000 or more with a population of about 1 million souls.

activity in India. When the Umayyad dynasty finally established itself at Damascus, Hajjaj, the Viceroy of Iraq and Iran, despatched an expedition under his nephew named Muhammad, son of Qasim, towards the East. Muhammad invaded Sindh, inflicted several defeats upon the Sindhi Rajas and made that part of India the Far Eastern territory of the Khilafat (714 A.D.). Towards the end of the 9th century, the Arab Khilafat declined and a number of native dynasties in Iran and other parts of the vast Islamic Empire, were established. Among these was the kingdom of Ghazna, founded by Sabuktagin, a Turkish slave, whom Ferishta (the author of the history of India) connects with the Sasanian family. Mahmud, the energetic and ambitious son of Sabuktagin, followed the aggressive policy of his father towards India. He invaded the Punjab and defeated its Raja. His easy victory and the large booty he obtained and the sacred appellation of "Holy War" against idol worshippers attracted a large number of volunteers from distant lands like Khorassan and Central Asia, who enlisted in his army. Among the Indian frontier inhabitants there were some new Hindu and Afghan converts. Before his death Mahmud had established his power in the Punjab. His adventurous campaign was followed by a series of Moghal, Tartar, Khorassani and Afghan leaders. Some of them invaded for the sake of plunder and returned home; others settled and founded kingdoms and empires. None of these military despots had the least intention of spreading or working for their religion. Their main object was to take advantage of the jealousy and rivalry prevailing among the Indian Rajas, to plunder, to subdue and to rule over them, to amass wealth and to satisfy their worldly desires. Most of them were completely illiterate or half literate rough soldiers and without any fixed principles to guide them. A few of them, such as Mahmud, Timur, Aurangzeb and Tipu Sultan showed zeal for Islam, but when we investigate into the practical side of their reigns, we are disappointed to find that with the exception of breaking a few idols or destroying a few temples or forcing certain rebels to embrace Islam, more as a matter of political expediency than for their spiritual uplift, they have accomplished little for promulgating the faith they professed. Mahmud, the idol-breaker, had for one of his best generals a Hindu, whom he despatched to crush a rebellion raised by one of his Muslim generals. Similarly, even Aurangzeb and Tipu Sultan had trusted Hindus as Ministers. But these military adventurers, conquerors and emperors did one great service to Islam in that they encouraged, protected and opened the way to the learned men of Iran, Arabia and Central Asia, who either for improving their own positions or for some other reason came to India, settled and adopted Indian habits.

customs and languages, and lived retired lives and attracted to themselves the illiterate and superstitious inhabitants of their adopted land. They fused their Islamic doctrine with the culture and philosophy of India and evolved a new line of advance, which brought in hundreds and thousands of non-Muslims, especially of the depressed orders, whose social status was such that they looked on the new faith as a great blessing from Heaven.

Summing up, the following appear to be the more important causes for the spread of Islam in India :—

- (1) The prevalent caste system which, though organized with the best of intentions, had degenerated and had become unbearable to the low castes. By adopting Islam, a member of the lowest caste became entitled to equal status with those belonging to the ruling classes. He could intermarry and could expect promotion to the highest temporal and spiritual ranks in the community.
- (2) Economic condition of the masses.
- (3) Ignorance of their religion on the part of the masses.
- (4) Occasional persecution of non-Muslims by Muslim Moulvis, nobles, generals and rulers.
- (5) Encouragement given by the granting of appointments and offices or the remission of punishments.
- (6) Missionary activity on the part of Sufi thinkers.

MUSLIM MISSIONARY ACTIVITY

The last of these causes was the most important factor in making proselytising effort a success. Muslim missionary activity, as in all other places of Asia and Africa, was voluntary and individual. It was not backed up by any Government, nor was it paid for and helped by any Muslim society or organization, as has been done in the case of European missionaries. It was due to sincere conviction and zeal in many cases, and in a few instances to individual ambition, which yearned to find an easy livelihood and honour, while satisfying the conscience that a pious work had been undertaken which was deserving of the blessing of Heaven and honour to one's disciples. Among those who may be classed under this head are the following :—

(1) Khaja Moin-ud-din Chisti, a native of Seistan in Iran, who arrived in India as early as the 12th century. He settled at Ajmer and converted a large number of Hindus into Islam.

(2) Shaik Ismail. He came to Lahore about 1005 A.D. It is said that the majority of Hindus who came into contact with him embraced Islam.

(3) Nur-ud-din, known as Nur Satagar. He was sent by the head of Ismailiya sect from Iran. He arrived in Gujarat and succeeded in converting a large number of people belonging to the lower castes, such as the Koris, Karwas, Kambis, etc.

(4) Syed Jalal-ud-din of Bokhara. He settled in Sindh (1244 A.D.) and converted many Sindhis to Islam.

(5) Syed Sadr-ud-din. He was an Iranian. He converted many Hindus, who form the present Khoja community.

(6) Syed Ahmed Kabir. He was responsible for the conversion of many in the Punjab.

(7) Baba Ali Qulandar. He was an Iranian who settled at Panipat and converted many Rajputs.

(8) Sheikh Jalal-ud-din of Tabriz (Iran). He died in 1244 A.D. He was a Muslim missionary in Bengal.

(9) Baba Farid-ud-din. He converted as many as sixteen tribes in the Punjab.

(10) Bulbul Shah. He converted the Raja of Kashmir, about the beginning of the 14th century.

(11) Syed Ali of Hamadan (Iran). He settled in Kashmir with some seven hundred followers and devoted his life to missionary effort.

(12) Muhammad Gisu Daraz of Gulbarga. He was a celebrated missionary in the Deccan.

(13) Syed Yusuf-ud-din. He converted seven hundred families in Sindh.

(14) Shams-ud-din, an Iranian merchant at Tabriz. He landed in the Laccadives and Maldives and converted the inhabitants of these islands to Islam.

(15) Haji Muhammad. He succeeded in converting as many as two hundred thousand men and women in the Punjab.

(16) Baba Fakhr-ud-din, an Iranian noble of Seistan. He became a Fakir, settled at Penukonda, the present Anantapur District of Madras Presidency, and converted the Raja of that place to Islam.

There were others from Arabia, Afghanistan and Central Asia, whose individual and voluntary efforts are responsible for the present large Muslim population existent to-day in India. Although the Muslims have lost their former political power and social status, they have not yielded in the matter of the promulgating of their faith, which has been redoubled by reason of the open antagonism and rivalry exhibited by Christian Missions and the Hindu Arya Samaj. Several missionary societies have been formed in the Punjab, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and even in South India, to defend Islam against non-Muslim criticism and to represent the Islamic doctrine on the footing of up-to-date rational and scientific interpretation.

HINDU NATIONALISM AND ISLAM

The modern Hindu nationalist tendency is to absorb Muslims, but the strong monotheism of Islam, and their still not forgotten past glory, prevents compromise with the pantheistic or polytheistic views of Hindus. Muslims may yield in the matter of certain political and social issues for securing national development and union, for example, in the matter of evolving a common language, dress and social customs, but the fundamental question of religion can be solved only when all Indians become *more national and less religious-minded*. In fact, considerable uniformity in dress and social manners had been achieved during the Moghal times. The change of government prevented its complete development, which again had to shape itself into a new form. Indian society of to-morrow is being built upon an Indo-European basis, in which both the educated Muslims and Hindus are taking interest and this, in course of time, is bound to settle down into a code of uniform national habits for all India. The Muslim doctrine has influenced Hindu society and helped to bring forth reformers like Ramanand, Nanak, Dadu, Kabir, Chaitanya and others, who tried to harmonize Hinduism with Islam. Last but not least, the Sufi brotherhood, of which more will be found elsewhere in this work, has influenced both the illiterate and the learned among Hindus and succeeded in reconciling the strict monotheistic views of Islam with the pantheistic tendency of Hindus.

Now it is left to British rule to mould India into one solid nation and to break up the slavish mentality which blindly follows old customs and ceremonies which have proved an obstacle to the progress of the present generation. The seed has already been sown by the democratization of the administration, and it will not be long before it will grow into a healthy tree which will bear fruit in the shape of true national freedom and national unity.*

* In 1947 India was partitioned with Pakistan with an area of about 2,38,000 consisting of N.-W. Frontier, Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and East Bengal. The remaining Sub-Continent became a gigantic Union of States known as Hind or Bharat.

CHAPTER III

MUSLIM SECTS AND THEIR DEVELOPMENT

Points of Difference—Sunnat Jam'aat—Shiahs—Wahabis or Ahle-Hadis—Jamal-ud-din and His Activities in Iran—Bab and Babism—Muslim Reformers in India—Sir Syed Ahmed and His Work—The Ahmediya Movement—The Sidi Movement in Africa—Mustafa Kamal and Modernization—National Movements in Asia.

POINTS OF DIFFERENCE

Like all other religions, Islam also is divided into various sects, some differing on fundamental principles and others on minor points. Among the most important sects are the following :—

(1) *Sunnat-Jam'aat* or traditionists. They embrace over seventy per cent. of Islam and in Theology follow one of the undermentioned theologians called Imams :—

(i) Imam-Noman, son of Thabet, known as Abu Hanifa. He was an Iranian, born about 80 A.H. and died in 150 A.H. His followers are found in large numbers in Turkey, Central Asia, Afghanistan, Beluchistan and India, where they form the majority. The peculiarity of the Imam's theology is the deductive system in deciding questions with the help of analogy and right of preference suited to the conditions of the time.

(ii) Imam Muhammad, son of Idris, known as Shafai. He was of the Arab descent, born in Palestine about 150 A.H. and died at Cairo in 204 A.H. His followers are to be found in Egypt, Arabia, South India and North-West Persia.

(iii) Imam Malik, son of Anas, of Arab descent, born at Medina in 94 A.H. and died in the same place about 179 A.H. His followers are to be found in North Africa.

(iv) Imam Ahmad, son of Hanbal, of Arab descent though born in Iran ; born about 164 A.H., studied at Baghdad and died there in 241 A.H. His followers are comparatively few and are to be found in Arabia.

(2) *Shiahs*.—The Shiahs differ from the Sunnat-Jam'aat in regard to the succession to the Prophet. Sunnis recognize Abu-Baker, who was elected as the legitimate Khalif after the Prophet ; Umar as his successor, Usmon as the third and Ali as the fourth Khalif. But Shiahs maintain that the *Quran* contains all that is necessary for faith and practice. They hold, briefly, that the successor to the Prophet should be one like him divinely appointed, sinless and without any blemish or

capacity to err : able to interpret and to explain ideas and give correct opinions on questions connected with religion ; and that such a man was Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet. He was, according to them, the only right person to explain the meaning of the *Quran* and the teachings of Islam. He was succeeded by his descendants through his wife Fatima, the most respected daughter of the Prophet. They are called Imams, not in the sense of mere theologians, but as spiritual heads *divinely appointed*. They were the following :—

1. Ali.
2. Hasan, son of Ali.
3. Husain, son of Ali.
4. Ali, son of Husain.
5. Muhammad, son of Ali.
6. Jafar, son of Muhammad.
7. Musa, son of Jafar.
8. Ali, son of Musa.
9. Muhammad, son of Ali.
10. Ali, son of Muhammad.
11. Hasan, son of Ali.
12. Muhammad, son of Hasan, who is supposed to have disappeared while yet an infant, and is believed to be still alive, though not recognized by the people. It is believed that he will appear along with Jesus Christ, who is also believed to be alive. When commanded by God, these two, it is held, will fill the world with justice, virtue and happiness. The scholastic philosophy of Shiah is, in many respects, similar to that of the Motazalas and that of the Sunnis to that of the Ashæras. They do not recognize the four orthodox Imams of the Sunnat-Jam'aat, but have their own theologians, chosen all the time from among the most learned. The number of such theologians is always limited to a few. They have other minor differences in liturgical ceremonies, law of inheritance, marriage, etc. They are divided into two chief sects, namely, the *Twelve Imamis* and the *Seven Imamis*. The latter are found chiefly in India and Yemen (South-West Arabia). They are known as Bhoras and Khojas, who recognize the Aga Khan of Bombay as their spiritual head.

• (3) *Wahabis or Ahle-Hadis*, who may be described as the Puritans of Islam. This sect was founded by Muhammad, son of Abdul Wahab, born in Central Arabia in 1691 A.D. He wanted to revive the simplicity of Islam. He based his reform in interpreting the teachings of the *Quran* with the help of tradition and private judgment, without binding himself to the opinions expounded by the four orthodox Imams. He rejected the veneration paid to Sufi saints and their tombs, including the most respected shrines of Iraq, Mecca and Medina. Wahabis are also more regular in performing prayers and

observing fasts. They are found chiefly in Central Arabia and also in small numbers in India. At present, they are in occupation of Mecca and Medina.

Besides these three sects, there are other minor sects such as *Shaikis* in Iran, who are a branch of the Shiah, and the *Mahdavia*, a branch of the Sunnat. The last-named asserts that the promised 12th Imam has already appeared in the person of Syed Muhammad of Jaunpur (Gujarat, India), who died in 1505. The followers of Syed Muhammad are to be found in the States of Mysore and Hyderabad (Deccan).¹¹

JAMAL-UD-DIN AND HIS ACTIVITIES IN IRAN

The nineteenth century has been noteworthy for the great social and religious reforms it has brought about, to which Islamic countries have proved no exception. The invasion of Egypt by Napoleon, the aggressive policy of the European Powers in Asia and Africa, particularly towards Turkey, Egypt and Iran, the fall of the Moghal Empire in India, and the close contact of Muslims with Europe, caused to bring about reform in Muslim society. For improving social conditions, religious reform became necessary. European aggression induced a political revolution as well. While the European Powers had as their fixed and determined policy to crush the power of Islam and render it innocuous, the degenerated Muslim rulers of Western and Central Asia were engaged in pursuing their objects of lust and passion and in plundering their helpless subjects. Their only ambition was to save their autocratic and arbitrary rule, for which they were even willing to sacrifice the independence of their nations. There was neither peace nor freedom for the people. A few who wanted to educate and help their countrymen became objects of suspicion from within and intrigue from outside. The future of Islam became extremely gloomy. Nevertheless, we find a few names worthy of mention as religious, social or political reformers. Among these the earliest in Turkey was Midhat Pasha and his party, who gained partial success against the autocratic rule of Sultan Abdul Aziz, but who proved too weak to lead the nation. In Iran, Mirza Taqi Khan, the Prime Minister, held

¹¹ The Mahdavia sect are found principally settled in the Mysore State at Channapatna in the Bangalore District, and at Bannur and Kirigaval in the Mysore District. Saiyid Ahmad, its founder, settled at Jivanpur in the Nizam's Dominions. Being worsted in a religious controversy, he sought asylum at Channapatna. His followers have a separate mosque of their own, in which their priest, it is said, concludes prayers with the words: "The Imam Mahdi has come and gone", his followers responding in assent. They marry among themselves. They are also locally known as Daireh. They carry on a brisk trade in silk with the West Coast and are generally a well-to-do class.

the same views but was killed before he could accomplish anything substantial. In Afghanistan, Syed Jamal-ud-din, who, according to one account, came from Asadabad in Iran, and according to another from Asadabad in Afghanistan, took a keen interest in awakening Islamic countries. He was born in 1254 A.H. and received a sound education in the Arabian and Iranian languages. He also studied philosophy and theology. In 1287 A.H., he was in Egypt forming a society to free that country from foreign domination, but his activity was curbed by the British representative in Egypt, who forced the Khedive to expel him in 1296 A.H. He went to Turkey and was invited by the Shah of Iran, but wherever he went, his bold speeches and drastic suggestions against despotic rule, to which the unpreparedness and ignorance of the people and the narrow-mindedness of the Mullas and the jealousy and selfishness of the ministers to retain all control in their own hands so that they may continue to plunder the masses were added, drove him out of that country. His object was to bring harmony among the different sects of Islam, to change the despotic governments of Turkey and Iran into constitutional monarchies, and to re-constitute the Khilafat with the Turkish Sultan as the Khalifa and leader of all independent Islamic countries. The last, if it had been successfully achieved, would have led to the formation of a very strong Islamic Empire, similar to the German Federation, and it would have proved a check against the aggressive policy of Europe towards Asiatic countries. Therefore, Jamal-ud-din and his friends had to face external and internal enemies and the result was failure. But the seed sown by Jamal-ud-din grew up into a healthy tree. The Shah of Iran and the Sultan of Turkey were deposed within twenty-five years of his death and these countries had to adopt the democratic form of government advocated by him.

BAB AND BABISM

In Iran, as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, a young man named Ali Muhammad Bab appeared and proclaimed himself the promised Mahdi. He was followed by Mirza Husain Ali, more familiarly known as Bahaullah. He was born in Iran in 1817 A.D. and was a contemporary of Jamal-ud-din. Bahaullah took part in the movement started by Ali Muhammad Bab, but after some time claimed something higher for himself. In 1852, he was deported by order of the Iranian Government to Baghdad, thence to Constantinople, Adrianople and finally to Acre (Akka), in Syria. There he and after him his son, Abbas Effendi, expounded a new teaching, at first based on Islamic principles, but soon developed into an independent and most progressive religion. He claimed to be the promised one of all the Prophets, expected by the

Muslims, Christians, Jews, Hindus and Buddhists. His message was (1) harmony among followers of all religions and unity and co-operation among all nations; (2) equality of men and women; and (3) adoption of one universal language by all the nations of the world, which his son and successors recognized in Esperanto and encouraged its study among his followers. He also advocated a universal league of nations, limitations of armaments and the abandonment of the use of armed force. He directed his followers to adopt the attitude of non-resistance and forgiveness towards their oppressors. He tried to bring about co-operation among nations and to remove all feelings of hatred and suspicion between the East and the West. He prohibited monastic life, begging, and the use of intoxicating liquors. As regards marriage, he thought that it should be brought about with the consent of parents and the desire of the future husband and wife. Monogamy was recommended and in exceptional cases polygamy was permitted. There was to be no restriction in regard to the time of prayer. One may pray whenever he rises from his bed and whenever he chooses. In regard to eating, everything was to be permitted except that which is repugnant to one's own feelings or regarded as unhealthy. In regard to divorce, he held that in case it is impossible for both the parties to live in harmony, they may agree to separate, but wait for one year for the confirmation of separation. If, during this period, they are not reconciled, divorce was to take effect. Each was allowed to follow the law of his or her own country, if it was otherwise. As to death, he said, it means a new birth with the chance of more perfect life. The joys of heaven and the pain of hell, according to his teaching, are spiritual. Paradise is spiritual life; Hell is spiritual death. All mankind, whether alive or dead, are the parts of a whole. There is no such thing as evil in the real sense, and there is no other power except the One Infinite, Perfect and External. When we say X is a bad man, we mean his spiritual and mental development is imperfect. The Babi movement, which cannot be included in the list of Muslim sects but is an offshoot of Islam, made slow and steady progress in Iran, America and Europe. Being far too democratic and elastic in its make-up, it does not possess distinct features of its own, and may be appreciated by all but not followed as a religion.

MUSLIM REFORMERS IN INDIA

In India, several movements for reforming the social, educational, political and religious conditions of Muslims have been started. Among these, the oldest was the one originated by Haji Shariat-Ullah in Bengal, and Syed Ahmed in the U.P. and the Punjab. The last-named was born in 1782. At

the age of 34, he became a preacher and found enthusiastic followers at first among the Rohillas and afterwards among others in different parts of India. He based his ideas of reform more or less on the same foundations as Abdul Wahab had done in Arabia, *viz.*, to purify Islam from all non-Muslim influences; to make Muslims believe and worship Allah, the one Supreme Being; to give up the customs and ceremonies which had been adopted from non-Muslims in regard to marriage and obsequies; to abstain from paying veneration at the shrines, or repair or construct costly buildings over tombs. Syed Ahmed was killed in a battle against the Sikhs in 1831, but his movement was taken up by Karamat Ali and others. At present his adherents are found in many places in India.

* SIR SYED AHMED AND HIS WORK

Sir Syed Ahmed, who was born in Delhi in the same year as Bahauallah in Persia, was a member of a noble Syed family. In connection with religion, he may be called a moderate reformer. He was chiefly interested in education and politics. He found that after the fall of Delhi and the deportation of the last Moghal ruler, Muslims had lost all political and social supremacy in this country. They were suspected and thought of as a rival power by the British, while other communities had taken to study the language of the new rulers and were assisting in the government of the country. Sir Syed Ahmed took the lead in awakening Muslims to their real condition and in reconciling their interests with those of the British Government on the one side, and on the other, drawing the attention of the British Government to the condition of the Muslims, once their rivals but now a fallen subject race. He tried to secure his objective by endeavouring to removing all suspicion of disloyalty on the part of Muslims. He went to England to study the method of English education and on his return to India, founded in 1875 the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh. He did great service in defending Islam against Christian Missionary criticism, and in bringing about friendly relations between Muslims and British Government. Unfortunately for him, at about the same time, the Indian National Congress appeared as a body striving after political rights, which was just the thing not desired by Sir Syed at that moment for his co-religionists. Therefore, he and his party persuaded Muslims not to take part in such activities and thus caused the Hindu-Muslim bifurcation in the political affairs of the country, and left them in two antagonistic camps, each seeking its own ends separately and independently. Sir Syed was a sincere Muslim. The method he adopted for defending Islam was by proving that its teaching was in harmony with European

civilization and European ideas. This method encouraged the younger generation, who followed his example by treating Islamic teaching on more democratic and rational lines. A party of such educated men went to the length of admitting that the *Quran* is a work of the Prophet himself and, following this line of argumentation, traced some of the Islamic doctrines to pre-Islamic Arabia, Judaism, Christianity and Zoroastrianism. They also offered other remarks not generally pleasing to the conservative majority in the community.

THE AHMEDIYA MOVEMENT

About twenty-two years after the appearance of Bahau-llah, Mirza Ghulam Ahmed, whose ancestors had emigrated from Central Asia, was born at Qadian (India). In 1889, he announced for himself the rank and honours which Bahaullah had claimed at Acre. He declared that he was the promised Mahdi of the Muslims, the much-awaited-for Messiah of the Christians, and the Sri Krishna of the Hindus. But, like Bahaullah, he did not go to the length of openly forming an independent creed. He kept his connection with Islam, which, he said, he wanted to reform and not abrogate, as his predecessor in Iran had done. Both Bahaullah and Mirza Ghulam Ahmed were bitterly opposed to the Moulvis. Both wanted to bring about harmony and co-operation among the followers of different religions and both tried to find adherents and sympathisers outside their own country, in Europe and elsewhere. At present the Ahmediya movement, started by and called after Mirza Ghulam Ahmed, is the most active and vigorous in missionary work, and claims over half a million followers in and outside India.

THE SIDI MOVEMENT IN AFRICA

Simultaneously with the Indian Muslim puritan movement started by Syed Ahmed, in Africa Sidi Muhammad-as-Sanusi, an Algerian, formed a society whose object was nearly the same as that of the Indian reformer, *viz.*, the giving up of veneration and prayer to saints and their shrines; following strictly monotheism; abstaining from drinking coffee or smoking tobacco; and avoiding intercourse with non-Muslims and devoting one's talents and energies in defending and spreading Islam. Sidi Muhammad died in 1859, but the society founded by him is working up to the present day.

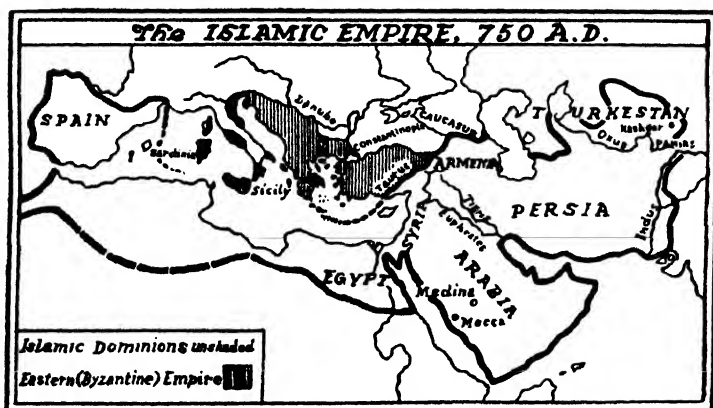
MUSTAFA KAMAL AND MODERNIZATION.

The most important and the latest movement, intended to bring about a great revolution in the existing form of Islam, is the one which Mustafa Kamal Pasha, the President of the Turkish Republic, and his party started after the last Great

War. This movement has proved that pan-Islamism and the active co-operation of Muslims, scattered as they are in widely distant and scattered parts of Africa, Asia and Europe, is a dream. Kamal Pasha and his party deposed the last Khalifa Abdul-Majid, declared their country a Republic, and based their social and religious reforms in the spirit of modern Nationalism. Whatever they found agreeable to the advancement and aims of national progress, they retained and the rest they rejected. They have also been striving to enlist themselves among the more advanced nations of Europe, for which they feel they should of necessity Europeanize themselves.

NATIONAL MOVEMENTS IN ASIA

A similar spirit, though to a less extent, is prevalent in Iran, Egypt and Iraq. Amir Amanullah tried to follow the Turkish ideal and adopted drastic measures to Europeanize his people, but they were not ready to follow him. Indian Muslims are yet hesitating and halting. They are divided into two classes, first, the old orthodox school, bigoted and narrow-minded, who would sacrifice every worldly gain for their superstitions and old beliefs; and second, which consists of the younger generation of the educated in the community, who have not thrown out a leader as yet. Linguistic and racial differences and political circumstances are obstacles in their way. They have to struggle not with one but with several opponents. But the success of nationalism over religion seems certain. It is a question of time but undoubtedly the day has come when religious differences must disappear and the followers of all religions in India must live in harmony and form one solid nation, possessing one common political objective and aim. Islam cannot but contribute its quota to the attaining of such an end.



THE ISLAMIC EMPIRE, 750 A.D.

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL HISTORY OF ISLAM

The Arab Khalifa—Its Disintegration, Division and Disappearance—Theology and the Khilafat—Muslim Administration—Arabia—Revenue and Taxation—Other Exactions and Levies—The Vazir and Other Officers—Iran after the Muslim Conquest—Turkish Empire—Revival in Ottoman Fortunes—The Crimean War—Rise of Midhat Pasha—Society of Union and Progress—Kamal Pasha and His Work—The End of the Ottoman Dynasty—Turkey, a Nation To-day—Afghanistan—Area and Population—Languages Spoken—Albania—Its Early History—Since the Great War—Egypt—Other Muslim States—India under Islam—Administration in Muslim India—Civil Administration—Muslim Society—Political Administration under Moghal Rule—Civil Administration of Moghals—Army—Navy—Artillery—Revenue and Finance—Other Sources of Revenue—Government Expenditure.

THE ARAB KHALIFA

At the rise of Islam, Arabia was governed in the north-west by the small independent kingdom of Hira formed between the Euphrates and the Arabian desert, with Hira as its capital. Here the dynasty known as the Lakhmid ruled under the suzerainty of Iran from about the 3rd century A.D. up to 602 A.D. In the north-west, the Ghassanid established themselves. The ruling family was called Jafnid, and was under the protection of the Roman Empire. The Kindi chiefs held Yamama in the East. The Island of Bahrain, in the adjoining coast, was under Iran, and its governor, known as Se-bokh, resided at the city of Hajar. Umman, in the extreme south-east, was inhabited by the Azdites, a mongrel breed of Iranians and Arabs. Yemen, in the south-west, was, during the reign of Khusroe I, known as Anushir-wan, occupied by Iran, and held till Islam established its supremacy. Central Arabia with Hejaz remained free and unconquered under its tribal organization. Each tribe had its own Shaikh or Chief, who was responsible only to his own orders. The majority of the inhabitants were heathens, but the Christians and Jews had settlements of their own in the west and north, while the Sabians and Zoroastrians had influence in the east. A Shaikh was elected by his tribesmen; his qualification was high birth, age, courage, generosity, wisdom and the capacity to lead his tribe. The post was not hereditary. His powers were limited to leading his people during a conflict with other tribes and in settling disputes. In return for his services, he was allowed the lion's share in the booty that came to be distributed. A tribe was composed of several families claiming

descent from the same ancestor. Sometimes, a man of one tribe could join another and adopt the latter's name by becoming their *halif* or partner. *Mawalis*, or freedmen, also counted as members of the tribe but were considered as entitled to an inferior status. Mecca was inhabited by tribes like these, among whom the Quraish held the most important position. Each or a group of several tribes had a particular idol to worship. Their idols were symbols of their tribal unity. The Prophet tried to abolish tribal cohesion, which proved a great obstacle in the way of the unification of the whole of Arabia into a nation. He insisted on placing "Allah" as the only Supreme Deity. Allah is the one God. All are his servants, and his servants are united to each other in carrying their Lord's command. That was the ideal placed before the tribes for the formation of the new community, in which not only the tribes but also nations and even humanity could become a solid whole. Everything, whether material or spiritual, must end in God. The Prophet himself could not rule by his own authority, but as a mere bearer of a message from God. In fact, after delivering the message, he had accomplished his duty, and it was left to the people to obey the message. The *Quran* was the word of God, which all had to obey. When Abu-Bakr, the first Khalif, delivered his inaugural speech, he said, "Lo, I am one like you and not better than you. If I am right, obey my orders; if I am wrong, do not obey." This democratic spirit lasted for thirty years, when Hasan, the fifth Khalif, abdicated and surrendered his right to Moawiya, who was the first Muslim ruler, to appoint his son as his successor. Thus the democratic form of government and the simple tribal system gave way to a centralized or hereditary rule. But the idea that God is the Supreme Ruler, and that humanity in the collective sense is the Vice-gerent of God on earth, remained the fundamental principle of Islam. Any man could become a medium to carry out the will of Allah, but he himself had no right of superiority over others. Hence the Khalif could not transfer his power to others. The sovereign power was inherent in humanity as a collective body and not in any individual. A Khalifa who believed and ruled with such spirit was recognized as the right Khalifa; if not, he was considered an usurper.

ITS DISINTEGRATION, DIVISION AND DISAPPEARANCE

When Ali, the fourth Khalifa, was elected, he was opposed by Moawiya, kinsman of the late murdered Khalif, on the pretext of avenging his blood. Ali was assassinated after a rule of less than five years. Hasan, his son, was elected by the people, but finding himself too weak, he abdicated in favour of Moawiya, on condition that he should adhere to the custom

of election. Moawiya ruled for about twenty years, and before his death, his position had become so strong that he could venture to break the terms of his treaty with Hasan and appoint his own son Yazid as his successor. His succession was opposed by some leading members of the Quraish, among whom was Husain, the younger son of Ali, by Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet. He fought with a few followers and was killed by the overwhelming numbers of the Umayyad army. Umayyads succeeded, for the time being, in establishing and consolidating their power, but the struggle against them continued. Their chief opponents were the tribe of Bani-Hashim, who were descended from Hashim, the great-grandfather of the Prophet. They carried on a vigorous propaganda among the Iranians and found a large number of followers in Khorassan, who took up their cause. Abu-Muslim, one of the chief Khorassani leaders, revolted against the Umayyad authority, fought and defeated the last Umayyad Khalif and established the authority of Bani-Abbas, a branch of Bani-Hashim, at Baghdad, which became the capital of the new Empire. But the change of one dynasty to the other did not help to convert despotism into democracy. The Abbasides followed Umayyads in the rule of succession by appointing and nominating their successors. Islam lost its aim, and it was left to Muslim theologians to adjust the Islamic principles with current Islamic political practice. The Abbasides ruled from 749 A.D. to 1258 A.D. When their power declined in 1042 A.D., the administration passed into the hands of their Iranian and Turkish ministers and commanders. The Islamic Empire, though nominally ruled by an Abbaside Khalif, was, in fact, divided among several semi-independent indigenous dynasties in Iran and elsewhere. In 1243 A.D., the last Abbaside Khalifa, named Al-mostasim, unconditionally surrendered himself to the Moghal Emperor Holagu Khan. He and almost all members of his family were put to death. Islam was ruled by a heathen Emperor, and the question was put before prominent theologians, whether a just heathen ruler is preferable to an unjust Muslim Khalifa, and the answer was in favour of a just heathen. A man of the Abbaside clan escaped to Egypt, where he and his family were protected by the Slave dynasty, for their own ends. Nominally they retained the dignified title of Khalif, but really they were pensioners, if not prisoners. The last member of that clan, who was taken to Constantinople by the Turkish Sultan in 1517, surrendered to him the sacred banner and the other relics of the Prophet. Thus the Khilafat was transferred from the Abbasides to the Turks, and their contemporary Emperors of India and the Sultans of Morocco. During the Abbaside and Turkish Khilafat, simultaneously there were Khalifas in Spain, Egypt and India, but the Turkish

dynasty survived all others, excepting Morocco, which had become too weak to pretend to a position which would put it in opposition to the Sultan of the Turkish Empire. After the fall of the Moghals in India, Muslim Indians acknowledged the Khilafat of Turkey. Abdul Hamid II (1876-1908) encouraged the propaganda of Pan-Islamism, with the view of making himself the spiritual and temporal head of all Muslims, but the Great War of 1914 brought the Kamalist party into power. This party ultimately deposed Abdul Majid, the last Khalifa of Turkey, and thus the question of individual Khilafat came to an end. But long before this, with the fall of Granada (1492) in Europe, and Qahira (1517) in Africa, and Baghdad (1258) in Asia, the political importance of Arabs had practically come to an end.

THEOLOGY AND THE KHALIFAT

As already hinted, Islamic theologians had to reconcile their religious views to the changed circumstances of the time and accept accomplished facts. The Hanafi school of theology was evolved to recognize a Khalifa on one of the following bases :—

(1) Khalifa by general consent and election.

(2) Khalifa by nomination.

(3) Khalifa by being in power *de facto*, i.e., holding the Khilafat with or without the consent of the people. This school argued that without a leader, it would be impossible to defend Islam from external invasion or save it from internal anarchy. Therefore, so long as a *de facto* ruler does not interfere with the affairs of religion, Muslims may obey his authority.

The Shiah rejected this theory, and asserted that since the Khalifa (or *Imam*) is appointed by Divine Will and has nothing to do with the will of humanity, and as the last Imam has disappeared and is out of sight, in his absence any man can govern the country, though he would not be considered as the spiritual leader. The *Mujtaheds*, or chief theologians, would act on behalf of the Imam as authorities on religion.

The *Kharejites* (or revolvers) asserted that any Muslim may be elected as Khalifa, provided he be just and pious, and rules according to the precepts of Islam ; otherwise, he might be deposed or even put to death. They revolted repeatedly during the rule of the Umayyads but did not succeed in throwing off their yoke. They are now a small community scattered over the Eastern and South-Eastern Arabia.

MUSLIM ADMINISTRATION

As Muslims are scattered over a vast area, stretching from the far west Morocco to the far east Philippine Islands, it is beyond the scope of this work to cover their system of admini-

nistration in any detailed manner. It ought to suffice if the administrative systems of four chief Muslim Empires, *viz.*, Arab, Persian, Turkish, and the Moghal (in India), are made available to the reader.

ARABIA

The four early Khalifas lived simple lives and carried out their administrative duties in a paternal spirit. They devoted their lives to secure the welfare of their subjects. They did not live in palaces; neither did they wear the crown nor did they sit on the throne. They had no bodyguards to protect them. Their humble dwellings served the purposes of palaces, and they held their Durbars in mosques, where the most humble Muslim, white or black, master or slave, could approach them and place his grievances before them. They acted as the chief executive of the nation and as chief magistrates and financiers. They had neither vazirs nor ministers to serve them. They attended in person even to minor matters pertaining to the administration. They raised armies, appointed commanders, encouraged and appealed to Muslims to enlist themselves in the army. They also distributed booty, settled disputes—criminal and civil. But this method of governing the people could not last long. Umar, the second Khalif, instituted a *divan* (Secretariat), reformed the military organization and appointed Qazis or judges at Kufa, Basra and other centres of the Empire. When the Umayyads came to power, they adopted the Roman and sometimes the Iranian systems of administration. They formed several administrative departments such as the *divan* of *Khatam* (or Chancellery), the *divan* of *Rasail* (Correspondence), the *divan* of *Mustaghallat* (Account of the State lands), the *divan* of *Khiraaj* (Revenue), *Bariâ* (Post), etc. The last department was maintained for the purpose of Government correspondence. The officer in charge of this department was an intelligent agent whose duty it was to keep an eye over the movement of the governors and other officers in distant provinces and to report to the Central Government. During the reign of Abdul Malik, a new coinage was introduced with the legend on one side and "Unto Allah" on the reverse. Channels were deepened in Mesopotamia and dykes put up. The Abbasides were under Iranian influence, and in many respects followed the Sassanian system of administration.

REVENUE AND TAXATION

The State revenue was derived from the following sources :—

Usher, or "the tenth", was the tax levied on lands whose owners had become Muslims. This tax was collected from all products of the earth, except wood, seed and grass.

Kharaj (tribute) was the rent fixed on land conquered by Muslims and handed back to its owners. They had to pay rent, whether they were non-Muslims or Muslims (even after conversion), because the Government claimed the ownership. Such land was divided into places watered by irrigation canals and those gifted by natural springs or rivers. The amount of tax fluctuated according to the fertility of the land and the will of the Khalif or other officer on the spot. Sometimes it mounted up to as much as half of the income derived from the land.

Sadaqa, or *Zakat* (Alms tax), was levied on Muslims only. It was raised on income derived from land, commerce, etc.

Ghanima (booty), four-fifths of which was distributed among the fighting forces or workers and one-fifth appropriated for the public treasury, was obtained from booty in the war, or from the produce of the mines, hidden treasures discovered, and *res nullius* (property having no owner).

Jizyah was imposed on non-Muslims, as they were exempted from military service. It was of two kinds: one paid voluntarily or by mutual agreement and the other exacted by Muslim authorities from conquered non-Muslims. It varied according to the wealth and circumstances of the tax-payer. Sometimes it was imposed on the inhabitants of a village or a city collectively.

OTHER EXACTIONS AND LEVIES

Besides these taxes and exactions, on occasions, the *Khalif* used to extract money from officers of high rank, such as ministers, governors, commanders, as fines, after dismissing them from the offices they held. Sometimes the whole of their property was confiscated and transferred to the treasury. This harsh system of exaction remained in force even after the fall of the Arabic Empire, in almost all Islamic countries. On occasions, other kinds of exaction were adopted, such as taxes on the owners of flour mills, horses, asses, or camels; and on goods, i.e., wheat, wool, saffron and many other articles of export. Lands known as *Qatai* (fief) were granted in return for the payment of a fixed sum. Taxes were paid partly in kind. Both gold and silver coins were accepted: in Iran, silver; and in Syria, Egypt and Arabia, gold.

THE VAZIR AND OTHER OFFICERS

Abbasides, imitating the Sassanian administration, appointed Abu-salama, an Iranian, as the chief minister or *Vazir*. The importance of the *Vazir* rose high during the reign of Harun-al-Rashid and his son Mamoon. The Barmekids, who

were Iranians in origin, were the chief ministers of Harun, and exercised great administrative power for over seventeen years, till the *Khalif*, suspecting them to have become a danger, not only dismissed them from office, but even killed the most prominent member of the family and imprisoned others and confiscated their property. The *Vazir* controlled all the affairs of the Empire. The revenue department was under him. He appointed or recommended the appointments of ministers, governors, and all other officers. This post continued up to a few years ago in Turkey, Iran and other Muslim countries, though the name was changed to that of *Rais-ul-Vazara* or President of the Ministers. When the power of the *Khilafat* declined, *Khalifas* created the new office of *Amir-ul-Umara*. It was a title given to the *Buvahid* family, who were *de facto* rulers in Baghdad, but recognized the *Khalifa* as their nominal over-lord. They had their own *Vazir* and officials; at the same time the *Khalifa* also had a *Vazir*, whose function was that of the minister of the court, with the title of *Rais-ul-Roasa*. The cities were divided into *mohallas*, and each *mohalla* had a *rais* or modern *mokhtar*, corresponding to the *kotwal* in India. His duty was to police and guard the people of his *mohalla*. There was a chief police officer, named *Sahib-e-Shurta* (Prefect of Police). He had to guard the person of the ruler, to repress criminals, and perform the duties of judge in criminal cases. The *Qazi* was the judge in civil cases. *Mohtasib*, or censor, had the responsible work of watching the public morals, preventing adultery, gambling, drinking of intoxicants, defects in weighing or measuring by shop-keepers, fraud, non-payment of debts, cheating, eating in public during the fast month of *Ramzan*, cruelty to slaves, servants and animals. He had also, to encourage and find means for the marriage of poor women. The early *Khalifs* used to perform in person the duties of *Qazi* and *Mohtasib*. Their court was in the mosque or in their houses. But the Umayyads and Abbasides appointed *Qazis* and *Mohtasibs* in the capitals and permitted their governors to do the same in their respective provinces. The *Qazi* had an open place, where he used to hear both Muslims and non-Muslims and give his judgment in the presence of two or more witnesses. Muslims and non-Muslims, high and low, received the same treatment. Even the *Khalifa*, as defendant, would willingly stand by the side of the plaintiff in the court. Women were permitted to appoint deputies to represent them in the courts. The Governor (or *Khalif*), could on occasions overrule the judgments passed by the *Qazis*. When the plaintiff could not prove the case, the defendant was asked to take an oath that he was innocent. There was also a post called *Nazir-al-mazalin* (or Receiver of Wrongs). He had to look into important and serious cases,

sometimes beyond the jurisdiction of a *Qazi*, such as claims by those whose property had been seized by a powerful noble or confiscated by the governor or a military commander. He had sometimes to review the judgment of a *Qazi*, and look to the interests of an endowment or other such important matters.

IRAN AFTER THE MUSLIM CONQUEST

Iran was invaded during the rule of the first *Khalifa*, and General *Sad*, son of *Malik*, inflicted a complete defeat on the Iranian army in the battle of *Qadasiyya*. The Iranian king retired to the east of the *Tigris* and again his army was defeated at *Jalula* and *Nihawand*. Within twenty-five years, the great Empire of Iran became a province of the Arabian *Khilafat*. Iranians were permitted to retain their religion on the payment of a poll-tax. They were also employed in the civil administration and found very useful under their new masters. But the treatment of the *Umayyads*, who looked upon and treated non-Arabs with contempt and dislike, and the propaganda carried on, meanwhile, by the *Bani-Hashim* pretenders in Iran, gave an opportunity to Iranians to enlist themselves under *Bani-Hashim*, and to take revenge on their oppressors. A party was formed in *Khorassan* as friends of *Bani-Hashim*, and these soon increased in great numbers and were organized by energetic leaders, such as *Abu-Muslim*, who, with the co-operation and help of other leaders, defeated the last *Umayyad* *Khalif* and won the throne of the *Khilafat* for the dynasty of *Abbas*. The first *Abbaside* *Khalif* and his successors appointed Iranians in the most important military and civil posts. The Arabian *Khilafat* became Iranian in character and the capital was transferred from *Syria* to *Baghdad*, about twenty-four miles north of *Madayan*, the old capital of Iran. Several *Khalifas* married Iranian and Turkish wives, and the most celebrated of them, named *Mamoon*, was an Iranian on his mother's side. Their prime ministers, for example those from the family of *Barmekids* and *Sahl*, were Iranians. The *Abbaside* court became Iranian. Iranian dress, manners, style and fashion prevailed at the court. The ambition to rule was revived among noblemen of Iran, though they always acknowledged the spiritual superiority of the Arabs. In the middle of the ninth century, a semi-independent Iranian dynasty became established in *Khorassan*, and this movement was taken up by other ambitious leaders, who tried to carve out kingdoms for themselves. By the end of the tenth century, the Arab *Khilafat* lost its hold all over Iran. The *Samanid* family ruled in the north-east from *Samarqand*¹² to the western

¹² Also spelt *Samarcand*; a city in Western *Turkestan*, on the *Transcaspian Railway*: 130 miles east by south of *Bokhara*; it is

parts of Khorassan (875-990 A.D.); the Ghaznavids established themselves in Ghazni and subdued the Punjab in the east and a part of Khorassan, Seistan and Central Iran in the west. The Buwaihids became masters of Western Iran, including Baghdad itself, where the Khalifa became their respected prisoner. The Ziyarids took hold of Northern Iran. The Iranian language was revived and the ancient legends of Iran were sung by the great poet Firdousi, though Arabic continued to remain the sacred and literary language of Iran. At the end of the tenth century, the Seljukids formed a great Empire, stretching from the confines of Chinese Turkestan in the east to Syria and even to the coast of the Mediterranean Sea in the west. Their Emperors became great patrons of Iranian literature. Their minister Nizam-ul-mulk, an Iranian of great ability, as administrator, organized the Empire and brought peace and prosperity to his country. He encouraged learning and established colleges and schools all over Iran. His Vizarat of thirty years came to be reckoned as the Golden Age of Seljukid rule. The first four Seljukid Emperors, viz., Tughrul, Alp-arsalan, Malik Shah and Sanjar, who ruled about hundred years, have been counted among the greatest rulers of Asia. Seljukids were succeeded by Khawrazm Shahis, and during their rule Iran once more had to suffer a foreign invasion. Changis¹³ with his horde of Tartars, swept over Eastern Iran.

the ancient *Marcanda*, the capital of Sogdania, which was destroyed by Alexander the Great; captured by the Arabs in 712 A.D. and ever since held to be a city sacred in the eyes of the Muslims; suffered terribly at the hand of Genghis Khan, who took it in 1219 and destroyed three-fourths of 500,000 inhabitants; in the 14th century, it passed into Timur's hands; and its population rose to 150,000. The Ulug-beg College, the tombs of Timur and his wives, and two other colleges, the Tilla-kari and Shir-dar, both dating from the 17th century, are magnificent structures; in the 15th century, it became famous as a school of astronomy and mathematics; in 1868, it was taken by the Russians, who built a citadel on a steep hill, 4 miles in circuit, and laid out a handsome new town to its west; the old city, walled, lies on the other side of the citadel. At one time, well known for its manufactures in silk, cotton, paper, etc.

¹³ Changis Khan—also written Genghis Khan, or the Very Mighty Conqueror; the celebrated Mongol ruler (1162-1227 A.D.); born near Lake Baikal, the son of a Mongol chief; succeeded his father at the age of 13; by his military skill and daring example, he gradually raised his people to a position of supremacy in Asia; at his death, his kingdom stretched from the Volga to the Pacific and from Siberia to the Persian Gulf; he regarded himself as commissioned by Heaven to conquer the world, a destiny which he almost fulfilled. The Mongols, who first rose into prominence under his rule, had their original home on the plains east of Lake Baikal, Siberia; he united the three branches into which it was divided, and by their aid made himself master of Central Asia. His sons divided his empire and continued his conquests. A Mongol

slaughtered men and women, destroyed buildings, burnt libraries and razed to the ground almost every town which he and his general passed through. Iran became a desolate and barren country and the Irano-Arabian culture was paralyzed, if not destroyed. Holagu, the grandson of Changis, invaded Iraq, captured Baghdad, and killed as many as eight hundred thousand men and women, including the *Khalif* and his family. The greater portion of Iranian art and literature was destroyed. The Moghals became absolute masters of Iran and ruled from 1256 to 1330 A.D. After their decline, Iran was again divided among local dynasties for a period of fifty years, when Timur, another great conqueror, put an end to the tribal kings and became master of the whole of Western and Central Asia. His capital was Samarcand, which he embellished with buildings and gathered the best learned men and artisans from all parts of Iran. The Timurids were succeeded by the Safavids in the beginning of the 16th century, who, for the first time after the fall of Sassanian rule, formed an independent national government. The first king of this dynasty was Shah Ismail, who made Tabriz¹⁴ his capital. He was followed by able and energetic rulers, such as Shah Tahmasp, Abbas the Great, Shah Safi, Abbas II and Sulaiman, who were the contemporaries of Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb. Shiahism was made the State religion and Iran was alienated from other parts of Greater Iran, owing to this difference of religion. During Safavid rule, Iranian art and commerce flourished and Iranians for the first time came into direct contact and commercial relations with new and ambitious European nations. The last of the Safavids exposed Iran to his rebelled Afghan subjects and lost his throne and brought a new calamity on his people. The Afghans ruled during the short period of about twelve years, when Nadir Shah defeated, subdued and expelled them once again. He is now honoured by his countrymen and placed in rank along with the great conquerors and

Emperor seized the throne of China in 1234 and from this branch sprang the great Kublai Khan, whose house ruled an immense territory (1294-1368). Another section pushed westwards as far as Moravia and Hungary, taking Pesh in 1241, and founded the immense empire over which Tamerlane held sway. A third but later movement, springing from the ruins of these earlier empires, was that of Baber, who founded the Great Moghal line in India (1519). At present, the Mongols are constituent elements in the population of China, Asiatic Russia and Asiatic Turkey and Soviet Republic under the name of Outer Mongolia has been formed.

¹⁴ Tabriz: ancient Tauris; capital of Azerbaijan Province, Iran; 40 miles east of Lake Urmia; the spacious Kabud Masjid, or "Blue Mosque", built in 1450, is an interesting ruin, its brick walls having been badly damaged by earthquakes. A great emporium for an extensive transit trade; its chief manufactures are leather, silk and gold and silversmiths' works.

rulers of Iran, such as Ardashir and Shah Abbas. After subduing the Afghans, he defeated the Turks and recovered all the provinces lost to Turkey and Russia. Afterwards he invaded the East and defeated Muhammad Shah, Emperor of Delhi, and returned with great spoil from India. He also subdued Bukhara and Khiva. Unfortunately, though he was a great soldier, he was not an able administrator. He could conquer countries but could not reorganize their internal administration. His assassination brought about anarchy in Iran. The Afghans became an independent nation and added to their country the Iranian provinces of Herat, Balkh and Seistan. Bukhara and Khiva were lost to Russia for ever. East Baluchistan became a dependency of British India. A great portion of Kurdistan was taken over by Turkey. Iran proper remained under the rule of Karim Khan (1750) and his family for about thirty-five years. The Qajars were the next rulers of Iran, whose first ruler Shah Muhammad Khan (1765) made Teheran his capital, and it remains so on this date. During the reign of his successor, Fatah Ali Shah (1796-1834), Iran lost the North-Western provinces of the Caucasus to Russia and the English penetrated into Beluchistan. His grandson Muhammad Shah (1834-48) attempted to recover the Eastern provinces from Afghanistan, but the English interfered and prevented him from doing so. His son Nasir-ud-din (1848-96) lost Merv and a portion of the North-Eastern territory to Russia and withdrew Iranian claims to Herat and two-thirds of Seistan ceded to the Afghans. Thus Iran shrank to its present dimensions. Nasir-ud-din's reign was the beginning of the Westernization of Iran and the awakening of the Iranians as a nation. For the first time, democratic ambitions, quite foreign to Iranian traditions, fired their minds through contact with the nations of the West.

French was studied and many French works were translated into the Iranian language. Nasir-ud-din became a victim to a revolutionary movement and was assassinated by a revolutionist named Mirza Raza. His son, Muzaffar-ud-din, a feeble puppet, ruled for ten years, and granted a Representative Assembly after some pressure brought to bear on him by the revolutionary leaders. In 1906, the first Iranian Parliament met at Teheran. Iran became a constitutional monarchy, but conditions could not be improved owing to the intrigues of interested European nations. Finally, Russia and England, the two rival Powers in the East, made a treaty in 1907, and divided Iran into two spheres of interest. Iran appeared to have lost her independence, but fortunately the Great War of 1914 and the fall of the Czarist Russia changed her situation. Bolshevik Russia recognized the independence of Iran and made a treaty with her on equal terms. This unexpected good luck

was followed by the appearance of an able general and organizer in Raza Khan. An assembly, convened at the capital, passed a resolution on 12th December 1925, electing him as the Shah of Persia and deposing the last Qajar Shah Ahmad, who was at that time in Paris.

The present Iranian Government is a constitutional monarchy. The Prime Minister is nominated by the Major Party and chooses his Cabinet. The Parliament consists of a single chamber, elected by universal suffrage, all males of 19 years and over having the right to vote. The maximum number of the Members of Parliament has been fixed at 162. The small minority of Jews, Armenians and Zoroastrians are represented by their own chosen members. There are seven elective Parliamentary Commissions, such as the Legal Commission, the Budget Commission, the Foreign Affairs Commission and so on. The eighth Parliament met on December 1930. The administration is carried through Governor-General and Governors. In May 1930, a system of Local Self-Government was organized and Municipal Councils elected by the rate-payers were formed. The present area of Iran is 628,000 sq. miles.

TURKISH EMPIRE

A small body of two or three thousand nomad Turks under the leadership of one Er-Tughril (1230-88) were wandering in the eastern parts of Asia Minor looking for a suitable settlement. They were permitted by the Seljukid kings to settle in a place about fifty miles from the sea of Marmora. Sugyat, about ten miles from Eski-Shahr, became their first headquarters. Er-Tughril died in 1288 and was succeeded by his son Usman, a name which has been corrupted into Ottoman by European writers. In 1300, when the Seljukid State disappeared, Usman asserted his independence, and assumed the title of Sultan. In 1326, Barusa was surrendered to him. He died at the age of 68 in 1326. Orkham, the second Ottoman Sultan (1326-59), married Nilufar, daughter of a Greek chief. He followed his father's policy of subduing the western coast of Asia Minor. He recruited and trained Greek and other Christian young men, who were made to adopt Islam. They were called Usmanlis and were the backbone of the Turkish military power. Orkhan captured Ismid and Isnik, annexed the State of Karasi, and established his dominion on the Marmora coast. In 1357, his son, Sulaiman, crossed the Hellespont and captured Gallipoli and Radosto. The success of the Turkish arms was due to the military ability of the first ten Ottoman Sultans. They had a great passion for military glory and wanted political security on their frontiers, a strong position and the command of commercial outlets. Orkhan, like most of his successors, was a patron of learning. He founded schools and took



MUHAMMAD II, 1451-1481 A.D.
The Conqueror of Constantinople
(From a medal)

keen interest in public works. He was succeeded by his son Murad (1359-89), who captured Sugora in Asia Minor, invaded the Balkan States, and took possession of Adrianople, which became the capital of the Turkish dominion till the capture of Constantinople. Philippopolis was taken by his general and the combined army of the Balkan Princes was defeated. In 1389, an army of one hundred thousand men collected by the Balkan States was defeated by a force of forty thousand Turks at Kassovo. Murad was assassinated, while reviewing his victorious army, by a Servian named Kabilovich. His son Bayazid, known as Yildirim (1389-1403), continued to make rapid progress in extending his dominion, and remained victorious against his enemies till he was forced to give battle to Timur, another able conqueror, ancestor of the great Moghals who came to rule over India. Bayazid was defeated at Angora and taken captive.

REVIVAL IN OTTOMAN FORTUNES

After an interregnum of about ten years, the fortunes of the Ottoman dynasty revived under the son of Bayazid, named Muhammad I (1413-21), who recaptured the lost provinces. This Prince also encouraged learning and for the first time in the history of the Ottoman Empire formed a Navy. His son Murad II (1421-51) succeeded him, and continued to make fresh conquests in Europe. He captured Salonica and other places. The next Sultan was the celebrated Muhammad II, known as the Conqueror of Constantinople (1451-81), which he captured after a siege of 53 days. His treatment of the fallen enemies was humane. The remaining independent chiefs of Asia Minor were subdued, Walachia, Scutari, Crimea were reduced to dependencies, and the army and navy were re-organized. He had a standing army of one hundred thousand men. New schools were founded, religious institutions were opened, mosques were constructed, commerce was encouraged and organized. He could speak six languages. Bayazid II, the next ruler (1481-1512), who was a peace-loving prince, enjoyed a long reign and abdicated in favour of his son Salim, who ruled till 1520. This ambitious and energetic Sultan invaded Iran and, in a hard fight, defeated Shah Ismail, the Iranian king, and annexed Kurdistan to the Turkish Empire. Next, he captured Egypt and received the sacred banner and other relics of the Prophet from the last nominal Abbasid Khalif in Egypt. Since then Turkish rulers claimed the Khilafat and with it the right to temporal as well as spiritual rule over all Muslims. Salim would have continued his conquest of new lands had not death supervened and given the same opportunity to his great and able son Sulaiman the Magnificent, who captured Budapest, besieged Vienna, and brought the Ottoman

Empire to its highest glory. In the East, Armenia was subdued and annexed. Admiral Khair-ud-din, known as Barbarussa, carried the Turkish conquest on the seas. He was succeeded by other able admirals, such as his son Hasan, Targud, Sali Reis, Piale and Pir Reis. They were the terror of Europe. Admiral Pir Reis sailed as far as the Persian Gulf and captured Muscat. Sidi Ali, a sailor-poet and author of a work, entitled *Mohit*, on the navigation of the Indian seas, was forced to land on the West Coast of India and returned by the land route to Turkey. Sulaiman revised the code of laws then current in the land. At his death, his son Salim II (1566-74) succeeded him and during his short reign of eight years, the Turkish Navy sustained a defeat in a naval battle at Lepento, but a fresh fleet was prepared and Tunis was recaptured. His successor Murad III (1574-95) was a weakling, remaining under the influence of his harem ladies or other favourites. The troops mutinied in 1589 and a Turkish force under General Hasan was defeated by the Austrians and Hungarians in 1593. This war continued for 14 years, and in the meantime the Sultan died in 1595. His successor Muhammad III ruled for eight years. His rule was marked by external wars and internal troubles. He was succeeded by his son Ahmad (1603-17), a boy of 14 years of age. Peace was restored with Austria and for the first time Turkey concluded a treaty on equal terms with an European Power. Ahmad was succeeded by his brother Mustafa (1617-18), who was soon deposed as incompetent. His brother Usman (1618-22) succeeded him. But he was also deposed and replaced by the former Sultan Mustafa, who again abdicated in favour of his nephew. Murad IV (1623-40), the new Sultan, recaptured Baghdad (1638) which had been taken by the Iranians during the disorders that prevailed in Turkey. Ibrahim, his brother, succeeded him in 1640 but was deposed and killed in 1648. Muhammad, a son of the late Sultan, ascended the throne in 1648. He captured Candia and defeated the Poles but a combined attack organized by the Austrians, Russians and Poles, aided by Tuscany and the Pope, resulted in the loss of several towns. The war culminated in a mutiny of his troops. The Sultan was deposed and was succeeded by his brother Sulaiman II (1687-91). He appointed Mustafa Kuprili as *Grand Vazir*. War continued and in the meantime the Sultan died and was succeeded by another brother of his, Ahmad II (1691-95), who enjoyed his throne for four years, and left it to his nephew Mustafa (1695). War continued with varying fortunes and finally peace was concluded with the Allies in 1699. From then, the Turkish offensive in Europe changed into one of defence. In 1703, the Sultan abdicated in favour of Ahmad III. In 1713, Peter the Great, who was surrounded by a Turkish army, had to yield to Turkish terms



THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE, 1566 A.D.

and to give up Azao and to permit King Charles of Poland, a refugee in Turkey, to return to his kingdom. But the Turkish army was defeated by the Austrians in the West and by the Iranians in the East. The Iranians under Nadir Shah, drove the Turks out of the Iranian provinces. The army revolted and forced the Sultan to abdicate in favour of his nephew Muhammad I (1730). He was successful in his war against Russia and Austria, with whom he concluded an honourable peace in 1739. His successor Usman III, ruled for a short period of three years and died in 1757. The next Sultan was his cousin Mustafa III (1757-73). His reign ended in a disastrous war with Russia, resulting in the expansion of the latter power and the contraction of Turkey. Abdul Hamid I (1773-89), the late Sultan's brother, ascended the throne, and continued the war with Russia. This was ended by the treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji (1774), in terms the most humiliating to Turkey. Besides losing a large portion of her territory, Turkey had to pay a heavy indemnity. In 1788, war was again declared against Russia, but was attended with little success. The Sultan died broken-hearted in 1789 and was succeeded by his nephew Salim II. Once again peace was concluded with Russia, and the Turkish Government found time to carry out certain reforms. The army and navy were re-organized. Military schools were established under European instructors, who were once upon a time the pupils of Turkey, but now became teachers of Turkish soldiers in the art of war! But the peace did not last long and in 1789, Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Egypt and wanted to occupy Syria and advance towards India. The British interfered and in a naval engagement defeated the French at Alexandria and this saved their position in India and at the same time helped Turkey from the new danger. Salim continued the work of reform. Unfortunately, the country was not ready to be benefited by him. The result was rebellion, followed by the deposition and the murder of the innocent Sultan. His successor Mustafa IV could not enjoy the throne more than a year and two months. Finally, Sultan Mahmud II, the only survivor of the Usman family, ascended the throne in 1808. His first object was to destroy the power of the Janizaries, who had become a source of anarchy in the country and anxiety to the ruler. In this attempt Mahmud II succeeded. He immediately began to enlist and train a regular army on the European model. But the accomplishment of this wise measure required time and leisure which Turkey never enjoyed. The Greeks revolted and backed up openly by all the European Powers, gained their independence. The Egyptian Navy, which had anchored in the Greek waters, was annihilated by the combined fleets of Russia, France, and England. Internal troubles continued, to which the ambitions of Muhammad Ali,

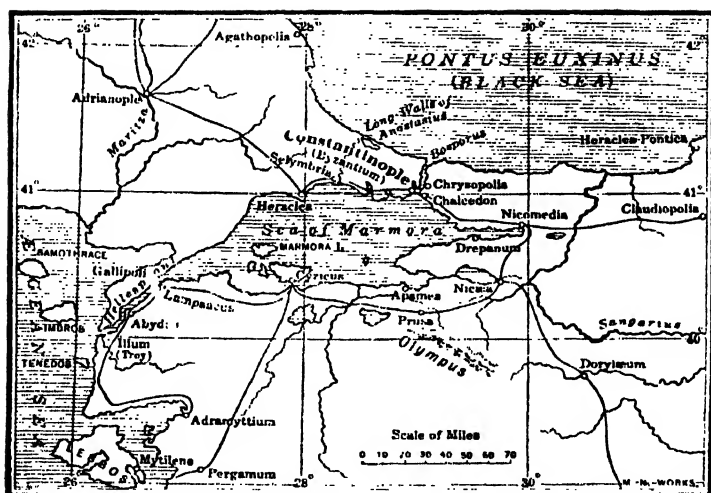
the Governor of Egypt, were added. Syria was invaded by the Egyptian forces and, before a compromise could be effected with the Egyptian Governor, Mahmud died in 1839 and left an honourable name in the history of Turkey.

THE CRIMEAN WAR

His son Abdul Majid was a young man of 18 years. He continued his father's policy of reformation and organization. Egypt remained nominally a Turkish province under hereditary rule in the family of Muhammad Ali. The new reforms in Turkey were viewed with anxiety and jealousy in Russia, whose object was to weaken and finally absorb the Turkish Empire. The result was the Crimean War of 1854, in which France and Britain joined Turkey to safeguard their own interests in the Mediterranean Sea. The struggle ended in 1856. Russia, though defeated in war, came out victorious in treaty, so far as the Turkish interests were concerned. From now, Turkish history is a field for the jealousies and suspicions of the European Powers. Each wanted to gain time and watch for the propitious hour for absorbing a portion of the vast Turkish Empire. None of them desired that one of them should swallow the whole, but all were united in keeping the Turkish Government always in an embarrassed state, by creating every kind of internal trouble, by demanding new concessions and declaring war at a weak moment for Turkey and on the slightest pretext. The delay in the break-up of the Turkish Empire was due to disagreements and divisions among the European Powers. Each hoped for the lion's share, which gave Turkey an opportunity to keep up a nominal existence in Europe for about sixty years.

RISE OF MIDHAT PASHA

The enlightened and good-minded Abdul Majid died in 1861 and was succeeded by his brother Abdul Aziz, who, though not seriously opposed to the reforms started by his brother, cared more for his own pleasure and enjoyment than the welfare of his subjects and the country at large. In 1876, he was deposed by a new political party in Turkey. Their leader was Midhat Pasha, who wanted to revive the reforms started by Mahmud II and Abdul Majid and create a united Ottoman Empire under a constitutional Government. The next Sultan Murad was also deposed as being incompetent and Abdul Hamid II, his younger brother and a son of Abdul Majid, was proclaimed Sultan. Simultaneously with his ascending the throne, an insurrection broke out in the European Provinces and Russia found her opportunity to declare war. The new Sultan found himself between two fires ; on the one hand, the fear of deposition by Midhat and his followers and on the other the enmity of Russia.



VICINITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Between these, he lost his balance of mind. The war ended in a complete defeat for Turkey, although some Turkish Generals, such as Usman Pasha, Sulaiman and Ahmad Mukhtar, fought heroically. The Berlin Congress met to decide the fate of Turkey. Serbia and Montenegro became independent States and each got an accession of territory; Bulgaria remained a semi-independent State under the Sultan, to which, after some years, Roumalia also was ceded. Thessaly and Epirus were added to Greece and Bosnia with Herzegovina was put under Austria for administrative purposes. Qars, Ardahan and Batoun were given to Russia with a large sum by way of indemnity and finally Britain received the Island of Cyprus as future friend and helper of Turkey.

SOCIETY OF UNION AND PROGRESS

These arrangements were temporary as the object in view was the complete break-up of Turkey. Abdul Hamid, a shrewd diplomat, though a shy and weak ruler, played with European diplomacy for about thirty years, within which time Turkey could have consolidated her internal affairs. But Midhat's co-thinkers formed a Society of Union and Progress and worked hard undermining the plan of Abdul Hamid, who in turn persecuted them everywhere. In 1882, Egypt was occupied by British troops. In 1908, at last the Young Turkish party was strong enough to carry out the deposition of the Sultan, which he had dreaded all along his reign. His brother Muhammad V ascended the throne and became a puppet in the hands of Anver, Shoukat and other leaders of the Union and Progress. Bulgaria and Austria took advantage of the confusion that prevailed in the internal affairs of Turkey. The former declared her independence, while the latter annexed the two provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1912, the last act of the Turkish drama was played by the Balkan States who patched up an alliance between themselves and invaded Turkish territory, backed up by the moral support of the greater Powers of Europe. The Turks were defeated everywhere, and the great Empire of Turkey in Europe became a small province of about 10,000 square miles.

KAMAL PASHA AND HIS WORK

In the Great War of 1914, Turkey considered that her only source of salvation lay in joining forces with Germany and Austria and the result was the loss of all her possessions in Asia, with the exception of Anatolia, part of the Kurdistan and the Armenian Provinces. In the meantime, Muhammad V was succeeded by his brother Muhammad VI (1918-22). He had a nominal, miserable rule of four years. The extreme pressure brought by Europe in occupying the remaining terri-

tory of Turkey forced a band of Turks under Mustafa Kamal Pasha to make a last stand in which the whole nation joined and succeeded in repulsing and driving the Greeks out of Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace. The Sultan was deposed and a Republic under the presidency of Mustafa Kamal was proclaimed. With a view to avoid civil war and consolidate the position of the new Republic, Prince Abdul Majid, the younger son of the late Sultan Abdul Aziz, was elected as Khalifa, without any right to interfere in the affairs of the administration. In 1924, Mustafa Kamal Pasha's position was strong enough to do away with the hypocritical support of a Khalifa, who was, in fact, the watchman of the Imperial Palaces in Constantinople. Kamal proposed the abolition of the Khilafat, the deposition and deportation of the Khalifa and all members of the Ottoman family and the confiscation of their property and their rights of citizenship. The decree was read to the Khalifa, who had been asked for the last time to sit on his throne.

THE END OF THE OTTOMAN DYNASTY

Thus ended the glorious reign of the Ottoman dynasty, whose members are now scattered in Europe and Asia. Their beginnings were insignificant, their rise was rapid and astonishing and their decline and fall was slow and gradual. The official language remained Turkish, and, though they had been in Europe for over six hundred years, they remained strangers to European civilization, society and administrative system which till recent times was derived from Iran and their own Turkish traditions. They were Muslims but without any fanatic spirit, though political considerations were such as to force them to harass Christians, which was intended more for subduing rebellion than for persecuting a foreign religion as such. Mahmud II, the conqueror of Constantinople, confirmed all the privileges enjoyed by the Christians under Byzantine rule. He treated them well, encouraged learning and appointed them to high government posts. Commercial facilities were created and the condition of peasants was improved, but, on the whole, the Turk was more military than commercial in his instincts. During the early period of Ottoman history, the Turkish army was considered the best trained in Europe. Medical and commissariat services were introduced by the Sultans. But the expansion of the Empire and the recruiting system, which banded together men drawn from various nations with different languages and diverse interests, proved weak links in the Turkish chain of army organization. This contributed to a great extent for the final disaster that overtook them. It was impossible for a military race like the Turks, who were not gifted with the organizing power of a modern nation, to weld a number of differing races into one great nation—races, who,

in the absence of such moulding, remained strangers and opponents to each other. Austria had the same difficulty and, though a European Power with less embarrassment than Turkey, became dismembered after the War of 1914. But Turkey had strong powers of resistance and endurance. She continued to struggle and, in doing so, she was on occasions extending and on others shrinking in her territories. In the meanwhile, the economic condition of the Western European nations was forcing them to seek fortunes elsewhere. There was the great European immigration and penetration in the West and the East, resulting in the occupation of the whole of America and a large portion of Africa and Asia. Apart from the territorial gains they secured, they derived experience in trade, in maritime activity and in different branches of science and arts, by coming into contact with the most civilized nations of the earth. While they were thus improving and increasing, Eastern nations remained passive, stationary and struggling for existence. The Dark Age of Europe overtook Asia. The European nations never lost the spirit of the Crusades not only against Islam but also against the East generally. Turkey was their chief target. They continued to harass her administrators and made such a propaganda against Turks that Turkey was considered the home of murderers, thirsting for human blood. They fomented internal troubles, encouraged rebellions and at the weakest moment invaded a corner of the Turkish territory. Some posed themselves as their friends, others as enemies, but all were united so far as the destruction of the Turkish power was concerned.

TURKEY, A NATION TO-DAY

The Turkey of to-day though it has shrunk into a State of less than three hundred thousand square miles in area, represents a consolidated nation, an ambition that was cherished by the Turks for nearly a hundred and fifty years. It is now much stronger than it was in the time of Mahmud or Abdul Hamid. The army is well organized. The navy has been improved. And for the first time, the Turks are becoming traders. They have changed their dress and have outwardly Europeanized themselves, though in spirit they remain Asiatic. The idea of Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turanism has been given up. They will be content with the present, if left to themselves. The defeated and impoverished Turkey of 1918, is now a healthy, prosperous State, respected both by her former enemies and friends. They have retained their courage in the field and possess the will to rule. The present Turkish State is overwhelmingly Turkish with the exception of the Kurdistan and Armenian Provinces. They are now a nation of about twenty million brave, energetic, sober, hard-working, honest

and obedient citizens. They are chiefly agriculturists but the prospects for trade and industry are rapidly improving. The expulsion of the Greeks from Asia Minor and the exchange of the Muslim inhabitants were considered in Europe as a big blunder on the part of Turks, who were thus deprived of the best artisans, but the actual results proved contrary to what was expected. The Muslims who were forced to emigrate from Greece proved themselves satisfactory substitutes for the former Christian Greeks.*

AFGHANISTAN

At present Afghanistan is divided into the country to the north and south of the Helmund River and the Hindukush Mountains. The northern portion is the former Avestan, Bakhtrish, Harewa, Waitigatsa, the cradle of Pre-Islamic Iranian culture. It became part of Khorassan under Samanid and Seljukid rule, and now it is divided into the provinces of—

(1) Herat, chiefly inhabited by Iranian Tajiks, and ceded by Persia to Afghanistan, when the British occupied Bushire and compelled Persia to surrender her claims over it.

(2) Afghani-Turkestan, the former Bakhtrish, with its capital Balkh, once the seat of Zoroastrian religion and afterwards of Muslim learning and culture. It was destroyed by the Moghals and never recovered its former importance.

(3) Badakhshan, east of Balkh, inhabited by Iranian Tajiks and Moghal Turks.

(4) Wakhan, east of Badakhshan.

(5) Kafiristan, inhabited by an Aryan people of many tribes, and annexed to Afghanistan during the reign of Amir Abdur-Rahman.

The southern portion consists of—

(1) Kandahar, former Zabulistan, the seat of Iranian legendary heroes, praised by Firdousi in his *Shah Nama* and now the home of Durrani tribes.

(2) Seistan, the Avestan Zaranka, now two-thirds of Iranian Seistan, ceded to the Afghans according to the decision of the British Boundary Commission.

(3) Kabul, including Jelalabad and Ghazni, the home of Pukhtan or Pathan tribes.

The provinces forming modern Afghanistan took their present political shape in the 18th century, when Ahmad Khan, the Treasurer of Nadir Shah, taking advantage of the civil war that prevailed in Iran, established himself at Kandahar and carved out a kingdom for himself. All these provinces were included in the great Achæmenian Empire and the

* The Cities of Quars and Ardahan and a small port on Black Sea were recovered from Russia about the end of the First Great War (1914-18).

Empire of Alexander. Under the early Seleucide, Chandragupta took possession of the provinces situated to the south of the Hindukush. In the north, a Greek colony formed the kingdom of Bactria (now Balkh), which extended to the south as far as the Punjab and Beluchistan. These were succeeded by the Kushan Turks, who in turn had to yield to Parthian princes. Under the Sassanian dynasty, the northern and western portions were under the Persians and the south-eastern province formed into an independent State. When the Arabs became the rulers of Iran, Abdur-Rahman, the Arab General, was commanded by Usman, the third Khalif, to invade Seistan. He captured Zaraj, Bust and other cities, destroyed temples and advanced to Kabul, which he took capturing the ruling king. Under Sultan Mahmud and his successors, Ghazni became the capital of a vast empire, extending to the interior of Iran in the west and including the Punjab and Sindh in the east. In 1111 A.D., the Ghaznavi dynasty came to an end and the Tajiks of Ghoristan under Shehab-ud-din established themselves in the Punjab, but their progress was checked by the rise of Guzz Turks and the Empire of Khawrazm Shah. The Punjab, however, remained under Qutb-ud-din, a slave and a general of Shehab-ud-din. The last Ghor king in his home went down before the great Moghal invasion, who became the masters of the whole of Iran, including the present Afghanistan. In 1380, Timur invaded Khorassan, captured Herat and soon became Emperor of the whole of Central and Western Asia. He advanced as far as Delhi in the east. His sons and grandsons continued to rule over Afghanistan and Iran till the rise of Safavids in the west and the Uzbeks in the east. During the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, the present Afghan territory was divided between the great empires of the Moghals in India and the Safavids in Iran. Herat and Seistan were taken by Iran but Kabul remained under the Moghal Empire. Kandahar became a bone of contention and was for a time in the Moghal hands and afterwards under Iran and finally the whole country as far as the river Indus was annexed to Iran by Nadir Shah, on whose death, Ahmad Shah Abdali established himself at Kandahar. He invaded India several times and annexed the Punjab to his kingdom, but his sons and grandsons continuously quarrelled and not only lost the Punjab to the Sikhs but even their rule in Afghanistan soon came to an end. Dost Muhammad of the Burakzai clan established himself at Kabul in 1818 and before his death in 1863 established his dominion as far as the Oxus in the north. His son Sher Ali succeeded him, but as usual civil war broke out and continued till Abdur-Rahman was recognized as Amir by the British Indian Government. He was succeeded by his son Habibullah Khan in 1901 and the latter by his son Amanullah,

who lost his throne in 1929, after ruling over the country for about ten years. He was succeeded by Amir Nadir Shah, born in 1880, who, after subduing Habibullah, known as Bacha Saqqa, took possession of Kabul. After a reign of about four years, he was assassinated by a student named Abdul Khaleq and was succeeded by his son, King Zahir. He is over 40 years old now (1953). The future of the present dynasty depends upon the fidelity and co-operation of its members with the reigning king.

AREA AND POPULATION

The area of Afghanistan is between 245,000 and 270,000 square miles, with a population of about ten millions, consisting of the following races:—

(1) Tajiks, who are Sunnis by religion but Iranian in race and are scattered all over the country, chiefly in the north and west and also in Kabul and Kuhistan Districts. They speak Iranian and are by profession artisans, traders and agriculturists. The inhabitants of Seistan are a mixture of Tajiks and Baluchis. Some of them claim descent from the legendary family of Iranian Kayans. The Ghori and Kurt dynasties who ruled in Afghanistan were Tajiks. In the south, they are called 'Dehwar', Dekhan or Farsiban and in the north Sarts. The Ghalchas of Wakhan and Badakhshan speak a peculiar Iranian dialect and are enumerated as Tajiks.

(2) Moghals or Turks, are Hazaras. They speak Iranian and by religion are Shiah; but Cartar-Aimak, consisting of the tribes of Hazari, Jamshidi, Feroz-Kohi and Taimani are Sunnis. In the north of the Hindukush mountains are Uzbeks and Turkomans, near the Russo-Afghan frontier.

(3) Hindiki, or "those of Indian origin", are scattered in small numbers all over the country.

(4) The Pakhtan or Pathan, who form the majority in the south and south-east. They are divided into various tribes such as Ghalzai, Afridi, Bangash, Khatak, Waziri, Durrani, Gugiani, Dawndzais, Yusufzai, Usmanzai, Orakzai, Darwesh Khel, Kalkar, Ustarani, Sherani, Gandapur, Sur, Lodis, etc., most of whom were free and obscure so late as the reign of Sultan Mahmud, who subdued them. Some of them fought against him taking the side of Hindu Rajas of the Punjab and others helped him in his expedition against that province and Sindh. Their conversion to Islam must have started since the advance of Arab power towards Kabul but not completed till the extinction of the Ghaznavid family. They have played an important part in the history of Muslim India and produced several strong and enlightened rulers such as Bahlul, Sikandar and Sher Shah and several other chiefs in Bengal, Punjab and Central India. Among the present Indian State Rulers, the

Nawabs of Bhopal and Tonk and some other smaller Jagirdars are Pathan in origin. In religion, the overwhelming majority of them are Sunnis. They are devoutly attached to their Pirs (spiritual leaders) and priests or Mullas. When Ahmad Shah established himself at Kandahar and carved out the present kingdom of Afghanistan, partly from the Moghal Empire and partly from Persian territory, he left the tribes free in their internal affairs but his successors gradually consolidated and centralized their power and towards the beginning of the 20th century, the Central Government at Kabul, with a strong army and modern arms, asserted direct control over them.

LANGUAGES SPOKEN

Among the languages spoken in Afghan territory are the following :—

(1) Iranian in Kabul, Herat, Badakhshan and Kuhistan Districts and among the Hazara tribes and in Seistan. It is also the court language.

(2) Pakhtan or Pushtu, a branch of the East Iranian group with a mixture of Indian words, is spoken from Kafiristan in the north to the Punjab and Beluchistan in the east and in the south. It is spoken by over 3½ millions of people, of whom more than half are in Afghanistan and the rest in Pakistan.

(3) Various East Iranian and Aryan dialects such as Urmari, Bargasta, Kafari, etc., are spoken in the north and north-east of the country.

Since 1922, a constitutional monarchy with a Legislature, a State Assembly and a Cabinet under the chairmanship of the King have been established. The Amir adopted the title of Shah or King in 1926. The total revenue is over 50 million rupees and the standing army, excluding the tribal recruits, number about 25,000 men of all arms. There is a small Air Force and a considerable number of students have been sent to Europe for undergoing training and receiving education on various subjects.

ALBANIA

The Albanians are considered among the ancient races of the Balkan Peninsula. The country extends along the western shore of the Balkan Peninsula from the river Bojana to Cape Ctyles, opposite Corfu, and is rugged and mountainous. The greater part of it is over 3,000 feet above sea-level, culminating into Mount Linbotn (8,858 feet), one of the highest peaks in the south-east Europe. The climate is fine and healthy, with a short but cold winter and a mild summer, resembling that of Southern Italy. A favourable soil would seem to invite the inhabitants to agriculture. The country is divided into ten prefectures. Muslim relations with it began with the advance of the Turks towards the west of the Balkan Peninsula.

ITS EARLY HISTORY

During the middle of the 14th century and 15th century, there were several small States, ruled over by different dynasties, such as the Balsha family, who ruled in the north (1366-1421 A.D.), Thopia (1359-92), whose seat was in Durazzo, and the Korja and Musaki families (1368-1476), who were chiefs in Berat and South Albania. The Turkish advance began in the beginning of the 15th century. In 1431, Yanina and Scutari were captured and in 1438 Sultan Murad defeated a force under Ali Bey, but the Albanians strongly resisted and fought in thirteen campaigns under their heroic leader Iskander Beig, who had served for some time in the Turkish army and had deserted and joined his own countrymen sometime later. In 1502, the Turkish army captured Durazzo and in 1571 Antivari and Duleigno. The country nominally became a Turkish province, though lawlessness and revolt continued in one form or another in parts of the country. In 1760, Muhammad, an Albanian Muslim chief, revolted and established himself in North Albania. Ali Pasha of Tepelen subdued the south and made Iannina his capital. He was, however, finally defeated by the Imperial Army in 1822 and in the north Mustafa Pasha, a descendant of the Bushati family, surrendered himself to the Turkish authorities in 1831. Thus the country was once more pacified for a short time. During the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, the Albanians remained loyal to their Imperial Government. This enraged Russia, which took revenge on them at the Berlin Congress by depriving Albania of a few districts close to Serbia and Montenegro. After the Balkan War of 1912, Albania claimed and was granted independence. The European Powers offered to Prince William Weid of Germany the crown of Albania, but the nation as a whole did not accept this nomination and he was besieged in his capital, Durazzo, and had to leave the country. During the Great War of 1914, the Greeks occupied the south, while the Italians took Valona and the Austrians penetrated as far as Berat, 30 miles north-east of the seaport of Arlona. Thus, like Iran, Albania became the battle-ground for belligerent powers.

SINCE THE GREAT WAR

After the Armistice, Albania passed to Italy, but in January 1920, a provincial government was formed at Lushna and, under the Treaty of Tarana (Aug. 1920), Italy recognized the new Albanian Government and evacuated the country. The first Albanian Parliament met in March 1921, but the internal condition continued to be unsatisfactory owing to the intrigues of the neighbouring powers and the jealousies of native leaders. No government could remain in continuity for any length of time, till Ahmad Zogu assumed the power and to some extent restored peace. In June 1924, South Albania revolted and

Ahmad Zogu with his party had to seek refuge in Belgrade and Corfu; but in December 1924, he managed to re-enter the country and proclaimed Albania a Republic, which till then was under a Council of Regency. In February 1925, the Assembly elected him as President for seven years. The new government was acknowledged by Italy. In August 1928, an Assembly met to change the Republic into a constitutional monarchy and in September, Ahmad Zogu, the President of the Republic, was elected king. At present, Albania has an elected Chamber. The King, who was born in 1895, is a Muslim by religion. There is a Council of Ministers under the Prime Minister appointed by the King. The area of Albania is about 17,374 square miles with a population of over eight hundred thousand, of whom 70 per cent. are Muslims. Military service is compulsory and there is a standing army (including gendarmerie) of over ten thousand men, with six gunboats and two torpedo boats.*

EGYPT

The modern history of Egypt begins with the establishment of the present dynasty. It was about the end of the 18th century, when Napoleon Bonaparte advanced towards the East and crushed the remaining power of Egyptian Mamelukes,¹⁵ who fought against him under their leaders Murad Beg and Ibrahim in the battle of the Pyramids (1798), in which twenty thousand of them lay dead on the field. The capital was occupied by Napoleon and Murad Beg fled to Upper Egypt, while Ibrahim took refuge in the Delta. Napoleon had the double aim of conquering Egypt and advancing towards India, but the internal situation of France and Nelson's victory over the French fleet in the famous battle of Aboukir, a village near Alexandria (Aug. 1, 1798),¹⁶ compelled him to leave his work half-finished, and return to France.¹⁷ The

* After the Second Great War Albania became a Soviet Republic.

¹⁵ See Foot-note 9.

¹⁶ Aboukir is a coast-village, 13 miles north-east of Alexandria. The battle referred to was the great "Battle of the Nile", fought in Aboukir Bay.

¹⁷ What is presented here is the generally accepted view. But recent criticism seems to question its soundness. Of the Egyptian Expedition of 1798-99, it has been asked: "What the Directory, or Bonaparte himself or the British expected to result from the Expedition is not clear. Had his fleet not been destroyed by Nelson, he was not an inch nearer to India until it had sailed round the whole of Africa and taken him on board; and time was too valuable for him to wait." But the answer is found in the suggestion that "probably the glamour of conquest in the East was too strong for him, and he never seemed to realize the meaning of Sea Power". However that may be, Nelson locked him up in Egypt, and Sydney Smith and the Turks turned him back from Acre. (See D. E. Morris, *Modern Europe*, 168.)

remaining French army under Kleber, the French General, in command, could not stand longer than two years. The French were eventually defeated by the combined forces of Turkey and England in 1801 and had to evacuate Egypt. In the meantime, a soldier of fortune, named Muhammad Ali, originally an Albanian and a captive in the Turkish army, gradually rose to power, till he was proclaimed Pasha or Viceroy, by the leading theologians of the El-Azhar University. His nomination was approved by a *firman* by the Turkish Sultan. He began to organize the Egyptian army and reform the administration. He subdued the remaining Mamluke chiefs and, on behalf of his suzerain Sultan, invaded Hejaz and crushed the Wahhabi rebellion. Finally, he became a rival to his master and invaded Syria. His son Ibrahim defeated several Turkish generals sent against him and advanced to the interior till he reached a week's march from Constantinople. He would have continued his victorious march and might even have founded a new Imperial dynasty, new and vigorous, but that was directly against the future ambition of the interested European Powers. They desired a weak government at Constantinople, which may linger for some time, and enjoy a sort of half-existence, till they could make up their minds, decide and fix each other's share. This idea could not be accomplished soon, as each wanted to have the lion's share for itself. When the Turkish armies commanded by Husain Pasha and Rashid Pasha were defeated, pressure was brought to bear by the European powers over Muhammad Ali and he had to sign a treaty by which Syria and Adana were given to him (1831). But the war between the master and his ambitious Viceroy was again renewed in 1839 and Ibrahim defeated the Turkish army under Hafiz Pasha, and once again the European Powers intervened and blockaded the coast of Syria and Egypt. Russia, the arch-enemy of Turkey, offered help and co-operation to the Sultan. The task became extremely difficult for Ibrahim, who had to suppress the Syrian rebellion and face Turkey and her three first-class allies. An English fleet under Admiral Napier captured Akka (Syria) and Muhammad Ali was forced to evacuate Syria in 1840 and remain content as Viceroy of Egypt which was made hereditary in his family. Ibrahim, on his return to Egypt, became the virtual ruler of the country, and, in 1848, he was formally appointed Viceroy of Egypt but died in the same year. He was born in 1789 and had thus lived for sixty years. He is reckoned as a great general and an able administrator. His father also died in 1849, and was succeeded by his grandson Abbas I, born in 1816 at Jeddah, 65 miles west of Mecca. He was an orthodox prince, who reverted to the policy of his grandfather, so far as Europeans were concerned. The English tried to construct a railway line between

the Nile and the Red Sea, and Abbas was inclined to grant the request, but was prevented from doing so by the Turkish Government. At this time, the Viceroy of Egypt was bound to pay an annual tribute, to issue coinage in the name of the Sultan, and to limit the strength of his army to 18,000 men. He could not construct men-of-war without the permission of the Imperial Turkish Government, nor could he confer military grades in his army over the rank of Colonel. The power of the Viceroy was increased later by other Imperial *firman*s, but what Muhammad Ali's successors could gain from Turkey they had to pay back with compound interest to France and finally to England. During the Crimean War with Russia, Abbas placed 15,000 of his Egyptian army and the Egyptian fleet at the service of his suzerain Sultan. Abbas, however, died in 1854, it is suspected, by poison administered to him. He was succeeded by his uncle Sa'eed Pasha. The new ruler had been educated in France and was well disposed towards Europeans. Like Ibrahim, he took interest in agriculture, opened canals and created full facilities for the *Fellahin*¹⁸ (cultivators). He formed a Council of State, composed of members drawn from his family and his generals and nobles, and abolished the slave trade. The railway between Cairo and the Suez Canal was completed and the Bank of Egypt was founded (1854) during his time. He also granted a concession for laying the telegraph to the Eastern Telegraph Company and the construction of the Suez Canal to a Frenchman, the well-known Ferdinand de Lesseps¹⁹ (1856). He was the first Viceroy to accept

¹⁸ *Fellahin* : Plural of *Fellah*, the name applied contemptuously by the Turks to the agricultural labourer of Egypt; the *Fellahins* comprise about three-fourths of the population; they are of good physique, and capable of much toil, but are, despite their intelligence and sobriety, lazy and of weak character; girls marry at the age of 12 and the children grow up amidst the squalor of their mud-built villages; their food is of the poorest; tobacco is their only luxury; their condition has been much improved within the past half a century or so.

¹⁹ Suez Canal : A great artificial channel cutting the isthmus of Suez and thus forming a waterway between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea; was planned and undertaken by the French Engineer F. de Lesseps, through whose untiring efforts a Company was formed and the necessary capital raised. Occupied ten years in the construction (1859-69) and cost some 20 million pounds; from Port Said on the Mediterranean to Suez at the head of the Red Sea, the length is about 100 miles, a portion of which lies through Lakes Menzaleh, Ballah, Timsah and the Bitter Lakes; as widened and deepened in 1886, it has a minimum depth of 24 feet and varies from 150 to 300 feet in width; the passage through it occupies little more than 24 hours; has been neutralized and exempted from blockade; now the highway to India and the East, shortening the voyage to India by 7,600 miles; three-fourths of the ships passing through are British; an annual toll is drawn of about three million

a foreign loan of £ 3,000,000 sterling from the British bankers, which was the beginning of the future British influence in Egypt, ending in the occupation of the country. Like Ibrahim, he travelled in European countries and died at the age of forty in 1863. His relations with the British were friendly. He permitted the British army to pass through Egypt to India during the Indian Mutiny of 1857. He was succeeded by his nephew Ismail Pasha, son of Ibrahim. This prince was born in 1830 and received his education in Paris. He raised the tribute paid to the Sultan from £ 376,000 to £ 720,000 and was permitted by a *firman* to style himself as Khedive (1867), an Iranian word derived from *Khuda*, meaning Lord. He was sincere in promoting the welfare of his subjects: at the same time, he was fond of enjoyment and squandered vast sums, which he borrowed from European bankers, partly for carrying out his schemes of reforms and partly for meeting his costly pleasures. He reorganized the customs, established the post office, extended railway and telegraph lines, opened new canals, built docks and harbours and made other improvements in all important cities. During his rule, new schools on the European model were opened both for boys and girls, and the number of such schools soon rose from 185 to 4317. He also opened the Suez Canal (1869), in the presence of the French Empress Eugenie²⁰ and the Austrian Emperor. At last, Ismail's reform and royal pomp and grandeur cost him his throne and brought the country to misery and foreign control. The public debt increased from three million pounds to nearly one hundred millions, the major portion of which had been recklessly squandered by the Khedive. In 1876, he was forced

pounds, the net profit of which is divided among the shareholders of whom, since 1875, the British Government has been one of the largest. De Lesseps, who first conceived the project in 1854, was a French diplomatist; he projected a similar canal at Panama, but it ended in failure and ruin to himself and others associated with him; his idea of such a canal, however, has been realized. European historians have suggested that the Suez Canal was undertaken to obtain ascendancy for France in the Near East and that Englishmen disliked it at first, as they preferred that the bulk of the Asiatic trade should go round the Cape and the Atlantic to London, but no statesman dared to oppose openly the scheme. Muhammad Ali did not like the idea of opening a canal between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean Sea but his successors were misled by French capitalists, who persuaded Sa'ed Pasha and told him that the canal would make Egypt a great centre for Eur-Asian trade. The major portion of its cost was met by the Egyptian Government but the benefit has gone to the European Powers.

²⁰ *Eugenie*: Born in 1826 at Granada, second daughter of Count Manuel Fernandez of Montigos and Mary Manuel Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, Dumfrieshire; married to Napoleon III in 1853; left France in 1876, and lived at Chiselhurst, Kent, as a widow, until her death.

to stop payment of his treasury bills, which gave a pretext to France, whose subjects were the chief bond-holders, and next to the British, who had also advanced money, to interfere and finally to force upon the Khedive the joint supervision of the two Powers over the revenue and expenditure of his country. This was the beginning of the future British occupation. Ismail continued his favouritism for the European Powers. Their direct control over the country's finance and consequent heavy taxation increased the grievances of the educated classes and the misery of the subjects generally. A Nationalist movement was organized and several newspapers, such as the *Misr* (Egypt), the *Watan* (Motherland), etc., began to be published. There was a cry of Egypt for Egyptians. Repressive measures made affairs worse. A constitutional form of government was granted in 1878 and a constitutional ministry was formed under the head of Nauber Pasha, but the old state of affairs virtually continued with the result that conditions grew worse and ultimately through the representations of Britain and France, the Sultan deposed Ismail in 1879 and appointed his own son as his successor. Ismail left for Italy and thence to Constantinople, where he died in 1895. The new Khedive had to face internal troubles and external demands. During his time, Syed Jamal-ud-din, known as Afghani, arrived at Cairo and delivered lectures on philosophy, theology and other subjects and received an allowance of 12,000 *piastres* per annum from the Egyptian Government, but his activity leaned towards Nationalism and a number of learned Egyptians as well as Nationalists became his admirers. He was therefore deported to India. The unrest continued, to which current military grievances added their quota. In 1881, Colonel Arabi Pasha²¹ and Ali Fehmi, commander of a regiment, complained against the Minister of War, Usman Pasha. Their grievances were just, but instead of satisfying their demands, the Government wanted to arrest them, which became known beforehand, and the troops joined their leader. The situation became so critical that the Khedive dismissed the Minister of War. A second rising took place soon afterwards when Colonel Arabi Pasha with 2,500 men and 18 guns marched on the palace. He demanded the assembling of Parliament and the raising of the strength of the army to 18,000 men. But the Khedive, who had come out of the palace to pacify the troops, was induced by Sir Auckland Colvin, then Comptroller-General in Egypt, to withdraw into it. Negotiations between the Government and the leaders and finally ended in the change of the Ministry and the establishment of the

²¹ Ahmed Arabi Pasha : born 1839 ; claimed descent from the Prophet.

Chamber of Notables. Arabi Pasha left Cairo by order of the Government and was looked to by his countrymen as a hero. In 1882, he was appointed Under-Secretary to the Minister of War and, after the resignation of Sharif Pasha, his brother joined the Cabinet as Prime Minister. Thus, the new Ministry was in all respects a Nationalist one. There was an anti-Turkish and anti-European feeling in the country and hence Great Britain and France demanded his resignation. The Cabinet resigned but no other Minister came forward to form a new Ministry. In the meanwhile, the British fleet appeared before Alexandria. But, on the other hand, some Britishers, such as Mr. Wilfrid Blunt,²² assured Arabi that no serious action would be taken by the British against him. The appearance of the fleet and the intervention of the Powers, however, produced excitement in the mob which developed into a riot. Some Europeans and Egyptians were killed. An ultimatum was given by the British and Alexandria was bombarded. Arabi Pasha had no hand in the riot but the new situation demanded action. He gathered a small ill-equipped army which was easily defeated by Sir Garnet (afterwards Lord) Wolseley. Arabi was taken captive and deported to Ceylon, whence he was permitted to return in 1901. Thus, the first Egyptian Nationalist movement, which began in military grievances, ended in the occupation of the country by the British. Henceforward, the history of Egypt is the nominal rule of the Khedive, with still more nominal suzerainty of Turkey, and real, though veiled, exercise of power by Great Britain. The Khedive Tawfiq died in 1892 and was succeeded by his son Abbas II. This prince was educated in Vienna and in the beginning of his reign endeavoured to assert himself but soon came to realise his position and remained passive till 1914, when he was deposed by the British Government. The second Nationalist movement was left in the hands of civilians, and Mustafa Kamil Pasha, a young energetic man, became its leader. He started a paper named *Al-liva* (The Banner) and became President of the National League. The actual maker of modern Egypt, however, was one who, with the ostensible status of Consul-General, was virtually wielding the power behind the screen of British advisers. He was Lord Cromer (1883-1907), whose name is so prominently connected

²² Blunt, Wilfrid Scawen; born 1840. Best known for the active part he took in Egyptian affairs in 1881-82, and his continued support of the Egyptian National Movement. He was a devoted admirer of Arabi Pasha, and spent much money in his defence. In 1907, he published his *Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt*, which aroused much controversy. Published a book of *Reminiscences* in 1912. At his Sussex seat, he kept the finest stud of Arab horses in the world. His wife was a grand-daughter of Lord Byron.

with modern Egypt. The opposition of France to the British domination was relaxed and gradually disappeared. Both came to an agreement in 1904, by which France was given a free hand in Morocco and the English permitted to occupy Egypt. Lord Cromer was succeeded by Sir Eldon Gorst (1907-11) and the latter, by Lord Kitchener, the strong man of Egypt, who continued to rule that country till the outbreak of the Great War in 1914. Egypt was made a Protectorate of Great Britain under the nominal rule of Husain Kamil Pasha, the son of Ismail Pasha. In 1917, Husain died and was succeeded by King Fuad, born in 1867. During the War, Egypt remained under the military authority of Britain, but the repeated assurances of the Allies that they were fighting for the cause of freedom and the famous Fourteen Points enunciated by President Wilson, rekindled the fire of Nationalism and freedom among the Eastern nations. If Europe and America had remained quiet and had not declared again and again their sympathy for the weaker nations of the world, their belief in and love of freedom, equal treatment, brotherhood among the nations, etc., matters would probably have adjusted themselves in a different way. The double meaning attaching to words used in politics, particularly in connection with problems relating to the East, needed a separate dictionary. The Egyptians were among the innocent nations who were deceived by President Wilson's preaching. That great soul, however, preached his great doctrines in the wilderness of European politics. The Egyptians aspired for political independence, which none wanted to grant, and which they wanted as a gift from Great Britain. They agitated, but their rising was of the passive kind, though supported by the whole population. After a struggle, which lasted three years, a few points were gained. The name of Protectorate was abolished and in 1922, the British Government proclaimed Egypt an independent State and recognized its sovereign power with certain safeguards, relating to the defence of the Suez Canal and foreign relations. The question of Sudan, over which both the British and Egypt have legitimate claims, remains in reserve to be solved at some future date. According to the Constitution granted in 1923, Egypt became a Constitutional Monarchy. Liberty of religious belief and equal civil and political rights to all citizens was admitted and education made compulsory, both for girls and boys. There is a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. Laws are made and voted by Parliament and sanctioned by the King, who is also Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy. The King may dissolve the Chamber of Deputies, to which Ministers are responsible. He also nominates the President of the Senate. The Deputies are elected by universal suffrage. Taxes are imposed and abolished by law and no concession is given without

the approval of the Parliament. In 1821, Muhammad Ali introduced the cultivation of cotton which, subsequently improved, has become an article of great commercial value to Britain. Muhammad Ali and his successors, with the co-operation of British Residents, also effected many improvements in irrigation, such as the digging of new canals and constructing the Barrage over the Nile near Jaza and the Dam at Aswan. Arabic is the language of the Egyptian people and is spoken by over 93 per cent. of the population. The total area of the country is about 383,000 square miles.*

OTHER MUSLIM STATES

Other Muslim States are :—

(1) Iraq, which is a limited monarchy, governed by a King assisted by Ministers and a Legislative Body, consisting of a Senate with twenty nominated members, and a Lower House composed of 88 members. The present King Amir Ghazi, who was born in 1912, ascended the throne in 1933. His father was the third son of the late King Husain of Hejaz, and was born in 1887.

The area is about 143,250 square miles with a population of over 3 millions.†

(2) Hejaz and Nejd, or Kingdom of Saudiyya, was under Turkey till the Great War of 1914. The present ruler, Abdul Aziz II, after defeating King Husain and his son Ali, became the ruler of both Hejaz and Nejd. The total population is about four millions.

(3) Yemen, in the South-West of Arabia, has an area of 75,000 square miles, with a population of about 3 millions. It is ruled over by Imam Yahya, its present King.‡

(4) Hazramout, in South Arabia, is under British protection.

(5) Umman, in South-East Arabia, with an area of about 82,000 square miles and about half a million inhabitants, is under Sultan Taimur. British influence is predominant.

(6) Koweit, in East Arabia, ruled by Ahmad, son of Jabir, since 1921, is a small State under the protection of Great Britain.

* In 1952 Farouq, the King of Egypt, was forced to abdicate the throne in favour of his infant son named Ahmad Fouad by General Najeed and the future of Egyptian Monarchy is not known. The country may become a Republic. There is a strong agitation for the evacuation of British troops from Suez Canal and from Sudan. No settlement has been effected between the Governments of Egypt and Britain.

† King Ghazi was succeeded by his boy-son named Faisul II. He is now about 17 years old.

‡ After him by his son Prince Ahmad.

(7) Morocco, a large country in the northern corner of Africa, once an empire and a seat of Muslim learning, is now a Protectorate, partly under Spain and partly under France. The major portion of it, with an area of over 200,000 square miles, is indirectly under French administration.

The rise of the present dynasty began in 1660, when Moulai Al-Rashid (1660-72) captured Fez. His successor Ismail (1672-1729) consolidated the Empire by defeating other pretenders and rebels and by gradually organizing an army of about 150,000 men. On his death, his sons fought with each other for about thirty years. It was the time when there was anarchy in other Muslim countries, such as Turkey, Iran and India, where Moghal Emperors were made and unmade by their powerful Ministers. The same process took place in Morocco. One Abid became so powerful that he could put on the throne and depose those princes whom he liked or disliked. In 1757, Moulai Muhammad ascended the throne and ruled till 1792. He pacified the country and crushed the rebellions, encouraged commerce and opened commercial relations with European nations. The next ruler Yazid (1792-94) enjoyed a short reign and as usual his successor Moulai Sulaiman (1794-1822), had to bear the burden of anarchy. For ten years, he was engaged in putting down various rebels. He prevented foreign intercourse with his people, which policy was followed by all his successors till the beginning of the 20th century, but this did not stop the internal troubles. Morocco remained an unsettled country and the condition went from bad to worse. The continuous misrule gave pretext to foreign intrigue and territorial ambitions. Moulai Hasan, who ruled from 1873-94, was the last ruler to enjoy a sort of independence. His son Abdul Aziz had to yield to his brother Abdul Hafiz, who, in turn, accepted the French Protectorate by an agreement in 1912. France obtained mastery over the country but in the meanwhile other European Powers, such as Germany, England and Spain, appeared interested in the affairs of Morocco and each had to be bought off by granting them concessions elsewhere.

The present ruler is Sidi Muhammad, son of Moulai Yusuf. The overwhelming majority of the inhabitants are Muslims, who speak Arabic and various other Berber dialects.

(8) Algeria and Tunis in North Africa, are under France.

(9) To these should be added numerous small and large States under the protection of England, France, Holland, Russia and America in Central Africa, India, the Islands of Pacific Ocean, Central Asia and Trans-Caucasia.*

* After the Second Great War, besides Pakistan, the following Muslim States were formed in Africa and South-East-Asia :

INDIA UNDER ISLAM

The Arabs and Iranians were connected with India as traders, immigrants and sea-farers long before the advent of Islam with it. The Muslim invasion of India took place in the beginning of the 8th century, by the Arab general named Ubaidullah, who was defeated and slain. His successor Budail met with the same ill-luck. But the third invader Muhammad, son of Kasim, a young man of about twenty years of age, passed Fars and Mekran with 6,000 troops and invaded Sindh. Within three years (712-15 A.D.), he subdued the whole Province including a portion of the Punjab. After the first severities, he pursued a policy of toleration, friendship and reconciliation. But his end was no better than those of his successors. He was recalled in the reign of Khalifa Sulaiman, was disgraced, imprisoned and killed. Sindh continued to be a province of the Khalifa till 871 A.D., when the local Arab chiefs affected a semi-independent rule. The administration was left to a large extent in the hands of Hindus. A few were converted to Islam, while others found their way to Baghdad. But, on the whole, India was not influenced by Islam till the appearance of Sultan Mahmud and the systematic subjugation of her inhabitants which followed it. Mahmud, son of Sabuktigin, ascended the throne of Ghazni in 998 A.D. He extended his dominion towards the west in the interior of Iran as far as Iranian-Iraq. In the east, he found a strong neighbour, Raja Jaipal, whom he defeated and subdued. His twelve or seventeen expeditions to the Punjab, Sindh and Gujarat ended in the partial subjugation of those provinces. His object was to enrich his treasury by plundering places known for wealth, but he had also the consolation of fighting in the cause of Islam. His army consisted of Muslim adventurers, wealth seekers, and *Ghazis* who fought for the sake of their religion. Hindus also joined the army of the Sultan and fought against their own countrymen and co-religionists. Mahmud was not only an able general and a prudent administrator but also a patron of learning and a lover of refinement. He constructed fine buildings, mosques and palaces in his capital, on which he employed Indian, Iranian and Central Asian artisans. His court was adorned with four hundred poets and a large number of scholars, such as Albiruni and Firdousi, the latter of

- (1) Libya—Bounded in the west by Tunis, in the east by Egypt and in the south by African Desert. It's area is about 700,000 sq. miles, with a population of over one million souls. It is ruled by a Constitutional King.
- (2) Indonesia—Consisting of the Sumatra, Java, Celebes and other large number of islands, with a population of over 75 millions.

whom presented and dedicated his celebrated epic, entitled *Shah Nama*, to him. Unsari, Farrukhi, Manuchehri and other poets immortalized his name by their panegyrics. He was succeeded by his son Masud, who was defeated by the Seljukid tribes and lost his hold on Iran. The Seljukid family pushed back the descendants of Mahmud towards South Afghanistan. The dynasty became extinct in 1186 and was succeeded by the Ghori family. The first and last Indian sovereign of this family, who were Tajiks or East Iranians, was Shahab-ud-din Muhammad Ghori, who defeated Raja Prithviraj of Ajmer in the second battle he fought with him and became master of Delhi. His successors were his Turkish slaves, and hence the whole line is called the Slave Dynasty of rulers. They held sway from 1206-90. During this period Iran was invaded by Moghals under Chengiz, who showed no mercy to human beings, and by whom men and women were slaughtered in millions, libraries burnt and mosques converted into stables. Iran received such a shock from his cruel hands that she could not recover her past glory for over three centuries. Thanks to the strong defence put up by the Slave Kings of India and Egypt, these countries were saved. The work of civilization in India remained unaffected because the Slave Dynasty successfully checked the advance of the Mongolian hordes. It was during this period that a large number of the respected Muslim families of Central Asia and Eastern Iran—among whom were as many as fifteen kings and princesses—took refuge in Delhi. The first ruler of the dynasty was Qutb-ud-din, a Turkish slave of Muhammad Ghori, who was succeeded by another able slave named Iltutmish (1211), whose descendants ruled for about 35 years. The next was Balban, an energetic administrator and general, but his grandson Kaikubad, proved a worthless prince who disgraced the throne by his debauchery. These were followed by the Turko-Afghan family of Khilji, whose second king styled himself Alexander II, and extended his empire to the extreme south of India. The next kings were of the Turkish-Indian family of Tughlaq, beginning with Ghias-ud-din. During the reign of the second monarch of this dynasty, the pre-Moghal Muslim rule in India reached its greatest extension, which was the sign of its decline and disruption. The Bahmani Kingdom, which came into existence in the Deccan, broke up at its zenith into the smaller States of Bijapur, Golconda, Bidar, etc. In the east, Bengal became independent, and so did Gujarat, Malwa, Sindh and Kashmir. Delhi, with the surrounding districts, remained under Tughlaq rule. The last of this dynasty was succeeded by the Sayyeds (1414) and they in turn by the Lodis (1450). Sultan Ibrahim, the last Lodi king, was defeated and slain at Panipat by the well-disciplined but numerically small army

of Babar in 1526. He became the first Moghal Emperor in India.

The petty Muslim States were constantly on the war path, fighting with each other. Their rule was a source of anxiety, confusion and anarchy, for which the poor inhabitants had to suffer. At the same time, in their striving to surpass the neighbouring State in grandeur, they were promoting the work of civilization. Some of the best specimens of arts and architecture in these States are to be found dated in this period. Thus they were at once the curse and a blessing to their subjects. Their collective effort may be said to have promoted learning and trade.

The first six Moghal Emperors form the pride of Muslim rule in India. During the reign of Aurangzeb, the last of the six, their Empire reached its greatest extension, but soon broke up into several small and large Muslim and non-Muslim States. Oudh became an independent kingdom and so did Hyderabad, Bengal, Punjab, Central India and Mysore. The titular Emperor retained a nominal dignity, which was lost immediately the English attained supremacy in India. They deposed and deported Bahadur Shah, the last Moghal.

ADMINISTRATION IN MUSLIM INDIA

Administration in India during the Muslim ascendancy may be divided into three periods. The earliest Arab rule was limited to Sindh and a portion of the Punjab, and as already said it affected Indian society to a very limited extent. It opened the door of Islamic Culture and the trade of Western Asia to Indians without injuring their peace and prosperity. The second period, named Turko-Indian, lasted for over three centuries. The rulers were adventurous military leaders, who imitated Iranian civil administration, modified by the existing conditions of their subjects. Their military organizations was a combination of the Turkish and the indigenous Indian systems. The sovereign was an autocrat, whose will was law, and whose ability and good intention was peace and prosperity for his subjects. If weak, they were miserable puppets in the hands of their Ministers, court favourites, ladies of the harem and eunuchs. High offices were filled up by Muslims from Central Asia and Iran, and Hindus and Indian Muslims held subordinate offices, but their number and influence increased towards the last days of this period, till a Hindu Banya ruled in Delhi and a Brahmin held the high office of the Chief Minister in the Deccan.

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

The civil administration of Muslim rulers was not so clearly distinguished from military as in modern European

Governments. A Civil Governor was also a Military Commander. The Governor was called *Naib* and the Minister *Vazir*. There were four *Dabirs* (Secretaries) to assist the *Vazir* and each *Dabir* had a large number of clerks under him. The *Shaikul Islam* was the head of legists and the Chief Judge was called *Sad-re-Jahan*. The king held consultations on important affairs with these officers, in whom he reposed confidence. All subjects, in theory, had the right of placing their complaints before the king. The number of Ministers varied according to the pleasure of the monarch.

The Bahmani kings had the following Ministers :—

- (1) *Vakil-us-Sultanat*—Vicegerent.
- (2) *Amir-e-Jumla*—Minister of Finance.
- (3) *Vazir-e-Kul*—Chief Minister.
- (4) *Vazir-e-Ashraf*—Minister of Ceremonies.
- (5) *Nazir*—Supervisor (Assistant to Finance Minister).
- (6) *Peshiva*—Assistant to the Grand Vazir.
- (7) *Kotwal*—Chief of Police.
- (8) *Sad-re-Jahan*—Chief Justice.

The number of provinces and departments depended upon the extent of the Empire, which reached its zenith first under Ala-ud-din and for the second time during the reign of Aurangzeb. Muhammad Tughlaq ruled twenty-five provinces but a Bahmani king had only four. Sher Shah, who is looked upon as perhaps the best organizer and administrator that Muslim India produced, divided his kingdom into *parganas*, each being administered by an *Amir*, or revenue officer, he being assisted by a Treasurer (*Fotdar*), a Secretary and a military police officer (*Siqdar*). A group of *parganas* formed a *Sarkar* under a *Siqdar* and Chief Munsif. Lands were measured and surveyed for assessment and the tax collected in kind or cash. During the reign of Ala-ud-din, who was noted for his severity, fifty per cent. of the product raised was paid to the Government, but Sher Shah reduced this percentage to twenty-five. The taxes were collected under officers known as *Amils*, who were subordinate to the revenue officer. The statement of revenue submitted by *Amils*, *Patwaris* and the revenue officers, independent of each other, to the Central Government, were all compared and checked.

There was no standing army. Nobles were required to furnish a certain number of troops for which they were paid. Hindus also held high command, though they were very few in number, such as Tilak, under Sultan Masud, the son of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni.

The judges or *Qazis* were appointed in large cities. They had to give judgment according to the Islamic Law, but in the case of non-Muslims and in civil cases, *Pandits* or religious heads versed in law, were asked to help the Government.

Villages continued to keep up the *Panchayet* system, but if one was not satisfied with its decisions, he could appeal to the higher authorities. The highest judicial power rested with the king. Some Muslim Emperors of this period, such as Sikander Lodi and Sher Shah-Sur, were noted for their sense of justice.

MUSLIM SOCIETY

Muslim society of this period was divided between the old residents or mixed blood, who were called Indian Muslims, and the new immigrants from Central Asia, Iran and Afghanistan. The former spoke the current vernacular and dressed like other Indians with whom they shared their habits. King Firuz Shah's mother was a daughter of Ranamal-Bhatta. The favourite queen of Ala-ud-din and the wife of his son Khizer Khan were also Rajput princesses. The Indianization of Muslim rulers had begun as early as the time of Iltutmish and his successor Balban, when Muslim princes and nobles had begun to adopt Indian nicknames. Thus, Prince Abdulla, son of Emperor Balban's nephew, was called Chajju, and another noble had the Indian name of Kachchan. Some Indian Muslims even worshipped Indian Gods and their Idols. Firuz Shah, it is said, hanged a Pujari Brahmin for helping a Muslim to do this, for he had prohibited Muslims from offering such worship. The Sufi Pirs, who had taken the place of Hindu Sadhus and Sanyasins, were largely responsible for reconciling Hindu ideals with the Islamic principles. They expounded Sufi doctrines agreeable to Hindus and permissible to Muslims and thus brought about friendship between Hindus and Muslims. They found followers from both the communities. Music, which was included among Sufis as a part of devotion, afforded further scope for bringing Hindus and Muslims under one roof. To this must be added the broad-mindedness of such seekers of truth as Albirunni, Hasan Dehlavi, Amir Khusroe and others, who studied Sanskrit and the Indian vernaculars and Philosophy, and who were willing to mix freely with Hindus to know them and make themselves known to them. Amir Khusroe, a Turk by birth, a Muslim by religion and an Iranian poet, has based his best poetical work on morals from material drawn from Hindu stories. He has even selected Hindu names for some of his heroes. Such familiarity created an atmosphere for the toleration of Hindu religion and admiration for Hindu Philosophy and literature. Zain-ul-Abedin, the ruler of Kashmir (1420-70), abolished *Jizya* or poll-tax, restored Hindu temples and encouraged the study of Indian epics and music. The Deccan kings of the Bahmani dynasty and their successors in Bijapur, Golconda and Bider were noted for their toleration towards Hindus. Sher Shah-Sur constructed public buildings in a manner suitable for the comfort of both Hindus

and Muslims. Muslims were supplied and fed by Brahmins. There were exceptions to this spirit of friendship and sympathy, and a reader of this period of Indian history now and then finds a man who passed his life in plundering the people committed to his charge or destroying temples with a view to unearthing hidden wealth or booty.

POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION UNDER MOGHAL RULE

The third period begins with the rise of Moghal power in India, beginning in 1526 and ending with the year 1857, when the last titular Moghal ruler was deposed and deported to Burma. The Moghal administration was based upon the military system of Turko-Moghals, which was modified by their contact with Persians and Indians. The power of the Government and the happiness of the subjects rested on the military ability and administrative skill of the sovereign. An able ruler who could control his nobles and kept them in his power with a benevolent mind towards his subjects, was considered the ideal ruler. Justice in the modern sense was not expected and known. There was no idea of a national effort to subdue other nations or exploit their wealth. Nobles were kept in obedience and loyalty not because they considered such loyalty would bring prosperity and power to the community and race, but for the reason that the king was powerful and could force them to remain loyal. Thus the position of the Government was always risky and dangerous and it entirely rested upon the strength and weakness of the king. It was for this reason that there was continuous rise and fall of dynasties, foundation and break-up of the kingdoms and empires. Life and wealth were never in complete security. Muslim rule remained always the result of individual ability and activity in contrast to the present European system which insists that collective national effort shall predominate, subjugate and exploit the wealth of weaker nations. Individual ambition and ability has been superseded by the national will, while the sovereign remains a distinguished figure-head, his position, duties, succession, income, expenditure, in short, everything personal or impersonal being fixed in unalterable fashion. The Moghal rulers lived in constant fear of being poisoned, deposed, imprisoned, killed and blinded by their relatives, children, nobles or foreign invaders. Hence they had their crown, throne and all oriental pomp and majesty, but no peace of mind. The sovereign was left to himself, suspecting all his friends as his enemies. This atmosphere of fear and suspicion made him sometimes a man and at other times a beast. There was no law of succession. The nobles were watched and guarded under a system of espionage, and were prevented from rebellion and mischief by timely action and accordingly by the use of severity in punishment. The

lot of ministers was always miserable in Muslim history, particularly during the Khilafat of the Abbasides and the reign of Moghal kings in Iran. There, the end of a minister was torture, prison, confiscation of his property and destruction of his family and friends. The Indian Moghals should be given credit for their humane treatment of ministers, though such kindness was forgotten at the death of ministers, when their wealth used to be transferred to the Treasury. The first seven Moghal rulers were good fighters, but most of them were poor administrators. The king, who led armies and lived most of his time in his military camp, such as Akbar and Aurangzeb, could control his generals and save his throne, but those who preferred the enjoyments of the harem and the pomp of their Durbars lost their crowns, lives and even the semblance of happiness. The first three of the Moghal Emperors were of Turkish or Turko-Iranian blood, but Jahangir's mother was a Rajput Princess and so was his son Shah Jahan. The Turkish national spirit was thus soon lost, and the fidelity and obedience of commanders of army and governors gradually diminished. In the meanwhile, the subject nation, which gained some of its lost power under Akbar and his successors in the north and from the Deccani kings in the south, would not remain content with the concessions granted. They aspired for higher political power and social status, while the Moghal Emperor had become incompetent, a puppet in the hands of his ministers and military commanders. The result was confusion, anarchy, misrule and discontentment of the remaining loyal subjects. The Moghals never thought of building a strong navy to protect the Indian coast from foreign invasions. The new religious and political movement of the Sikhs in the north and the Mahrattas in the south, to which the well-organized economic invasions of European nations were added, broke up the remaining power of the Moghal administration, which was already tottering and had been in a state of chaos, anarchy and misrule. The repeated raids of Iranians and Afghans from outside, and the rebellions of Pathans, Mahrattas and Sikhs who were close to the capital of the Empire, made the Emperor perfectly helpless. The early Moghal Emperors had to work hard in guarding their crown. The Emperor Shah Jahan could enjoy only six hours of sleep, but Aurangzeb had even less time for rest, while his successor Muhammad Shah passed weeks and months, never stirring from his harem, and never caring to know anything about the affairs of his vast Empire. When the threatening letter of Nadir Shah of Persia was presented to him, he smiled and soaked it, it is said, in his wine cup. Emperor Akbar used to get up early in the morning, and, after presenting himself to his subjects, engaged himself in the work of administration by holding a Durbar to which he

admitted courtiers and received petitions, and decided cases. His Secretaries were with him to note his orders in writing. Jahangir followed his father to less extent in this practice but Shah Jahan was more vigorous in its pursuit. He used to get up at 4 a.m. and show himself at *jharoka* to his subjects at 6-45 a.m. His official work of holding the Durbar started at 7-40 a.m. and continued with interruption to the afternoon, in fact, till 6-30 p.m. Aurangzeb, like Akbar, was a hard-working monarch. He enjoyed only three hours' sleep in the night. The rest of the time, commencing from 7-30 a.m., was passed by him either in transacting public work, or in offering prayers. He did not care, like his predecessors, for music or hearing poetical compositions. He had no liking, as Humayun had, for astrology, Akbar for elephants, or Jahangir for wine, arts and pleasure. He was strict with his sons, whom he feared and suspected. He supervised and went in great detail even into the ordinary items of administrative routine, and kept an eye over the movements of his nobles and, on the slightest suspicion, was ready to adjust affairs in his own favour. Yet his favourite son Akbar rebelled against him and caused much anxiety for him. Friday, which was declared a holiday, was passed in prayers and in reading the *Quran*. All this changed during the rule of his successors, who passed their time in the harem.

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION OF MOGHALS

The Empire was divided into *Subhas* (Provinces) and these into *Sarcars*, which were subdivided into *Parganas* and the last into *Dasturs*. The Governor of a province was called *Subedar*, assisted by *Divan* (Financial Officer), and a Treasurer. The Judicial Department was under *Qazis*. The power of a *Subedar* depended upon the strength of the Central Government. The *Subedars* were really Governors under Akbar and Shah Jahan, but semi-independent Nawabs in the reign of Muhammad Shah, and independent chiefs during the time of the last five Moghal Emperors. The important cities had *Kotwals* (Police Officers) commanding a body of troops. The *Kotwal's* rank was below that of a judge (*Qazi*). In small towns and villages, the officer doing the duty of *Kotwal* was called *Moqaddam*, who was also a revenue officer, assisted by a *Patwari*. There were other officers such as *Munsif*, the land surveyor, revenue inspector, *Tahsildar*, *Karkun* (Registrar), *Faujdar* (military police officer) and so forth. The administration of this period was an improvement over the second period of Muslim rule.

ARMY

The army consisted of Cavalry, Infantry and Artillery units. The Cavalry was its backbone. The officers were called

Mansubdars and ranked from *Dah-bashi* (commander of ten) to *Dahhazari* (commander of ten thousand). During the reign of Akbar, the rank of seven up to ten thousand was exclusively held by princes of the royal blood, such as the heir-apparent Prince Salim, who was a *Dahhazari*. But in the subsequent reigns, the highest grade reached over fifty thousand. Commanders of 500 to 2,500 were called *Amirs*, and over 3,000 *Amir-e-Azam*. Each *Mansubdar* was in duty bound to supply the number of troops assigned to him and determined by the Emperor. Dishonesty and fraud in keeping the number of troops, for which they were paid, were common and nothing could stop them from giving a wrong number. Even the practice of branding their horses, musters and constant inspection could not prevent this kind of dishonesty. Consequently, the Government adopted the method of short payments to counter-balance the surplus profits made by *Mansubdars*. *Mansubdars* holding the rank of below 5,000 were divided into two classes—those who were entitled to keep the number of troops according to their rank and others who were permitted to add a body of horsemen to their original number. For instance, a *Mansubdar* of 1,000, when permitted to keep additional 100 horsemen, was distinguished by the title of *Mansubdar of 1,000 Zat* (original) and 100 *Sawar* and was ranked over the one who kept no extra horsemen. Among such *Mansubdars* those who possessed equal number of *Sawar* of their original number were holding the highest grade, below them possessors of half the number of *Sawar* to their original rank, and the lowest was entitled to keep less than half. The grades may be summarised thus :—

- (1) Equal in the number of *Zat* and *Sawar*.
- (2) *Sawar* rank half the number of the *Zat*.
- (3) *Sawar* rank less than half of the *Zat*.

There was no distinction made between an officer holding military rank to that who held a civil rank. A civilian such as Abul-Fazal or Raja Birbar, was appointed to lead an army and so a military general was appointed as civil Governor. The *Mansubdars* of 5,000, in the first grade, received a salary of Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 30,000 per month, those in the second grade Rs. 24,250 to Rs. 29,000, and the third grade Rs. 23,500 to Rs. 28,000. Those officers were military commanders as well as heads of administration and of Judicial Departments. They received the appointment direct from the Emperor. The salary was paid either in cash or by the grant of a *Jagir*, having a revenue equal to their pay. Some of them owned extensive lands and villages as *jagirs*, and were loyal and obedient to the throne, so long as the sovereign and his government had power to hold them in subordination. Whenever the Central Government

weakened, they asserted themselves as semi-independent or even independent chiefs. Such was the case after the death of Bahadur Shah I, when his successors had become mere puppets in the hands of king-making *Vazirs*.

There were the following classes in the Army :—

(1) *Irregular*, paid by the Government during the period a war lasted, but remained under the command of their respective chiefs, who were Zamindars and tributary Rajas and Nawabs.

(2) *Dakhilis*, paid by the Government but fought under the command of *Mansubdars*. One-fourth of these were matchlockmen and the remaining three-fourths archers.

(3) Troops supplied by *Mansubdars* according to their rank.

(4) *Ahadis*, volunteers who received a higher salary than ordinary *Sipahis*. Their rank was between the lower *Mansubdars* and horsemen, who were called *Tabanin*.

(5) Armed guard of women to protect the harem. The Nizam of Hyderabad had employed two battalions or two thousand women *Sipahis*. The Emperor had personal troops, named *Wala Shahi*, somewhat like the troops of *Javidan* under the ancient Iranian kings. This army numbered according to the pleasure of the Emperor. Aurangzeb had about 4,000 men as his bodyguard.

There was neither military drill nor general harmonious training in the modern sense. Each man had to train himself in the art of wrestling, riding and the use of the sword and other weapons of war. He was examined and enlisted. There was no well-organized movement of the whole army. The death or disappearance of the commander from the sight of the troops was the signal for confusion and flight. Elephants were used to attack the enemy or carry the musketeers, the commanders and the ladies of the harem. Their use was gradually given up towards the last days of the Moghal power. No military manœuvres were held as in modern days. Elephants, camels, ponies and bullocks were used in carrying transport and dragging cannons. Grain and fodder were purchased from villages and from wandering dealers, failing which the commander permitted his troops to plunder and use the growing crops, which they could find in the surrounding country. Though the villagers were afterwards compensated for their loss, the extent of such compensation was left to the will, mercy and recommendation of the commander. While camping, each *Sipahi* was provided with a small tent. The Emperor's tent was fixed in the centre, in the square enclosure, protected by screens of seven or eight feet high on all sides. On the external side of the enclosure were bazaars and the tents of princes and officers of high rank. The Imperial camp was a

large moving city, possessing all necessities of life, and extended several miles in circumference. The artillery was fixed on important spots defending the camp. The Imperial tents were very large. Some of them could accommodate two or three thousand men. The Moghal Emperors were fond of outdoor life. Bahadur Shah I passed almost five years of his reign in the camp. The ladies accompanied the Emperor. Astrologers were consulted before the army started on an expedition or before it attacked the enemy. During the nights, patrols marched round the camp and guarded the army from surprise attacks. Whenever the Emperor passed through the camp, the commanders in his way had to present *Nazar* of one gold coin. The rivers were crossed by boat-bridges. The length of a march varied according to the need and energy of the commander, from ten to fifteen miles per day. Haidar Ali marched 100 miles in two and a half days and his son Tippu Sultan covered 63 miles in two days. The first *Bakshi* would draw the plan of battle and present it to the Emperor or Commander-in-Chief for approval. The artillery was generally placed behind the skirmishes or foremost body of the army in the front. Behind the artillery was the advance guard, protected on both sides by the left and right flank. Next was the centre, the place of the Chief Commander, which was also guarded by another left and right wing. The other side of the army was held by the rear guard. Behind this a body of troops armed with battle axes, swords and daggers, called *Nasakchi*, were placed to prevent the deserters from running out of the battlefield.

Certain families, known for valour and bravery, had the privilege of fighting in the vanguard. The Intelligence Department, which was active during both peace and war time, had a large number of spies, whose duty was to report the movement of the enemy. Their number once rose to four thousand. They were called *Harkaraks* and lived in all parts of the Empire. The Moghals mainly depended upon their cavalry, which could perform its best in an open level ground. They were poor fighters in hilly and mountainous country with light-armed guerilla fighters. Hence they could not subdue either the Afghan tribes in the north or the Mahrattas in the south. The Emperor Akbar had ceded Multan to the Beluchis, who were made a buffer nation between India and Iran. He failed to punish the murderer of his favourite minister Abul Fazal, who remained at large with a few hundred bands of followers. The infantry was recruited from villagers and peasants who could watch a camp or plunder a defeated enemy but were of little importance as a decisive factor in the battle. Their number was very large, though they never reached the exaggerated estimate of four and half million men as given by

Abul Fazal. Bernier²³ and other European writers have estimated the total number of infantry upto four hundred thousand. In any case, Moghal infantry was a multitude of half-armed, unorganized *Sipahis*. They were paid Rs. 3 to Rs. 6 per month. The approximate strength of the Moghal army as given by Professor Sarkar is 440,000 in the reign of Shah Jahan, of which 200,000 was cavalry, 8,000 *Mansubdars*, 7,000 *Ahadis*, 40,000 infantry and artillery and 185,000 belonging to nobles and princes, exclusive of troops under *Foujdars*, *Kroris* and other minor officers. The total number under the Emperor Shah Jahan was 900,000. Nevertheless, the Moghals could not capture Balkh, which cost the Emperor about four and a half crores of rupees, nor could Prince Dara Shukuh or Aurangzeb recover Kandahar from Iran. This fact is a proof that the Moghal army had, after Akbar and Jahangir, lost the martial spirit and had so much deteriorated that it could easily be vanquished by a small but organized body under an able commander. The Emperor was the Commander-in-Chief of the army and next to him was the head of the military department or, in modern phraseology, Minister of War or Chief of the Staff, called *Bakhshi-ul-Mamalik*. Under him there were three deputy *Bakhshis*. The *Bakhshi-ul-Mulk* had to enlist, organize and pay the troops. All *Mansubdars* and *Tabanin* or horsemen had to receive commands from him. He used to hold review of the army and examine the condition of the men in the service. The parade was not of the modern type but a mere show. The *Sipahis* used to pass in single file. An European traveller during the reign of Aurangzeb was right in remarking that an European army of 30,000 well-disciplined men could conquer the Moghal Empire. The infantry, which was of little consequence to the Moghals, became most important during the rise of European power in India. Tippu Sultan, who, like Akbar, had a passion for reforming everything, leaned more on his infantry and artillery than on his cavalry. His infantry was classed into *Qushoons*, each having about 1,200 men, divided into several *risalas*.

A battle during the Moghal period used to begin with an artillery duel. The next move was made by a charge from one wing followed by the other. Then the attack was general and after hand to hand fight, the battle ended with the disappearance or death of the commander. The beat of drums announced the victory, the enemies' camp was plundered and the head of the vanquished general, if killed, was presented, or, if captured, he was brought bound to the victor and left to his mercy. The chief defect of the Moghal army was the

²³ Bernier: (1625-88); a French physician and traveller; born at Angers; physician for 12 years to Aurangzeb; published *Travels*, a work full of interest and a model of exactitude.

lack of cohesion and co-operation among the various commanders and want of patriotism and attachment to the sovereign. A horseman, who was owner of his horse and paid for it, cared more for the safety of his horse than for victory, to which the mutual rivalry and jealousy of commanders was added. Each noble was the seeker of the highest rank and power, and, according to his selfish motive, used to take action in the field. A pretender to the throne was supported by a *Subedar* so that he might later on be utilized as a puppet in his hands. Such was also the case with nobles who sided with one or the other of the princes in the civil wars after Aurangzeb. The Moghal Empire, established in India through the valour, loyalty and fidelity of a few able commanders, was lost owing to the absence of discipline, the presence of intrigue, and the want of loyalty and honesty on the part of the *Subedars* and ministers, who were the worst traitors to the throne.

NAVY

Muslim conquerors in the East, with the exception of the Arabs, had no experience of the sea. Their home was in Central Asia surrounded by the mountains. They never knew anything about the sea. They never seriously thought of protecting the coast from foreign invasions. The South Indian States of Bijapur and Golkonda made feeble attempts at building vessels with the object of foreign commerce or taking pilgrims to Mecca and to other sacred places, but never possessed a navy worth any consideration. Even the Moghals, whose control of India in the 17th and 18th centuries so much depended upon naval competition with the Portuguese and other adventurous European sailor-nations, made only a half-hearted effort at building a navy. Akbar, the greatest Moghal ruler, established a Naval Department under the name of *Mir-Bahr*, but his equipment consisted of a number of vessels intended for river transport. The Bengal coast was guarded against pirates by a fleet of 768 armed vessels, but this was not enough even to check the Arakan and Portuguese pirates from plundering the helpless people. His successors subsidized either Abyssinian Siddis, who possessed a few ships and themselves were pirates, or the Portuguese, whose interests were directly opposed to the safety of the Malabar or the Bengal coast. The absence of a strong navy was the weakest point in Muslim administration. It opened the gates of India to bold foreign adventurers and left the whole coast at their mercy. Tippu Sultan was the only Muslim ruler who seriously thought of building a navy. He established a Board of Trade and created a fleet of forty ships, which was placed under the command of a *Mir-e-Yam* (or chief of the sea). He had a number of vessels at Calicut and Mangalore. His Naval Department cost him one-fourth of the

total revenue of the State. His object was to encourage home industry and to open commercial relations with foreign countries. His object was sublime but directly against the interests of the English traders, who could not see an Indian State with a navy or a commercial rival. Tippu's ambition cost him his throne and life.

ARTILLERY

The art of gunnery had not developed when Baber invaded and established himself in India. His successors, particularly Akbar, took much interest in forming a strong artillery. He employed Turks from Constantinople and various European run-away sailors, but the progress was so slow and imperfect that the Moghals could not compete with the Portuguese and other European adventurers in the East in efficiency and the worth of their cannons. Heavy guns were fixed with little advantage and poor results. The light artillery, such as *Zanburaks*, and field-pieces, were carried on bullock-carts and those, which were very light, were placed on camels and fired without being removed from their backs. The shot was either stone or iron and sometimes used copper coins also. The artillery commander was called *Mir-e-Atesh* or Chief of Fire. It was impossible and unnatural to seek help from any European mechanic, whose object was to exploit and occupy the Indian coast. Hence it was against his interest to put an effective weapon into the hands of his future enemies or subjects. European sailors remained masters of the sea and possessed always a better weapon of war—either a gun or a cannon. Tippu Sultan established a manufactory at Kankanhalli, but his power came to an end before he could effect any permanent improvement.

REVENUE AND FINANCE

The land tax imposed by the Hindus was about one-sixth of the produce, while that imposed by the neighbouring kingdoms of Persia and Turkey, at the time of Akbar, was about one-tenth and one-fifth respectively. The Moghal Finance Minister Raja Todar Mal, with the help of Muzaffar Khan, an Iranian, after a careful survey of the cultivated lands, their classification and measurement, fixed the tax at one-third of the produce, against which a large number of miscellaneous taxes were cancelled. The whole Empire was divided at the end of Akbar's reign in 15 *Subhas*. These were subdivided into a large number of *Sarkars*, and *Sarkars* into *Parganas* and *Parganas* into *Dasturs* and *Mohallas*. By the annexation of Bijapur and Golkonda, the number of *Subhas* increased to 21 under Aurangzeb. The total revenue from Akbar's 15 *Subhas* was about 174½ million rupees, which was raised to 211·7 million

under Shah Jahan and 297-7 (in 1707) under Aurangzeb. The payment was permitted to be made in cash or in kind with the exception of certain crops, such as hemp, turmeric, sugar-cane, etc. The Government Collectors were instructed to be kind and lenient towards cultivators, to advance loans towards the improvement of their lands and receive back the loans advanced in easy instalments and to provide all possible facilities for them. The lands were classified as specified below, each kind of land having a different rate of revenue fixed on it :—

(1) *Polej*—best cultivated land.

(2) *Perauti*—land to be left out of cultivation for a short time to enable it to recover its strength.

(3) *Chachar*—land which had been three to four years ploughed without being sowed.

(4) *Banjar*—not cultivated for five or more years.

Polej and *Perauti* were divided into best, middle and bad, and average rates of tax were fixed on them. *Perauti*, if cultivated, was considered as good as *Polej*. In regard to land suffering from some natural causes and considered not good enough for cultivation, the following graduation of taxes was followed :—

Two-fifths of the produce in the 1st year.

Three-fifths of the produce in the 2nd year.

Four-fifths of the produce in the 3rd and 4th years.

In the first year, this land was considered a *Polej*. The possessor of *Banjar* land had the further concession that he could pay only one or two seers in the first year per one *Bagah*, five seers in the second year and one-sixth of the produce in the third year. The taxes were collected direct from the cultivators and, if received in kind, the Government Officer used to inspect and measure the land while the crops were still standing unharvested and fix the portion of the Government, or divide it after the harvest, or when the field was sown or the grain has been heaped. The collections were made on the basis of the average rates since the 15th to 24th year of Akbar's reign. The tax when paid in cash was received in *Dams*, which was equal to one-fortieth of a rupee, and this could be paid in instalments. The Government spent on collection from 4 to 5 per cent. under Aurangzeb, to 10 per cent. under Shah Jahan and 8 per cent. during the reign of Akbar. The following was the revenue staff employed :—

(1) *Kar Kun* had to prepare statistics of the crops. He was the Registrar of Collectors.

(2) *Qanungo* (corresponding to the *Deshpande* in the Deccan) kept the accounts of the revenue payable by a village registrar of sales, leases, etc. The officers were graded on Rs. 20, Rs. 30 and Rs. 50 per month.

- (3) *Patwari* (or *Makaddum*) was the village officer.
- (4) *Sadar* (or Head *Qanungo*) forwarded the accounts of the Provincial *Qanungos* to the Imperial Head Office.
- (5) *Sheqdar*.
- (6) *Amin*.
- (7) *Mutasaddé*.
- (8) *Tipukehi* received reports relative to the average payment of revenue for ten years from *Qanungo* and the fertility of the land, which he transmitted to the *Amil*.
- (9) *Fotadar* (or *Potdar*), was the District Treasurer. He was assisted by the *Amil* and the *Sheqdar*.

OTHER SOURCES OF REVENUE

The following were the other sources of Government income :—

(1) *Customs* were managed under an officer named *Shabandar*. A duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was imposed on foreign imports.

(2) *Currency*.—The Emperor Akbar, in the 21st year of his reign, appointed Abdus-Samad, an Iranian artist, to reorganize the Imperial Mint. He was assisted by other subordinate officers such as the *Daroga*, *Sarof* (Banker or Assayer), *Amin* (Assistant to *Daroga*), *Mushref* (Accountant), *Khazanchi* (Treasurer) and the purchaser of gold, silver, etc. There were mints at Lahore, Delhi, Kabul, Jaunpur, Ahmedabad, Patna, Surat and other important centres. Moghal coins were struck in copper, silver and gold. The copper coin was called *Dam* and was divided into 24 or 25 *Jitals*. Akbar's coins were superior in quality, make-up and other respects to those of the contemporary European countries. The majority of the Moghal coins bore no human figure on them, excepting a few of Akbar and his son Jahangir. The required gold and silver were imported into India from foreign countries but the export of the same was prohibited. During the reign of Aurangzeb, the annual import of bullion reached £ 800,000. The copper was extracted from the mines in Rajputana and the Himalayas.

(3) *Peshkash* (presents) or *Nazars*, received from all visitors and occasionally from high nobles, amounted to a large sum. Even princes were not exempted from this exaction, which, to the present day, is continued in some Indian States, such as Hyderabad (Deccan).

(4) *Confiscation and Inheritance*.—The property of deceased high officials was confiscated by the Emperor and added to his Treasury.

(5) *Poll-tax*.—A tax per head on idol worshippers had been imposed by the Arabs since their conquest of Sindh and continued by their successors, the Slave, Khilji, Taghluk and other pre-Moghal rulers of India. Some of them were strict

in collecting this tax, which was about 12 to 48 *Derhans* per individual. Firuz Shah Taghluk included the Brahmins for the purposes of this tax, though they had been exempted by other rulers. Some kings, however, were lenient to the extent of not collecting the tax. Among these were Zain-ul-Abedin, King of Kashmir, who recalled exiled Brahmins and repealed the poll-tax on all Hindus. Akbar also abolished the tax, together with the miscellaneous taxes, but Aurangzeb re-imposed the tax in the 25th year of his reign. It was again cancelled by Muhammad Shah in 1720. It yielded a revenue of about 4 crores of rupees per annum. The average rate of this tax varied from Rs. 3 to Rs. 14 according to the wealth of the individual. Women, slaves, the blind, the aged and the poor were exempted from it. This tax, though not a great burden, was disgusting from the way it was collected, which was humiliating to the payer.

GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE

Against the revenue derived from the general heads above enumerated, the Government had to incur the following expenditure :—

(1) Government establishment, salary of *Mansubdars* and other officers.

(2) Personal expenses of the Emperor, his harem, etc., which were enormous.

(3) Pensions to old officers, and the families of deceased officers while in active service.

(4) Grants and rewards to *Madrasah* (schools), *Moulvis*, *Pandits*, poets and learned men. Sometimes, a *Pandit* or a learned man was paid lavishly.

(5) Public works.

(6) Military expeditions, which were constant during the reigns of all the Moghal Emperors.

(7) Presents and rewards to high officers, princes and foreign ambassadors.

The expenditure was not systematic and regular. It depended much on the state of the Empire and the ability and whims of the Emperor. Commerce flourished and exports exceeded the imports. The Moghals had made India their home and the money received from their subjects was spent among them. The country, though it did not enjoy complete peace, was on the whole prosperous and rich. The Moghal system of civil administration was adopted by the Indian States, with such modifications as their local needs or circumstances would permit. Haidar Ali, for instance, divided the State of Mysore into 16 *Subhas*, each under a *Subedar*. The present *Amildar* was an official subordinate to the *Subedar*. The *Sheristedar* was the accountant of a district. The Prime Minister was

Dewan, head of the Revenue Department, assisted by eight accountants. The *Tosha-Khana*, or the Treasury, was under an important officer. Tippu Sultan divided the State into 7 large districts, which he increased eight years before his death to 18, subdividing them into 164 subdivisions. The title of *Subedar* was changed into *Asaf* (the supposed name of the Minister of Solomon), assisted by a deputy *Asaf* and two to four *Foujdars*. *Amildars* and *Sheristedars* remained as before. The *Amildar* was responsible for collecting the fixed amount of revenue from his district, for which he had to give a *Muchalika*. The taxes were collected, as in the time of the Moghals, in four instalments. Besides the land tax, customs and the tax on houses, the Emperor received tributes from Zamindars and there were other minor sources of revenue as well. Tippu Sultan had paid much attention to commerce. His ambitions in this direction and in reforming his army were of a far-reaching character and much in advance of his time. He had made the sale of certain articles of trade, such as sandalwood, pepper, tobacco and some metals as well, into government monopolies. He had appointed Agents outside of Mysore, for example, in Muskat and Kutch, for the sale of sandalwood, and exported this valued article even to China. Every encouragement was given to the improvement of home industries and manufacture. *Kothis* or Banking Houses under *Malik-ut-tujjars* (merchant chiefs) were established all over the State, who not only controlled the exchange but also traded in important articles such as jewels, perfumes, raw silk, etc. His military reform was an imitation of the European system. He placed more confidence in infantry and artillery than in cavalry, which was the backbone of the Moghal army. His father and himself enlisted a number of Iranian and other foreigners and trained them in the army.

CHAPTER V

HISTORY OF MUSLIM LITERATURE

Arabic Literature—Umayyad Period—Turkish Literature—Poetry—Prose—The Present Period—Iranian Literature—Urdu and Hindi Literature—Modern Hindi and Urdu—Position of Urdu among Modern Indian Languages.

Islamic literature may be treated at least under four heads, viz. :—

Arabic, Iranian, Turkish and Indian.

ARABIC LITERATURE

Though the earliest prose records in Arabian language have been discovered in South Arabia and found to be as old as 3rd or 4th century B.C., the historical date of classical Arabic begins about a century before the birth of the Prophet. This does not mean that there was no literature before that date. We may say the earlier literature has not survived to our own times. The meeting places of pre-Islamic Arab poets were annual fairs, such as *Ukaz*, where people from many parts of Arabia used to assemble for trade purposes when poets took hold of the occasion to recite their poems. The one most appreciated by the hearers was written in gold and suspended on the wall of the great temple at Mecca. This was the greatest honour that could be paid to a poet. Such selected poems, known as *Moalloqat* (suspended), are few and the poets mentioned below are their known authors: Imra-ul-Qais, Terfa, Amr, son of Kulsum, Zuhair, Haris, Antarah and Labid. Besides these, there were others who, though their poetry was not included among *Moalloqat*, were nonetheless counted among the best poets, such as Nabigha, Alqama, Taabata-Sharran, Shanfara, Ans, son of Hajar, Hatim of Tai, Samuel (the Jew), etc. The subject of their poetry was the description of the desert, the site of a former encampment, praise of one's own horse or camel to whose swiftness the ostrich, the wind or the wild ass was compared, tribal life, thunderstorm, one's own or his tribe's bravery, description of an attack over an enemy and plunder of the camp, songs of longing after the beloved, praise of a hero or patron, etc. Manliness, courage, self-sacrifice, sincere love, hospitality, generosity, and keeping promise were considered the types of character worthy of praise. Cowardice, meanness and bodily defects were the subjects of satire. Pre-Islamic poets were called *Al-jahelliyya* (ignorance) and those who were born before the advent of Islam, but became Muslims, were named *Bukhazr-amin*. Among these were Hassan, son of Sabit (a companion of the Prophet) and Labid.

The Prophet, though he appreciated poetical merit, did not approve the conduct of contemporary poets nor the topics of their poetry, particularly when he found that some people admired the *Quran* as a poetical work and could not distinguish the aim of *Quranic* teaching from the poetical imagination of the known poets. The *Quran* explains this idea in the following verses:—

“As to the poets, those who follow them go astray. Do you not see that they wander (having no fixed goal in life) and bewilder in every valley (subject)? They say that, what they do not mean.” (XIX-224-26.)

Thus it is explained that a poet did not act up to his ideal, but the *Quran* has been composed with a definite aim in view, to teach and to uplift humanity. One is the outcome of human imagination and the other of a revelation. One speaks what he may not do, the other preaches what he should do.

Hassān was the court poet of the Prophet, embraced Islam and devoted his time in composing verses in defence of Islam and praise of the Prophet. It is related that in the battle of Banu-Quraizah, the Prophet encouraged Hassān by telling him that the archangel Gabriel helps him in the composition of his poetry. Among the poetesses of the early period was the celebrated Khansa. The first four Khalifas were so much engaged with foreign expeditions and internal management of affairs that they had little time to devote to the literature; nevertheless, Omar, the second Khalif, showed much interest in poetry and whenever he could find leisure, he heard and encouraged poets.²⁴

Arabic literature after the rise of Islam may be divided into three periods. The first may be reckoned from the birth of Islam to the death of Ali. This period produced a large number of poets and poetesses but the *Quran* had attracted so much attention from the people, that poetry had come to lose its former popularity. *Quran*, the sacred book of Islam, was believed by all Muslims to be the inspired word of God. The most pure in language and the most beautiful in style, that no human genius can either imitate or produce one like that. It stands uptodate a unique work in Arabic. Its style is a mixture of rhymed prose, in some sentences poetical, in others simple. It was arranged for the first time by Abu-Bekr, the first Khalif, and finally a second arrangement was made by order of Usman, the third Khalif. This re-arrangement

²⁴ Omar : Successor of Abu-Bekr ; second Khalif, 634-44 A.D.; was at first a persecutor of the Faithful but underwent in 615 A.D. a sudden conversion like Said, with a like result ; was Vazir of Abu-Bekr before he succeeded him ; swept and subdued Syria, Iran and Egypt. He was an austere man, and was assassinated by an Iranian slave, named Firuz or Abu Lulu.

remains unchanged upto the present date. There is no chronological order in the arrangement of the chapters (*surahs*). In some chapters, there are passages belonging to different dates. In the early chapters, the attention of the reader is rivetted on the beauty, wonder and sublimity of Nature. It condemns the wicked, threatening them with the most severe punishment, and praises the virtuous, promising them the most blissful life in heaven. The sentences are short, the language concise, and suggestive, and delivered with great force of expression. The longer chapters are more prosaic and in the narrative style, in which laws, regulations, references to past events, some illustrative of famous mythological accounts of the prophets known to Arabia, morals, treatment of non-Muslims, and appeals to defend Islam, etc., are given. *Quranic* passages were recited on different occasions, were addressed to and meant to be heard by the people ; hence, the arrangement of sentences is such that the hearer could grasp the central idea in the manner the passage was recited.

UMAYYAD PERIOD

The first thirty years of the Khilafat passed in conquest and the settlement of the Arabs in Syria, Palestine, Iran, Egypt and North Africa. The long-hoarded treasures of these countries were transferred to Arabia and the notoriously poor Arabs became one of the wealthiest nations in Asia. The early companions of the Prophet and his relatives received generous pensions from the public treasury. Among them was Ali, who had to wait twenty-five years to be elected as Khalif. During these years, he was pondering over theological questions and philosophical problems. He was the chief counsellor of the Prophet and his two early Khalifs, for whom he acted as judge. He was an excellent poet, a mellifluous orator, a great philosopher, and a brave and generous man, and at the same time a noted lover of peace and retired life. His supposed verses, addresses, letters and sayings were all compiled by Syed Razi, and are set down among the best specimens of Arabic literature known. His successor Moawiya, though a man of the world, too much absorbed in politics and affairs of the administration and the consolidation of his power, was yet a seeker of knowledge and a patron of learning. During his reign, the pre-Islamic style in poetry revived and once again the simplicity of desert life was praised. Moawiya was fond of hearing historical events retold, for which purpose and for hearing legendary stories, he invited from Yemen an old narrator of tales named Abid, son of Sharya, to his court, and induced him to put all that he knew into writing. This was the first semi-historical work, which gradually developed into one of the most important contributions of the Arabs to world literature.

Moawiya's grandson, Khalid, was the author of several treatises on alchemy. He also directed a certain Istifanus to translate logic into Arabic. Ibn-Kalbi (d. 763 A.D.), his son Hisham (d. 819 A.D.) and Sharqi, son of Qutami, compiled a genealogical list of Arab tribes. Ibn-Ishaq (d. 767 A.D.) and Ibn-Oqba (d. 758 A.D.) wrote the life of the Prophet. Ibn-Hisham (d. 834 A.D.) reproduced the work of Ibn-Ishaq with his own additions. Abu-Mikhnaf (d. 748 A.D.) has compiled a list of the important events that occurred from the reign of the first Khalif up to 743 A.D. The poets of this period had retained the simplicity of the desert poets, but the subjects they chose were not restricted to the praise of woman, tent, camel, or the generosity of a Shaik, or the bravery of a tribe. A new addition to this list of topics was found in the praise they sought to bestow on the pretenders to the leadership of the Khilafat. After the death of Moawiya, the leading members of the great families of the Quarish claimed the Khilafat. Those in power were the Umayyads, against whom were Hashimites and Zubeirides, representing the two rival parties. The great poets of this period were propagandists or panegyrists of one of these three families. Among them Akhtal, a Christian Arab, devoted his energy and talent in praise of the Umayyads. Farazdaq was attached to the Hashimites. He was a notorious satirist and his equal in poetical merit was his tribesman Jarir. Abidulla, son of Qais, was a partisan of the Zubarid clan. Besides these, there were a batch, whose energy was spent in love and admiration of women. They made poetry a media for expressing the intensity of their love and the beauty of their beloveds. These were Ibn Abu Rabia, who extolled the beauty of a certain princess. Qais, son of Zarib, loved Lubna and Qais, son of Mulawwah, known as Majnun, the hero of lyric poetry in Iranian and Urdu, was a lover of Laili. Jamil, son of Abdulla, was in love with Buthania, and Kusaiyyer with Azza, a Bedouin lady. Among the poetesses was one Laila, whose best verses are in memory of her lover Touba, son of Humayyir.

A'sha, Ghilan known as Zur-rumna, Abdulla, son of Mukhariq, were other poets of this period. Muhammad, son of Muslim of the Zuhra clan, was a traditionalist. Abu Ata, son of Yasar, an Indian, probably a Sindhi, was a good Arabic poet. The period covered by the Abbaside Khilafat was the golden age of Arabic learning. The system of education which had been developed during the Umayyad rule extended and reached the highest standard during this period. The Umayyad Khalifs were Arab in spirit and form. Their advisers and counsellors were Syrians, but the Abbasides were helped by Iranians and their period is noted for the fusion of Semitic with Aryan cultures. The Semitic race represented by the Arabs, Jews, Aramæans and Syrians, and the Aryan by the Iranians, Indians,

Greeks and Romans, took part in moulding into shape a new culture, having Islamic teaching as its basis. The first seven Khalifs of the Abbaside dynasty were all learned men and patrons of learning. They established a committee known as "House of Wisdom", to which several scholars were appointed to translate various works from the Syrian, Iranian and the Indian languages. Men from distant places gathered at the capital Baghdad. The Abbasides, though orthodox Muslims, have shown, with a few exceptions, much toleration towards non-Muslims. Meetings were held under the chairmanship of the Khalif himself in which problems of theology, philosophy and other subjects were freely discussed. Debates were held between Muslims of opposing views and between Muslims and non-Muslims, and freedom was given to express their diverse opinions. This period, which extended from 750 A.D. to the decline of the Khilafat in 850 A.D., was Islamic but not Arabic. There were three Khalifs at the same time, and each ruled a vast territory. The foremost among them were the Abbasides, with their capital at Baghdad. The other two were the Fatimids of Egypt and the Umayyads of Spain. During the decline of the Abbasides, Iran was divided into small and large native dynasties, under nominal suzerainty of the Khalifs. In their own capitals, these indigenous rulers had a number of scholars; and each ruler tried to surpass his contemporary in the encouragement he extended to learning and to learned men. Such were the kings of Saman, Ghazna, Buvaihid, Dayalamin, Hamadanids, etc. The Fatamid Khalifs (910-1060 A.D.) ruled in Egypt and North Africa.

Arabic Poetry, which had retained the pre-Islamic style during the Umayyad rule, could not continue unaffected under the cosmopolitan spirit of the Abbaside rulers. The different shades of life, the magnificence of the court, the generosity of the patrons, the peculiar conditions of the seasons, the greatness of the rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, wine and even male beauty were subjects for poetry. They were described in rather florid language. New similes and metaphors appropriate to place and time were used. Idioms were not limited to the description of the simple desert life of olden days, but philosophical notions, a pessimistic view of the world and theosophical speculations were also given expression to. The number of poets, among whom were included Iranian, Spanish and African Muslims, is very large and a detailed account of their lives and poetical composition is beyond the scope of this work. The following were, however, the principal poets of this period :—

Abu-Nuwas : His mother was an Iranian and he was born in Ahwaz (South Iran) and educated at Basra. He was a lyric poet. Love and wine were praised by him. His *Divan* contains:

panegyric, satire, humour, elegies, love and wine songs, hunting scenes, and religious poems. He was a contemporary of Harun and his son Amin. He died in 810 A.D.

Abul-Atahiya Ismail, son of Qasim (748-828 A.D.), an Arab of Anaza tribe, born in Hejaz and settled at Kufa. His style is simple and his ideas philosophical. He takes a pessimistic view of life. Though an Arab, he believed in the teaching of the Iranian teacher Mani that the universe is formed of two opposing elements.

Muti, son of Iyas, a native of Palestine and one who passed his early life in the Umayyad rule. Like that of Abu-Nuwas, his *Divan* contains songs of love and wine.

Abul-Atahiya Ismail, son of Qasim (748-828 A.D.), an A.D.), was born and brought up at Kufa. He is considered as, if not the greatest, at least one of the greatest poets of Arabia, by the Eastern writers, though Western critics consider his style rather bombastic with too many figures of speech, and imaginative description and expression. His poems have been commented upon by as many as forty or more commentators. He passed the early days of his life in Syria or amongst the nomad Arabs. For nine years, he was a favourite at the court of Hamadanid Prince Saif-ud-Doula. He lived for some time in Egypt and at Shiraz at the court of Azad-ud-Doula, who was the greatest prince of Buvaihid dynasty and was finally killed on his way to Baghdad by a band of Bedouins.

Abul-Ula Moarri of Syria was born in 973 A.D., about forty years before Umar Khayyam. In his tender age, he lost his sight. He was chiefly interested in and gave lectures on poetry, philosophy and antiquities. After return from a visit to Baghdad, he became a vegetarian and lived the life of an ascetic. In many respects, he resembled Umar Khayyam of Iran. Both were content with a little income, both were sceptic and pessimistic and possessed of a philosophical bent of mind. Their views were appreciated and admired in Europe, while criticised at home. Both were great moralists but suspected to be free thinkers and materialists. Both believed that man is governed by fate and that the mystery of life is beyond the reach of the human intellect. Umar Khayyam was the more mystical of the two and Abul-Ula thought that material annihilation is the best hope for humanity. He remained a bachelor throughout his life, satisfied for a long time on an income of 30 dinars. He did not believe in resurrection. He considered religion a man-made thing, and hence one was neither better nor worse for professing a belief in it. His ideas are original and logical, and he has given a fine description of the social conditions of his time. Like Umar Khayyam, he did not interfere in politics. On the whole, he was an eminent poet, a

mellifluous prose writer, a deep thinker, a sincere moralist, a keen critic and true ascetic.

In Egypt, Rashid, son of Ishaq, flourished about 850 A.D. He has left a *Divan*. In Spain, Ibn Zaidun and Muhammad, son of Hani, who was called the Mutanabbi of the West (973 A.D.), were the two great poets of the time. They were born at Seville, and lived for sometime in Egypt. On his return to the West, Ibn Zaidun was murdered at Barqa, at the age of 42 in 973 A.D. Ibn Kushajim Mahmud, originally a Sindhi Indian, died in 961 A.D. He has left a *Divan* of poems. Among poets of Turkish origin were Isa, son of Sinjar, and Aidamir. Abdulla, the son of the Khalif Al-motaz of Baghdad, was a scholar and poet, and author of several important works. Umar, son of Farid (1181-1235 A.D.) was a mystic Arab poet. Besides these, there are a large number of distinguished poets belonging to Sicily, Spain and Iran, about whose lives and works much more may be said, but any such consideration may exceed the limits of this work.

During this period, rhymed prose became popular and several works were written in this style. Among these are the sermons of Ibn-e-Nabata (938-1015 A.D.). Badi-uz-zaman, a native of Hamadan (Iran), wrote his celebrated assemblies known as *maqamat* or short lectures, in which the hero is represented as a wanderer going to various places and addressing people on some subject or other and thus showing his ability in Rhetoric and Poetry, expecting rewards. These lectures are semi-romantic and dramatic in character, composed in a florid and difficult language. Badruzzaman died a young man of 40, in the year 1008 A.D. at Herat, but another book in his style and subject was written by Muhammad Qasim-al-Hariri (1054-1122 A.D.), which surpassed the first and is considered a masterpiece in Arabic literature.

The modern period of Arabic literature begins with the invasion of Egypt by the French under Napoleon and the occupation of that country by the British. It was noted, in its earlier days, for the revival of the classical style in poetry and afterwards for the gradual influence exerted on it by European modes of thoughts and style. Among the noted poets are :—Nasif, son of Abdulla, known as Yaziji (1800-71). As a poet, he was an admirer and follower of the celebrated Mutanabbi and wrote a commentary on his *Divan*. Yaziji's poems were published in three volumes. He also left a prose work in the classical style of *Maqamās* under the title of *Majma-ul-Bahrain*. He had great command of the language and may be compared to Muhammad Husain Azād of India. Like Azād he was not acquainted with any European literature but like him, his works exerted much influence on current literature. Ismail Sabri (1854-1923), Ahmad Shauqi (1868-1932), Hafiz

Ibrahim (1874-1932) and Khalil Matran (born 1871) are other celebrated modern poets. Next in importance and popularity are :—Abdul Mohsin Kazimi (b. 1865), Ismail Sidqi (b. 1869) and Maruf Al-Rausafi (b. 1875). Of these, the last is noted for his verses composed in new rhymes and metres, and sometimes without rhyme. This tendency to indifference to rhyme is prevalent in modern Iran, Turkey and India. The other characteristic features of modern literature are the introduction of drama and novels in the European style. A large number of novelists appeared during the last half of the 19th century. Salim (1848-84) wrote his novels with a didactic object. Jamil Mudavvar's (1862-1907) books are chronicles of Khalif Hārūn-al-Rashīd, the hero of the *Arabian Nights*. Jurji Zaidan, like Abdul Halim Sharar of India, is credited with a large number of novels, mostly written on the historical basis. The work of Muhammad Farid, entitled *Daughter of Mamluk* (slave-girl), is considered superior in style and treatment of the subject even to the works of Jurji Zaidan. A large number of short-story writers flourished at the same time, such as the Taimur brothers. The elder, named Muhammad (1891-1921), was well educated in French and like the present Indian writer Mr. Premchand, wrote short stories, depicting modern life. His brother Mahmud (b. 1894) surpassed him in popularity. His collected stories have been published in six volumes. The language of these writers is simple, fluent and often in the ordinary spoken dialect. Their aim is to reform Society, by pointing out religious superstitions and their evils, economic distress, political bondage and social inequalities. These stories have produced a healthy effect on the minds of readers.

Among the long-story writers, M. H. Haikal is the author of *Zainab*. Some writers send their works in instalments as contributions to largely circulated journals and newspapers and then publish them in the form of books.

The earliest traces of Arabic drama are to be found in the art 'Haki' or narration of stories. The famous European traveller named Niebuhr,²⁵ visited Cairo in 1770 and has given a fair description of the 'Ravi' or story-tellers of Egypt. Such men are found all over West and Central Asia. They relate in public places tales of legendary and semi-historical heroes in a dramatic manner. In some instances, their heroes may be imaginary persons and their deeds of valour may have been accomplished by them in unknown places, even fighting with Jinns and enjoying with fairies. Modern Arabic drama was

²⁵ Niebuhr, Karstan (1733-1815), a celebrated traveller, born in Hanover; joined a Danish expedition in exploration of Arabia and alone of the members of it returned home, which he did by way of Iran, Palestine, and Cyprus, and wrote an account of the results of his researches.

introduced for the first time into Syria, by Ilyas, son of Marun (1817-55), who visited Italy and on his return to Beyrout in 1848, wrote a drama, called *Al-Bakhil* (*The Miser*). This was followed by another work under the title of *Abul-Hasan al-Moghafel* (1850) and then he took permission of the Sultan and founded a permanent theatre at Beyrout. His brother also wrote several plays. In 1875, Adib-Ishaq (1856-85) formed a theatrical company at Alexandria. Khalil Yaziji wrote the tragedy entitled *Al-murravat-wal-wafa* and Najib Haddad (1867-99) was the author of sixteen dramas, most of which were taken from European writers, such as Shakespeare, Alexander Dumas, Victor Hugo and others. Najib's plays soon received public appreciation. Usman Jalal (1829-98) of Egypt translated the tragedies of Racine and Corneille. Muhammad Taimur wrote four works on drama and on its theory and history. Mikhael Nuaima (who lived in America) wrote his celebrated drama entitled *Father and Son* (1917). The other writers who enriched the dramatic side are Antun Yazbak, Ahmed Shawki (who wrote *Cleopatra*, *Majnun*, *Cambysus*, etc.) and Tannus al-Hurr.

The present tendency among literary men of the East is to follow the European authors in research work and criticism of early authors. Particular interest is taken in bibliography, history of language and literature and philology. A considerable number of books have been written on these subjects in Arabic, Turkish, Iranian and Urdu.

Among the more notable women writers in Arabic are : Warda Yaziji (1838-1924), who was a poetess ; Maryana Mar-rash (1848-1922), the publisher of a journal ; Aisha Taimur (1840-1902), a poetess and prose writer ; Afifa Karam (1883-1924), journalist and novelist ; Maryam Ziyada, (b. 1895), writer of a large number of essays on various subjects ; Nazira Zain-ud-din, who like Kasim Amin, wrote on women's freedom and emancipation ; Najiba, the founder of a journal named *Al-fajr* (1920-24); and Salma Saigh (b. 1889), whose essays and stories have won great popularity.

In literary criticism, Taba Husain, Ahmad Amin, Zaki Mubarak and Kamil Kilani have an established reputation. Khair-ud-din Zurukli, and Ilyan Sarkis have written on bibliographical topics.

TURKISH LITERATURE

The Turkish languages belong to the Ural-Altaic family, divided into several dialects. The majority of Turkish-speaking people are inhabitants of Russia and Eastern China. Arabic characters were used by all Muslims in Turkestan, Iran, Turkey, Egypt, North Central Africa and India but with the exception of Arabic, they were not suited to the languages spoken

by non-Arab Muslims. They were adopted for the facility they gave for reading the *Quran* and other theological and philosophical works in Arabic. The Seljuks were the first Turkish people who conquered Iran, after the decline of the Khilafat. They established a very large empire, stretching from the Mediterranean coast of Asia Minor to the frontiers of China. They assimilated the Iranian civilization and adopted the Iranian language. Their age is considered the golden period of Iranian literature. They encouraged arts and commerce, founded universities and patronized learning. The Usmanli Turks were a branch of the Guzz tribe, who passed through Iran and took refuge under the Seljuks, who had founded a kingdom in Asia Minor and inherited the Turko-Iranian culture from them. The Turk has less initiative, but his capacity for imitation is great. He is called by Europeans the gentleman of Europe. He is polite, honest, simple, brave and submissive to his superior. The Turks of to-day are a mixture of ancient Iranians (who settled in Asia Minor from the time of Achæmenian supremacy), Greeks, Macedonians, Romans, various Semitic nations of the south, Armenians, Kurds, Seljuks and Usmanlis. The Kemalist party, now in power, are striving hard to convert Turkey into a Tartar nation by unifying the language, dress and social habits. They have succeeded to some extent, and now the descendants of Greeks and Iranians take pride in calling themselves genuine Turks and show great enthusiasm in speaking the Turkish language. Armenians and Kurds are the only people who still persist to keep their own, but they have neither foreign support nor strength to defeat the power of the Kemalist Government.

Turkish literature may be divided into three periods. The earliest, which begins with the rise of the Ottoman Empire (1230) and extends to the reign of Sultan Muhammad (1808-39) may be called the Irano-Turkish period. During this long time, covering over six centuries, Iranian influence was predominant. Ottoman rulers were, on the whole, great patrons of learning. Some of them could themselves write good Iranian, and twenty-five out of thirty-six Sultans were gifted with literary talents. Sultan Salim, the conqueror of Egypt, was a fine scholar in Iranian. He was a poet and the author of *Divan*. While a Turkish Sultan had made Iranian the vehicle for his poetry, his contemporary, the then Iranian Shah, who was his great antagonist, was writing in Turkish. The last Ottoman Khalifa, Sultan Abdul Majid, deposed in 1924, is also an accomplished scholar in various branches of art. The Turkish poets of this period, and authors not only imitated the Iranian style in prose and poetry, but even the subject-matter of romance and heroes of lyric poetry, are the same as in Iranian literature. There are Turkish works, in which one finds more

Arabic and Iranian than Turkish words. All Iranian characteristics, whether weak or strong, passed away in early Turkish literature. The Seljukid court in Asia Minor received Iranian learned men, who were helped and encouraged, and, therefore, during the Moghal invasion of Iran many Iranians, who could escape the slaughter, migrated to West Asia. Among the earliest of such emigrants, who left their country just before the breaking-up of Khawrazm Empire, was the father of the greatest mystic poet Jalal-ud-din, who, passing through the interior of Iran and crossing over to Syria, finally settled in Asia Minor. Jalal-ud-din wrote the celebrated work *Masnawi*, which contains the best and most illustrative views of Iranian Sufism. He is called *Rumi* or the inhabitants of Rum, the name given by Iranians to Asia Minor. Rumi was also the founder of the Moulvi school of Sufis. His followers were numerous among Turks as well as Iranians. Turkish mysticism has been enriched by Rumi's views. The romantic heroes of the early Turks are those of Iran, viz., Majnun, Khusroe, Farhad, Laili Shirin, Yusuf and Zulaikha. Their epic heroes are Iranians: metres, rhyme, form of poetry, style, etc., are the same as in Iranian and Arabic. Among the more noteworthy authors and poets of this period a few will be mentioned below.

POETRY

Sultan Valed, the son of the great Rumi, Shaikh of Kermiyan, who wrote a romantic poem selecting for his hero Khusroe of Iran and his beloved queen Shirin. Yazzi Oghlu composed a versified biography of the Prophet. Shaikh-Zāda dedicated his work entitled the *History of the Forty Vazirs*, to Sultan Murad II (1421-51). Nijati and Zati were the two important lyrical, and Jamali, Hamdi, and the two poetesses Mihri and Zainab were the romantic poets of the 15th century. Kamal Pasha-Zadan imitated Firdausi, and wrote the popular love-story of *Zulaikha and Yusuf*, and, in reply to Sadi's *Gulistan*, wrote a work named *Nigaristan*. Fuzuli, considered as one of the four great Turkish poets, appears to have originally been an Iranian of Azerbaijan, who lived in Baghdad and finally settled in Turkey and became a Turkish subject. His works are Iranian in form and character, with a mixture of Azerbaijani-Turkish dialect. He has left a *Divan* of versus, and some pieces of romantic poetry, on the love of Majnun and Laili. Yeni-Zade Naili (died 1668) is known for not only imitating Iranian style but using a large number of Iranian words. His language—to those who do not know—Iranian—is quite unintelligible. He has left a *Divan*. In his odes, he follows Fuzuli. Nesimi was a poet and a mystic. He was killed in 1418. He composed verses in Turkish and Iranian. Arabic was also known to him. He was a follower of Fazl-ullah, the

chief of *Hurufi* sect, and composed his best verses in praise of the Hurufi doctrine. He left a *Divan* in Iranian and one in Turkish consisting of odes and quatrains. Zati, who was born in 1471 and died in 1546, is considered to be one of the best Turkish poets, who flourished during the zenith of the Ottoman rule. His contemporary Sultans were Bayazid, Selim, and Sulaiman the Magnificent, in whose honour he composed panegyrics. His poetical composition reaches the large number of about 3,000 odes, 500 *Qasidos* (panegyrics) and 1,000 quatrains. His other works are :—*Sham-o-Parvana* ; *Ahmad va Mahmud* ; *Ferrukh-Nama* and several other works. None of these has so far been printed. Other poets belonging to the 16th century and worth noting are :—Lami, Baqi, Ruhi, Nevi, Yahya Beg and Abu Said, Nefi, a native of Arzrum in Turkish Armenia, and probably of Kurdish origin, like Fuzuli, had a particular style of his own. This was imitated by his successors. Nabi was a voluminous writer and in his style followed the celebrated Saib of Iran, whose style attained no popularity in its home, but was appreciated by Indian and Turkish poets. Sami was the most successful imitator of Nefi. Nadim is supposed to be the greatest poet of the 18th century, in originality of ideas, fluency of diction and beauty of style.

PROSE

Sinan Pasha, the minister of Muhammad, the conqueror of Constantinople, wrote a work entitled *Taazzurat* (Supplications). Ali Chalebi, translated *Anvari-e-suhaili*, itself a translation from the Arabic and the Arabic version also a translation from Pahlavi and the Pahlavi from a Sanskrit work named *Pancha-tantra*. The Turkish translation was called *Humayun Nama* and dedicated to Sultan Suleiman I (1520-26). Said-ud-din wrote a history of the Ottoman dynasty from its beginnings to the death of Salim I (1512-20), under the title of *Taj-ut-tawarikh*. Naima followed this work and wrote from 1591 to 1659 A.D. Tash-Kopri Zada and Ata-ulla wrote the biography of the famous saints and legists and Aulia a book on his travels. Haji Khalifa, the much-quoted author by European writers, has written on history, geography, biography and many other subjects. He died in 1658. His work *Kashfuz-Zunun* contains the names of large numbers of Iranian, Arabic and Turkish writers and books on various subjects. Veysi wrote a life of the Prophet, Iranian in style, and Asimi translated the Arabic lexicon *Qamus* and the Iranian *Burhan-e-qate*.

Of the poets who flourished during the 18th and early 19th centuries, a few of the more noteworthy may be noted. Partav, Shaikh, Ghaleb, Neshet, Wasif, Izzet, Molla, Akif Pasha and the poetesses Fitnet and Leyla are among these.

Neshet (1735), son of Ahmed Rafi (who was also a poet), studied Iranian and became a teacher in that language. He was a bilingual poet and wrote both in Turkish and Iranian. He has left a *Divan*. He died in 1807. Among his noted pupils were Ghaleb and Partav. Newres (Abdur-Razak), a contemporary of Shah Husain and Nadir, Shahs of Iran, composed verses in Iranian and Turkish and in each of these languages he has left a *Divan*. He also wrote a history of the Turkish war with Nadir Shah. He died in 1762. Wahbi is considered one of the three (the two others were Nedim and Newres) romantic poets who flourished during the reign of Sultan Murad III. He has left a *Divan* and other poems, for example, the romantic *Masnavi* named *Laili-va-Majnun*. He died in 1736. Waisi (Uwais, son of Muhammad, born in 1561 and died in 1628, was a fine prose writer and a poet. He has left a large number of works. Some of these have been published while others are not. Among his more noted works is one named *Khab-name* or the Book of Vision. The subject is a conversation between Alexander the Great and Sultan Ahmad I, which the poet hears in his dream. Waisi is noted for the translation of the Iranian work known as *Anwar-e-Suhaili*.

The second period, though short, is most important. It is chiefly noted for the modernizing spirit that dominates it, influenced largely by European contact and thought. Many works on different subjects were translated from the French into Turkish. Classical Turkish writers had followed the Iranian style and cared more for rhetorical effect than for the subject-matter. The new school, however, was made up of writers who were admirers of French writers, of French style, and French subjects of fiction and objects of poetical imagination. The modernizing movement began in the reign of that enlightened monarch, Sultan Mahmud, who endeavoured to Europeanize his army and administration and followed by an equal progressive successor Sultan Abdul Majid, whose famous firman *Gul Khana* was the beginning of reform and a new phase of administration based on the European system. This period ended with the Great War of 1914, breaking up old Imperial Turkey into a new and well-knit Republic. Encouragement was given to authors and writers of works on literature. A newspaper was started under the name of *Tasvir-e-Afkar* by Shinasai. The minister Rashed Pasha tried hard to introduce the European system of education, though much opposed by the orthodox class. He formed a literary society named *Anjuman-e-Danish*. The principal early writers were Afif Pasha and Partav Pasha. The last mentioned translated Rous-sau's and Victor Hugo's works into Turkish. Shinasai was born in 1826. He was among the early Turkish writers to use the words *mother* and *nation* in the European sense. He met

French writers, such as Lamartine, Earnest Renan, and Desèze.²⁶ His paper *Tarjaman-e-Ahwal* was written in Turkish undefiled. Like the late Sir Syed Ahmad of Aligarh, he became a torch-bearer for introducing the European style and familiarizing the Turkish public with European literature. He wrote a drama entitled the *Marriage of a Poet*, in which he has criticized the extravagant marriage ceremonies prevalent in Turkey. Zia Pasha, a constitution-seeker and a poet, translated several works from the French. Abdullah Jaudat, originally a Kurd (Iranian), born in 1869 and died in 1932, was a poet and a pioneer in reforming Turkish society, religion, language and form of administration. He, along with his Kurdish friend named Ishaq Sukuti, Muhammad Rashid of Circassia and Ibrahim Adham of Albania, was responsible for forming the great Turkish political party named "*Union and Progress*", and which finally became so powerful an organization that its members could depose Sultan Hamid in 1908. The great Turkish generals and statesman till the rise of Kamal, were members of this well-known party. Abdullah Jaudat was the author of a large number of works—translations and original. He was one of those whose writings caused the development of the present Turkish literature. Among his works are:—(1) Translation of *Umar-e-Khayyam*; (2) Translation of Shakespeare's six dramas; (3) *Fen-ne-Ruh* (psychology); (4) *Funun-va-Filsafa* (natural science and philosophy); (5) Translation of Schiller's drama named *Giyom Tel*; (6) A poem entitled *Tulu'at*; and (7) A poem entitled *Nat-e-Sharif*. He edited a newspaper named *Ijtihad*. His verses are noted for their epigrams. Naji, the last neo-classic writer and poet, was born in 1850. He was a voluminous writer. Among his best works are:—(1) *Ātesh-pāre* a collection of 52 poems in the Western style; and (2) *Sünbüle*, a prose translated in foreign languages. Nameq Kamal, born in 1840, was the creator of the modern style in Turkish prose. He was one of the most popular patriots of the reign of Sultan Abdul Aziz and Abdul Hamid. Besides his mother-tongue, he knew the Iranian, the Arabic, and the French languages. He began to write poems at the early age of 14, and coming into contact with Shinasai, became, under his influence, a lover of Western literature and civilization. He joined with the small circle of educated Turk

²⁶ Desèze (1750-1823).—A well-known French advocate; had the courage along with advocate Truncket to defend Louis XVI, when dragged to judgment by the Convention, and who, honourably fulfilling his perilous office, pled for the space of three hours, an honourable pleading "composed almost overnight; courageous yet discreet; not without ingenuity, and soft pathetic eloquence"; he was imprisoned for a time, but escaped the scaffold; on the return of the Bourbons, he was made a peer.

patriots who were endeavouring to lead a social, literary and political revolution in Turkey. When Shinasai left Constantinople and went West, Nameq Kamal became the editor of his paper. His political activity made him a suspect in the eyes of the Government and he had to leave Turkey in 1866, together with his friends, Ziya, Refat, Nuri and Ali Suawi to London, where he started a paper named *Mukhbir*. After some-time, he went to Paris, and changed his paper's name into *Hurriyat* (Freedom). He also translated, during his stay in Paris, some French works into Turkish and studied law and economics. When he returned to Constantinople, he published a new paper under the name of *Ibrat*. He also wrote his famous drama *Watan* (Motherland), which was very much appreciated by the public, but the Government deported him to Cyprus. He died in 1888. Among his other works may be noted :— (1) *Zawalli Cojuk* (The Poor Child), a drama in three acts (1873); (2) *Akif Bey*, a drama in 5 acts (1874); (3) *Gul-nihal*, a drama in 5 acts (1875); (4) *Jalal-ud-din Khwarezm Shah*, a tragedy in 5 acts (1875); and (5) *Qara Bala* (Black Misfortune), a drama in which the chief character is the daughter of an Indian Emperor. He wrote also two novels, viz., (1) *Ali Bey's Experiences* (1874); and (2) *Jezmi*, a romantic love story (1880). He, besides, wrote on history, on the defence of Islam, biographies of great men, etc. He is considered an ideal prose writer and sincere patriot. Among his friends and pupils were Rijai Zadah, Akram Bey, who was professor in Turkish literature and an officer of high rank, and Abdul Haq Hamid.

The last of these was born in 1852 and received his education in Constantinople and Paris. He passed his life as Turkish Consul in European countries, Iran and India (Bombay). He is considered the founder of the modern style in Turkish poetry. He was among the earliest Turkish poets to follow European models. His parallel in India are Āzād and Hali. He loved India and wrote a number of works connected with Indian life. He was a voluminous novelist, much like Abdul Halim Sharar of Lucknow in India. Among his noted works are :— (1) *Majera-e-Ishq* (Love's Fate); (2) *Dukhtare-Hindu* (A Hindu Girl); (3) *Nesteran* (Lily), in imitation of the French drama entitled *Corneille*; (4) *Zainab*, a story connected with Afghanistan and India; (5) *Sabr-va-thebat* (Patience and Perseverance); and (6) *Hijla* (The Bridal Chamber). His works, as enumerated, number thirty and come mostly under the heads of fiction and drama. Among his poetical works is one on Sufism and religious reflections.

Sazai Bey was the author of a novel named *Kuchuk Shai Lar* (Small Things) and *Sar Guzasht*. Ahmad Jaudat wrote a bulky history in twelve volumes, dealing from 1774 to 1825.

which is considered an authentic work of this period. Ahmad Midhat was also a voluminous writer. His works are, as counted, number nearly 100, both translations and original works. Ahamad Vafiq compiled two lexicons, one called *Loghat-e-Usmāniya* (Central Asian Turkish). He also translated a drama of Molière from the French, taking care to change the names of the characters into Turkish. Masud Bey, a Russian Turk, wrote a history of the world in six volumes and a history of the Turkish entitled *Abul Faruq*. Abu Zia Tawfiq wrote a history of Turkish literature, which was perhaps the first of its kind undertaken in the Turkish language. The following were the more famous writers and poets in the reign of Abdul Hamid II:—Taufiq Fikrat, whose poetry is patriotic and national. He published his writings serially in the paper *Sarvat-e-Funun* and issued them in book form under the name *Rubab-e-Shikashtha* in 1896. He was highly appreciated by the Turkish public. His other poem was written under the name of *Millet Serkesi* (National Song). Khaled Zia wrote his first novel at the age of eighteen and was well received by the public. His work entitled *Milli* (National) is written in the French style. His other works are *Peer uluson Daftari* and *Fardi-na-Sharoka*. He also translated several books from the French into Turkish. He also wrote a book on Sanskrit literature and a novel named *Mai-va-Siah*, which became very popular. Shahabud-din, a poet and prose writer, was the author of *Haj Yulendeh* and *Europe maktab-lari*.

When the Constitution was granted by Sultan Abdul Hamid, a large number of writers who could not freely express their thoughts and lived in seclusion in exile, returned home and appeared in public. Among these were Muhammad Rauf, author of a novel named *Elul*; Sulaiman Nazif (still alive), originally a Kurd, who devoted his life to the service of Turkey, is well read in Turkish literature; Ahamad Hikmat; Hasan Sirat; Sulaiman Nasib, son of the famous general Sulaiman Pasha, veteran of the Russo-Turkish War (1876-77); Husain Rahmi, author of *Mistress*, *Murabbiya* and *Sun Arzu* (The Last Hope); and Ahamad Vasim. The reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid is noted, besides the fight for a constitutional government, for two other movements, of which at least in one, the Sultan himself took a very keen interest, viz., Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism. Among the Pan-Islamic party, Iranians, Egyptians, Arabs and Afghans joined, but the Pan-Turkish movement was restricted to the Turks alone. A batch of Pan-Turkish poets and writers appeared, and among these were Zia Kiyuk Alp and Umar Saif-ud-din. They formed a society named "Turk Yerdu". Zia Kiyuk Alp was a poet as well as a sociologist and nationalist. He died in 1924. His writings, both in prose and poetry, have been published in

various Turkish reviews. His language is simple and his subjects are devoted to religious, political and social reforms. The Pan-Turkish party is still in power. The remark may be hazarded that the Kemalists are their representatives. There was another society named *Fajr-e-Ali* (The Rising Morn) and their aim was to introduce the European style in poetry and prose. Khaledah adib Khanum, the authoress of *Yani Turan* (Young Turk), became very popular as a Nationalist. Other writers who may be bracketed with her are Rishad Nuri (a dramatist and romantic writer), author of *Chali Kushu* and *Damgha*. Adham Izzet, author of a novel entitled *Shadran Kavan* (Lunatic), and Raushan Ashraf are both well-known writers of fiction. Raza Taufiq was a philosopher, historian and poet; while Yusuf Zia, a poet and author of *Ekundum Ekina* (Storm over Storms) and *Shāʿerun Doāsi* (The Prayer of a Poet), and Arjamund Akram, author of *Khūn-va-īmān* (Blood and Faith), have given a fair description of the heroic deeds of those men who fought under the flag of Mustafa Kemal. Among historians and other classes of writers are:—Abdul Halim Mamduh, Rauf Najdat, Husain, Jāhed, Ismail Habib and Muhammad Sāber.

THE PRESENT PERIOD

The third and the present period begins with the birth of the Turkish Republic and Kemalist movement, whose object is to mould the different races of Asia Minor into one solid, Turkish-speaking nation, and to completely Europeanize it, so that it might not, to any extent, differ from any other European State, either in its social life or the form of its government. They are indifferent to religion, and wish to retain as much of it as can help to render progressive Turkey as a nation. They have given up the Arabic characters—a medium of script to most of the Muslims, which is unfortunately ill-suited not only to Turkish, but also to Iranian and Urdu, and adopted the Roman alphabets, with certain modifications, to make it suit Turkish. Books on science and arts are being translated. A large number of newspapers and magazines are being published. Foreign words, from Arabic and Iranian, are less used, and the tendency is to purge the Turkish language and literature from the domination of these two languages. Kemal Pasha has, in fact, revolutionized government, society, religion and language. We must wait and see the future development of the language in its new setting.

IRANIAN LITERATURE

The history of Iranian literature may be divided into Pre-Islamic and Post-Islamic period. The Pre-Islamic period may be further subdivided into the Avestan period, the Achæme-

nian period and the Pahlavi period. Of these, the Avestan is the earliest form of the Iranian language in which the hymns of the Zoroastrian creed have been composed. The Avestan dialect has a very close resemblance to the language of the Vedic Hymns. Its oldest portion named *Gathas* is considered to have been composed during, if not earlier, than Rig-Vedic period. Among the Achæmenian rulers of Iran (about 700 to 330 B.C.), Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes and Arataxerxes I, II, III, have left several inscriptions in Persepolis, Behistan and other parts of Iran. The writing in which these inscriptions have been composed is called cuneiform. Their inscriptions give a very brief account of the deeds and conquests of the said kings. These mark the second period. The third Pre-Islamic period may be called Pahlavi, dating from about 300 B.C. to 900 A.D. Pahlavi is written in the Aramæic alphabet. It is a modified form of old Iranian, and contains many Aramæic words. Its grammar has been simplified from old Persian, but its alphabet is defective, and therefore its study is found difficult by modern scholars. The quantity of literature in Pahlavi is much larger than in the Avestan and Achæmenian put together. It is represented by books on theology, religion, philosophy, history, fiction and other subjects. It continued to be the medium of religious literature to non-Muslim Iranians as late as the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. Among the last important works written in this dialect is a work entitled *Dinkard*, an encyclopædia of religion and theology in nineteen volumes.

With the death of Yezdakart, the last Sassanian king, in 651 A.D., Iran became a great province of the Arab Khilafat and by the end of the Umayyad period; a large number of Iranians embraced Islam. "They were attached to the new religion and expecting better treatment and higher social position with the ruling class, they Arabicized themselves. They adopted Arabic names, not only for themselves but also for some of their non-Muslim forefathers, and by becoming *Halif* or partners of an Arab tribe, they added the tribal name to their own names. Arabic became the vehicle of their thoughts. They composed their poetical and other works in that language. The earliest Iranian Muslim was a seeker of truth from a village near Isfahan. His Arabic name was Salman, originally a Zoroastrian. He embraced Christianity, and not being satisfied with the Christian doctrine, accidentally met the Prophet and accepted his teaching. He was a zealous Muslim and so sincerely served the Prophet that once he said, "Salman is a member of my family". During the Khilafat of the second Khaif, he was appointed governor of *Madayan*, the capital of Iran, situated on the banks of the Tigris. He was known for his piety and learning. The non-sympathetic attitude of the Umayyads towards subject nations forced the Iranians into

rebellion. They joined Hashimite pretenders and fought for them against the Umayyads and defeated the last Umayyad Khalif in the battle of Zab. By this time, they had well familiarized themselves with Arabic literature. As early as the 7th century A.D., Ziyad, son of Sulaiman, an Iranian born at Isfahan, who lived in Persepolis, became a celebrated poet in the Arabic language. Ismail, son of Yasar, and his brother Muhammad, and Ibrahim were also Arab poets, though they retained their national love for Iran. Hammad, son of Shahpur, was the most celebrated collector and compiler of Pre-Islamic Arab poetry, and the legends and genealogy of Arab tribes. Wahab, son of Munnabbih (638-728 A.D.), was an Iranian whose father and grandfather had emigrated to Yemen during the reign of Khusroe I. Among the greatest and most famous Muslim poets, literary men, philosophers, theologians, etc., we find Iranians whose works were standards of learning not only in Islamic countries but in Europe also. In the meanwhile, the Iranian language, though neglected by its speakers, did not disappear. During the Khilafat of Mamun, the semi-independent rule of an Iranian family, known as Tahirid, was established in Khorassan. This was followed by other independent dynasties who ruled in the extreme north-east Iran, the modern Afghanistan, and north, central and west Iran. By the end of the 10th century A.D., Iran was relieved of the Arab yoke and had its own rulers, some pure Iranians, and others Iranized Turks who ruled under the nominal suzerainty of the Khilafat at Baghdad. These indigenous dynasties once again encouraged the learning of the vernaculars and caused the renaissance of classical Iranian, which was written just as Urdu, in the Arabic script. Thus the Urdu of Iran was born as early as the 9th century A.D., soon developed into an important language, and eclipsed even Arabic by becoming the *lingua franca* of all Muslim countries in the East. As Urdu is an offshoot of Prakrit, with a mixture of Iranian and Arabic, and is written in the Arabic script, so Iranian is a daughter of Pahlavi, with a mixture of Arabic and a few Turkish words, and like Urdu is written in the Arabic alphabet. Rudaki was the first great poet of classical Iranian poetry. He lived under the Sammanid king Nasr (913-942 A.D.). His *Divan* of a few thousand verses in ode, panegyric, *masnavi*, and quatrain is still extant. The other famous poet at the Sammanid court was Daqiqi, who attempted the versifying of the epic of the Pre-Islamic Iran, but was killed before completing the work. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni had a large number of poets at his court. Among these were Unsari, Farrukhi, Manuchehri, Asjudi and, last but not least, Firdausi, the author of the great Persian epic, entitled *Shah Nama*. This book, composed in about sixty-thousand verses, gives the best description of the customs,

manners, religion, ethics, and the social and intellectual life of the Iranians. It contains historical events mixed with ancient legends. Firdausi is the most brilliant poet of Iran, whose name and work will always be respected and admired by his countrymen. His *Shah Nama* enjoys the same position in Iran, as the *Mahabharata* in India. Many noted poets imitated his work and versified the stories connected with the family of Rustam, the Indra of Iran and the great hero of the *Shah Nama*, but none could gain the popularity of Firdausi. Asadi was the first imitator. He wrote of the adventures of Gershasp, the great-grandfather of Rustam. This was followed by other works on the heroic deeds of Sam, Banu Geshasp, Burzu, Shariyar, Framarz, Jehangir, etc., all connected with Rustam, as his ancestors or descendants. In 1037 A.D., the Seljukid chief succeeded in founding an Empire which stretched from Central Asia in the East to Asia Minor in the West. After the fall of the Sassanian dynasty, for the first time, the whole of Iran passed under the rule once again of a single authority, administered for thirty years by an Iranian statesman, the celebrated Nizam-ul-Mulk. The Seljukid kings were great patrons of learning. During the early period of their rule, Iran enjoyed the greatest prosperity, and it was in this period that the most celebrated poets, theologians and early Sufis flourished. Among them were the following :—Adib Saber, Moazzi, Rashid Watwat, Abdul Wase Jabali, Anwari, and his rival Khaqani. All these were celebrated panegyrics. Suzani was noted for satire but is also known for poems of mirth. Kamal-ud-din of Isfahan, who praised the chiefs of Iraq and Iran, gained the title of "Creator of Thoughts". The last great poet of this period was Nizami, the author of the most romantic and lyrical poem in Iranian. He was born in about 1143 A.D., and died in 1203 A.D. For brilliancy and popularity, it stands next to the *Shah Nama*. Nizami has depicted the best picture of human passion. His heroes were Sassanian kings and the celebrated Arab lover known as Majnun. Like the *Shah Nama*, his poems also were imitated by many other Iranian and non-Iranian poets, but none could reach his high standard. The prosperity enjoyed in Iran under the Seljukid and Khawrazm Shahs was followed by the great calamity, which the Moghals, when they invaded West Asia and East Europe, brought about under the famous Chengiz Khan. Their object was to plunder and destroy cities, to kill men and women, to burn cultivation, and to lay waste all traces of civilization. Eastern Iran, which was the cradle of Iranian civilization and the home of Muslim philosophers, traditionists, theologians and poets, lay waste at his feet. It is now called Turkestan, which is the best proof that it could not regain its former prosperity, much less its original inhabitants. Chengiz passed away but his descendants

continued the work of devastation and conquest, till the final settlement of the Chengiz dynasty in Iran. The other princes of the Chengiz family were the great rulers of China, Central Asia and South Russia. During their rule, China re-opened commercial relations with Iran. A number of Chinese artists and artisans found their way to Iran and many Iranian scholars settled in China. Fortunately, the Moghal branch, which ruled over Iran, adopted the religion of their oppressed subjects and became reconciled to them. There was a revival of learning and arts, which reached its zenith in the rule of the Timurid princes. The Moghal period of Iranian art and literature is noted for the development of Irano-Chinese style in painting, which was introduced by Moghal rulers in India. In literature, many important works were written, among them being the following :—*Jahan gusha* by Ata malak Juvaini, *Vassaf* by Abdulla, son of Fazlulla, *Jama-ut-Tawarikh* by Rashid-ud-din Fazlul-lah, *Gozidah* by Hamdulla Mustaufi, *Rauzat-us-safa* by Muhammad Khavend Shah, and *Habib-us-siyar* by his grandson Ghias-ud-din. All these works are on history. Among biographers of the poets, the following are worthy of note :—Tazkara-e-Doulat Shah, and Labul-lubab of Aufl. Among the Sufi poets of the period were Jalal-ud-din Rumi (1207-73), author of *Masnavi* in six volumes, *Iraqi* and *Auhadud-din*; Nasurid-din Tusi (author of *Akhlaq-e-Nasari*); Jalal-ud-din Dawani (of *Akhlaq-e-Jalali*), Kashafi (of *Akhlaq-e-Mohsani*), and Sadi (1182-1292), the celebrated author of *Gulistan* and *Bustan* were the chief writers on ethics and morals during this period. Among the best and most celebrated ode writers were :—Sadi, who has left a *Divan* of odes; Hafiz, the mystic ode composer (d. 1389) whose lyrical composition proved so attractive that in his life-time his verses were sung all over Iran and beyond Iran, in Turkey and India. His contemporaries were Salman of Sava (d. 1377), Kamal of Khujand (d. 1431), Shirin-e-Maghrabi (d. 1406). Nematullah, a Sufi sage (1431), who was admired and found followers in Deccan (India), Qasim-anwar, Fighani, Wahshi, Bāfiqi, and Jāmi, who was the last great poet of this period. Among the great artists, whose school of painting prevailed not only in Iran but also in India for about three centuries, were Bahzad and his pupil Mirak.

The Moghal period of Iranian history ends in about 1525 A.D., when a new indigenous dynasty named Safavi was established in Iran. The ancestor of the Safavi family was one Shaik Safiyud-din, a Sufi sage, who lived in Aradabil (North-West Iran). He was admired and respected by Timurlane. When Timur returned from his expedition in Asia Minor, he had a large number of Turkish captives, whom he released at the request of Safiyud-din. These men became his followers and devotees, and remained loyal to his family after his death.

Among his descendants, Junaid married a sister of the reigning king Uzun Hasan and by her had a son named Haidar, whose ambition was more to rule than to remain a Sufi *Pir*. Though he failed in his object, his young son Ismail succeeded in founding the glorious Safavid Empire. At this time, two other Muslim Empires existed or began to exist in the West and East of Iran. The rulers of these were the Ottoman Sultans of Turkey and Timured Emperors of India. Both of these were followers of the Sunni sect in Islam. To make their position strong and their dynasty well established, the Safavids supported Shiism in Iran, whose followers till that time were weak. Thus Iran became secluded from the two sides. Sunni Iranians were persecuted and driven out of the country or were made to embrace the new established State religion. Ismail was followed by Shah Tahmasp and Abbas the Great, who were the contemporaries of Humayun and Akbar in India. The Safavid kings re-established internal peace and tranquillity and encouraged commerce and home industries and opened foreign relations. They could not encourage Sufism because as Sufi *Pirs* they had gained an Empire and were afraid that their example may be repeated by another Sufi *Pir*. Sufis and Sunnis were persecuted and Shiah theologians were well encouraged, supported and respected. Hence this period is noted for a number of works on Shiah theology. Some of the Shiah theologians were interested in philosophy and so there was a revival of studies in that subject, in which several important works were written during the period. Among these there is a work entitled *Asfar* in four volumes, written by Mulla Sadra of Shiraz. The Safavid period was followed by the Afshar and Qajar, when once again the famous *Qasida* (panegyrics) writers flourished. Qajar kings were themselves poets and gave encouragement to poetry. Their period is noted for the rise of the European powers and the fall of Asiatic nations. A large number of poets and authors existed but they are neither known for any originality nor did they acquire any fame, not certainly the fame of early great poets known to Iran. Towards the end of this period, for the first time, drama attracted attention in Iran. Its beginning was in the religious ceremony of the *Moharrum* started since the time of the Safavids. It was owing to the influence of European literature that drama developed into a regular subject. The earliest drama in modern Iran was a translation from a French work entitled *Le Misanthrope* published in 1869. This was followed by other translations and independent works.

Nasar-ud-din, the fourth ruler of the Qajar dynasty, was crowned in 1848. The chief events of his reign are the rise of Babi and Bahai sects and the modernization of Iran. The former, in spite of severe persecution and execution of its leader

Mirza Ali Mohamed Bab, and the deportation of his followers, made considerable progress both in and outside of Iran. The Bahai Iranian literature has characteristics peculiar to itself. According to Mr. Gobineau, it is dull, stiff and devoid of brilliance and in course of time it may develop into a separate branch of Iranian literature. Nasar-ud-din made three journeys to Europe. He was a man of weak character and showed no initiative in reforming the country. In the meantime, his subjects, who followed his example and travelled through Europe, imbibed the ideas of constitutional monarchy prevailing there and some followed the Pan-Islamist Syed Jamal-ud-din of Hamadan, known as Afghani. There was a strong propaganda for Constitutional Government. In consequence, Nasar-ud-din was assassinated by an admirer of Jamal-ud-din, named Mirza Riza. Muzaffar-ud-din succeeded his father but during his reign the affairs of Iran became worse. A revolution took place towards the end of his reign, and though a Constitution was granted by the dying Shah, his successor Muhammad Ali resisted and the result was a continuation of the revolutionary propaganda till the year 1920. During this period, a revolutionary and patriotic literature, both in prose and poetry, was developed. Its peculiar features are its simplicity of language, absence of old similes and metaphors, and the use of words taken from the European languages, especially French. The mystic and epic types were changed into the national and the patriotic. Women also took great interest both in poetry and prose. Jahangir Khan, editor of the *Sure-Irafi*, Bahar, Mirza Ali Akbar Khan Dakhau, Syed Ashruf of Resht, Aref of Qazvin, Pur Dawood and many others are the poets and writers of this revolutionary period.

Besides the above, Iranian literature also developed outside of Iran, particularly in India, which is considered the second home of the Iranian language. The earliest known Iranian author in India was Abu Raihan Albiruni, who studied Sanskrit and wrote the *History of India*, in which Indian astronomy and philosophy and other subjects were dealt with by him. Abu Saleh, son of Shueb, translated Indian ancient works (probably the *Mahabharata*) from Sanskrit into Iranian, which again was translated by Abul Hasan Ali Jili (1026 A.D.) into Iranian. *Chach Nama*, *Tarikh-e-masumi*, *Tarikhe-e-Taheri*, *Tohaf-ul-Kiram* are all works written on the history of Sindh. *Tarikh-e-Yamini*, a history of Mahmud and his father was originally written in Arabic but translated into Iranian. *Tarikhe-e-Baihaqi* also was connected with the history of the Ghaznavids. Hasan Nizami of Nishapur wrote *Tajut-ul-Maaser*, a history of the reign of Qutb-ud-din Aibak. *Tabaqat-e-Nasiri*, a voluminous work in 23 books, treats with the Islamic and Pre-Islamic history of Western and Central Asia, of which

books Nos. XI, XIX, XX, XXI are connected with India. Its author Usman, son of Siraj-ud-din of Juzjan, was the Principal of Firuzi College at Uch and the Nasariyya College at Delhi. He was a contemporary of Balban. Amir Khusroe, the celebrated poet, wrote *Tarikh-e-Alai* or the history of the reign of Ala-ud-din Khilji. *Tarikhe-Firuz Shah*, which is a history of India from the reign of Balban to Firuz Shah Tughlaq, was written by Zia-ud-din Barni. Yahya, son of Ahamad Sirhindi, wrote the *Tarikh-e-Mubarakshahi*, in which he has given a careful account of the Sayyid dynasty. Emperor Baber's *Tuzuk* or Autobiography is well known in Europe and often quoted by European authors. It was translated by Abdur Rahim Khan-e-Khanan from Turkish into Iranian. Several books were written on the history of Sher Shah, the Afghan rival of Humayun, and his family. One, for instance, was by Abbas Khan Shirwani, and Abdulla, the author of *Tarikhe-Daudi*, in which he commences from the reign of Bahlul up to Daud Shah, the last Afghan ruler, and another is the *Tarikh-e-Salatin Afghan* by Ahamad Yadgar. Haider Mirza Doghlut, a cousin of Baber, wrote a history of the Moghals with geographical accounts of Central Asia, ending with an account of Kashmir and India. Abul Fazl, the famous minister of Akbar, wrote two important works, viz., *Akbar Nama*, a history of Akbar, in a florid and figurative style and the *Ain-e-Akbari*. His brother Faizi was a poet and the author of a number of books, including a versified reproduction of the story of *Nala and Damayanti* and the *Mahabharata* in Iranian. Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah, whose father had come from Iran and settled in the Deccan, wrote an important history entitled as *Tarikh-e-Frishta*, beginning with an imperfect description of the Hindu period. Its importance as a work on history begins with the reign of Akbar in the north and Ibrahim Adil Shah in the Deccan. It is also valuable for the account of the Sufi saints in India which is included in it. Emperor Jehangir also has written an autobiography. Muhammad Sharif (*alias* Motamad Khan) was the author of a valuable work entitled *Iqbal Nama* of Jehangir.

Indo-Iranian poets who were either Iranians settled in India or Indian Muslims or Hindus, are numerous and the quantity of their poetry is very great. Among the earliest poets were Abul Faraj Runi and Masud Sad Salman, contemporaries of the Ghaznavid rulers. During the period of the Slave and Khilji dynasties, Amir Khusroe, a bilingual poet, composed verses in Iranian and Hindi. He and his friend Hasan are considered to be the best poets of their age. Baber and his descendants attracted a large number of learned men from Iran to their court. Among these are Zahuri, Urfi, Kalim Hamadani, Ghazzali Mashadi, Nemat Khan-e-ali, Sarmad,

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Naziri, Taleb Ameli, Qasem-e-Divana, Tughrai. Ghaleb was a celebrated poet whose grandfather had come from Central Asia and settled in India. To-day, the greatest Iranian poet of India is Sir Muhammad Iqbal, who is a Kashmiri by birth and a Brahmin by descent. He has adopted Iranian as the vehicle of his philosophy and poetry. In the eighteenth century, English as official and Urdu as the spoken language, completely substituted Iranian.

URDU AND HINDI LITERATURE

Urdu of to-day and Hindi, are both offshoots of an older Hindi dialect spoken in the United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh). It is difficult to fix their direct relation to any particular dialect as both are spoken over a large area, particularly so Urdu, and have undergone so much mixture. There is no doubt that all parts of India, at least the United Provinces, have contributed to their development. To-day both claim to be the *lingua franca* of India; Hindi recently popularized by the Hindus and Urdu by the Muslims. One as a written language is enriched by Iranian and Arabic and the other by Sanskrit. The spoken Urdu in different parts of India has its local peculiarities. The best and purest Urdu is spoken in the United Provinces and in the vicinity of Delhi. Dekhani Urdu is a mixture of Marathi, Telugu and other Dravidian dialects. Hindi and Urdu are different in name, but one in origin and spirit. Urdu is the Hindi which has been Iranized during Muslim rule in India. One may consider the condition of present-day Kannada, as spoken by educated classes. In each sentence, one or two or a number of English words are used. Supposing if such Kannada became the written language, it would be called Kannada-Urdu. The same development took place for Hindi, when Iranian became and prevailed the court language all over the Muslim courts in India. Urdu is more the outcome of Hindu needs than those of Muslims. Moghal, Afghan and Iranian nobles used to speak with each other in Iranian, and their correspondence also was in that language. But Hindus who worked under them and received education in Iranian, made a mixture of Iranian with their mother-tongue Hindi. The result of such mixture was what came to be called Urdu, which was used by Muslims in their dealings with the Hindus. All important public transactions, such as Government accounts, Royal decrees, official correspondence, etc., were written in Iranian. Even Hindu courts followed this rule. Urdu came to the front when the doors of Iran and Afghanistan were closed to India, and the Moghals lost their supremacy at Delhi. They came more and more into direct contact with the Hindus, and became more and more accustomed to speak in Urdu. The last Moghal Emperor, perhaps, was the first to write his royal

correspondence in Urdu. In fact, Urdu was encouraged more by the British, to temporarily replace the official Iranian. When the English became the rulers of India, Hindus reverted to some extent to their own mother-tongue Hindi and in place of Iranian, began to study English. Urdu literature reached its perfection at Delhi and Lucknow, under the influence of the poets of the 18th and 19th centuries. The earliest specimen of Hindi poetry, which shows direct contact with Iranian and has Iranian words intermingled in it, is *Prithwi-Raj Rāisa*, a composition of Chand Bardai, a court poet of Prithwi Raj, the contemporary of Shahab-ud-din Ghorī. Chand Bardai was a Punjabi, a native of Lahore. His poem contains a few Iranian words. But his Hindi predecessors are supposed to be Iranian poets. Abul Faraj Runi and Masud Sad Salman, both of whom flourished in the early days of the Ghaznavid dynasty, have each left a *Divan* of verses in Hindi and naturally with some mixture of Iranian. Their Hindi compositions are, however, not extant. Shah Sharaf-ud-din Ahamad Yahya Muniri, who was a contemporary of the Slave and Khilji kings of Delhi, composed a number of verses in Hindi. His extant work is entitled *Kajmandra*. Next is a poem named *Padmavat* of Jais, who was attached to the court of the Raja of Amethi. He wrote this work in 1540 in pure Hindi as spoken in Oudh. The heroine of the work is *Padmavati*, wife of Bhim Singh, Raja of Chitore, whose beauty caused a pretext to Ala-ud-din Khilji for besieging Chitore. Ere this, Amir Khusroe, the celebrated poet in Iranian, had also composed some verses in Hindi, but his metres are Iranian. Kabir (1440-1516) and Tulsi Das (1550-1624), the two great Hindi poets, have used a number of Iranian words in their compositions. The earliest spread of Hindi into the Deccan was due to the early migration of the Aryans to the south. When Ala-ud-din invaded the Deccan and Muhammad Tuglaq made Daulatabad his capital, a large number of northern Hindus and Muslims came to the Deccan. Most of these, owing to the establishment of the Bahmani Kingdom, remained in the south. By this time the northern Empire was divided among a number of Afghan chiefs, and in the Deccan the Bahmani Kingdom had been established. Muslims were in a great minority and the stream of emigrants from the north was meagre. A few Iranians and Arabs who could venture the sea-voyage were themselves absorbed among the natives. Hence they had to adopt the vernacular as their home language. The Deccani kings of Bijapur, Golconda, Bidar, Birar, and the State of Nizam Shah had few Arabs and Iranians to help them in their work of administration and there was constant rivalry between the nobility of these two nations. Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur was a great lover of Indian music and a scholar in the local vernacular. He wanted to weaken the

power of Iranian officials and therefore he changed the language of the revenue department from Iranian into Hindi. In consequence of his orders, Iranians had to give way to Hindu clerks, most of whom were Brahmins. Ibrahim Adil Shah himself wrote a book on music in Hindi, entitled *Nauras*. His contemporary kings of Golconda, such as Quliquib Shah (1581-1611), Muhammad Shah (1611-25), Abdulla Shah (1625-72) and Abul Hasan Tana Shah (1672-87) were all acquainted with and spoke Deccani Hindi, and composed verses in that language. Shuja-ud-din Nuri, an Iranian domiciled in Gujarat, became tutor to the minister's son in Golconda. He was well versed in Hindi and is considered an early Hindi Muslim poet. While Hindi was replacing Iranian in the Deccan, Akbar's minister Raja Todar Mal was forcing Iranian upon his Hindu subordinates. He was Minister of Finance, and the revenue accounts were kept in Hindi. But he substituted Iranian and commanded Hindu officials to learn that language. On the other hand, a number of Muslim learned men, such as Mirza Abdur Rahim. Khane-Khanan and Faizi, the elder brother of Abul Fazl, had studied Sanskrit and the latter had translated a number of Sanskrit words into Iranian. Among them is his beautiful poem entitled *Nal-Daman*, or the love story of Nala and Damayanti. Thus while Hindus were eager to familiarize themselves with the language of their rulers, the ruling class were becoming more and more Indianised.

In the south, a great teacher named Ramanuja taught devotion to Rāmachandra, the great legendary Aryan hero, became an object of worship. To him Krishna, another hero, was added. Both were recognized as *avatars* of Vishnu, and their cult became popular all over India. While Rama's cult is based upon the mutual affection of father and son, Krishna's was identified with devotional attachment. Both these are natural to humanity and play an important part in the life of human beings. In the beginning of the 15th century, Ramanand, a follower of the sect of Ramanuja, migrated to North India, and expounded the teaching of Vaishnavism. His composition of *bhajan*s and other short poems are in Hindi. Among his disciples was a weaver, supposed to have been originally a Muslim, named Kabir. He made Rāmachandra identical with the Supreme Deity. His Hindi verses are extremely popular. Emperor Akbar's court musician Tan Sen was a Hindi poet. His verses in praise of the Emperor are still extant. Raja Birbal, the Emperor's favourite minister, was also a poet and a musician. He was appointed the *Kabi-Raj* (or Poet Laureate) at his court. This distinguished office continued during the reign of other Moghal rulers. Even Aurangzeb, who was comparatively indifferent to poetry had a *Kabi-Raj* in his *darbar*. Among Muslims, Khan-e-Khanan, the celebrated son

of Biram Khan, was a poet, both in Iranian and Hindi. His *dohas* and *kabitas* are extant. Krishna Das Payahari, Parmanand Das, Kumbhan Das, Chatur Bhujdas, Chit Swami, Nandas, Gobindas and the blind Sur Das are the more celebrated poets in the *Braj Bhasha* dialect. The last named was a devotee of Sri Krishna. His *bhajan*s are said to be as many as 60,000 verses. Like Faizi, he also versified the story of *Nala and Damayanti*. But the greatest of the 16th century poets was Tulsi Das, the author of the *Ramayana*, a monumental work in Hindi. Keshab Das, a contemporary of Akbar and Jehangir, composed *Rasik-Priya*, *Kavi-Priya*, *Ramachandrika* and *Vigyangita*. Bihari Lal's *Sat-sai* (Seven Centuries) was composed in the reign of Aurangzeb and is perhaps the best specimen of Hindi poetry extant. Nawaz, a Hindi poet, translated the drama of *Sakuntala*, by order of the Emperor Farukh Siyar (1712-19) into the then current Urdu. Thus Hindus and Muslims were both responsible in mixing up Hindi with Iranian and founding a new dialect. The best writers in Iranian, whether a man from Iran domiciled in India or an Indian attracted to Iran, have used now and then Hindi words in their works. Such were Zahuri, the Iranian poet; Abul Fazl, Akbar's minister; and Emperor Aurangzeb in his private correspondence. On the other hand, Hindu poets have freely inserted Iranian and Arabic words, idioms, etc., in their prose and poetry, particularly those who had received education in Iranian. The result was the formation of an Iranian peculiar to India, and a Hindi specialized by Iranian scholars, which afterwards took the name of Urdu, Rekhta or Hindustani. Both Hindi and Urdu are the same in substance and in grammatical construction, but different in script and prosody. Like the classical Turkish poets, Indian Urdu poets moulded their poems in imitation of Iranian. Their figures of speech are all from Persian poetry, and Iranian in its turn borrowed from Arab literature. Hence, we may say that Iranian thoughts and mystic ideas all have passed into Urdu. But we must express our disappointment that Urdu poets have paid less attention to the original and natural source of enriching Urdu through Sanskrit literature. This is due to their ignorance of that language and the political condition of Hindus. A few exceptions do not satisfy an admirer. The time has come when we must remove this defect and must do what we have not done in the past. Urdu poetry originated in the Punjab and the U.P. but developed in the Deccan. The encouragement received from the kings of Bijapur and other Deccan states was great. The Bahmani kings had, from the very start, a Brahmin as prime minister, and a large number of minor Hindu officials. The Hindi of the Deccan was a mixture of Konkani and other South Indian dialects and the early Hindi poets and authors composed their

poems and wrote their works in this dialect. Among them, besides those already mentioned, may be noted a few here. Ibn Nishati composed two poems entitled *Toti-Nama* (Book of Parrots) which had its origin in Sanskrit, *Suka-saptati*, and *Phul-Ban* derived from an Iranian work named *Basatin*. Tahsin-ud-din versified the story of *Kamarupa* and *Kala*. Nusrati composed a book named *Gulshan-e-Ishq* (1657), a love story of *Manohar and Madmalati*. He was also the author of a work entitled *Ali-Nama* (or life of Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur). Towards the end of the 17th century, Bijapur and Golconda were overthrown and annexed to the Empire of the great Moghals. The Deccani poets lost their patrons in the south and Delhi became the centre for the study of Urdu. Wali, the great Deccan poet, thrice visited the capital and drew the attention of Delhi literary circles towards his poetry. He found many sympathisers for the new field in Indian literature. The early Delhi Urdu poets were Abru, Hatim, Mazhar, Naji, Taban. These poets were the translators of Iranian thoughts and imitators of Iranian style, and being nearer to the source of Iranian culture, they made Urdu a prototype of Iranian modes. Their favourite figures of speech was *ihām* or using words with double meanings, one far-fetched and the other obvious, and leaving the reader to choose one or the other according to his taste and ability.

These were followed by the great masters of Urdu poetry such as Mir Dard, a celebrated Sufi poet ; Sauda, a great panegyrist ; and Mir Taqi Mir, a master of lyrical poetry. Mir's Odes are considered among the best in Urdu and are admired and appreciated by all the later poets. But the supremacy enjoyed by Delhi as the capital of the Indian Empire from the age of Wali was of short duration. The invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali and the rise of Mahratta power, made the life of inhabitants of Delhi extremely miserable. Shah Alam, the Emperor (1760-1806), was blinded and finally became a pensioner of the British East India Company. The centre of literary activity shifted to Lucknow, which was under the rule of semi-independent Nawabs. Their ancestor had come to India from Iran, and rising in power, was appointed Governor of Oudh during the reign of Muhammad Shah. His son-in-law made himself master of that province. He was a Shiah, and therefore in a short time he and his descendants made Lucknow the stronghold of Shiahism in India. He encouraged poets who praised the deeds of Shiah Imams. Among them was Husain, the grandson of the Prophet, who was the martyr at Kerbela.²⁷ A group of elegy composers appeared, who devoted

²⁷ A holy town, 60 miles south-west of Baghdad. The pilgrims who frequent it, number at least 200,000 annually, the sanctity of

their life in versifying the tragic death of Husain. These were called *Marsiago*. Their number was great, and among them, like Mir Anis and Mirza Dabir, whose families became elegiac poets. Their descendants made elegy their profession, and received much encouragement from the public. The whole month of *Moharrum* was given up for mourning over the sad and tragic death of Husain. Even Hindus joined such gatherings, and showed their devotion to Husain. The elegy thus composed in India, particularly by Anis and Dabir, is held to be far superior as a piece of poetry to any to be found in the other Islamic languages, including Iranian and Arabic.

Among the other Lucknow poets of the 18th century and first half of the 19th century may be mentioned a few others. Among these are Insha, Jur'at, Mushafī, Ātash, Nāsikh and others. All these wrote poetical *Divans*. They have improved and reformed the language but the ideas are the same as those of the early poets. During the nominal reign of Siraj-ud-din Bahadur Shah, the last Moghal Emperor, Urdu poetry revived at Delhi. Ghaleb, Momin and Zouq, the three great poets of the West, proved themselves superior to contemporary Lucknow poets in the subtleties of their thought, in the beauty of language employed by them and in the study of the human mind they showed. Zouq was poetical preceptor to the Emperor, who was himself a tolerably good poet, judging from the *Divan* he has left. In the Deccan, Kishan Parshad, a grandson of Chandulal, the minister of Hyderabad, whose pen-name was Shād (1766-1845), was an Iranian and Urdu poet. He was, besides, a patron of Urdu poets in Hyderabad. Wajid Ali Shah of Oudh, who like his contemporary Bahadur Shah, the Emperor at Delhi, was the last ruler of his dynasty, was a poet, a musician and an expert in the art of dancing. In his private life, he was an orthodox Muslim or a pious Shiah. His pen-name was Akhtar. He is known to have introduced the Urdu drama in Lucknow. The earliest drama in that language, written by his order, was entitled *Inder-Sabha* and composed by Amanat. It was a reproduction of some old work in Sanskrit. Inder is the Indra of the Vedic period. The heroine, Sabz Pari (Green Fairy), represented fertility and her beloved is Gulfam or one whose body is like a flower. Kala Dev (or the night) helps the lovers and Lal Dev (or the day), exposes their love. The end is comedy. Sabz Pari is united to her beloved Gulfam.

After the fall of Delhi and Lucknow, the rallying points of Urdu authors and poets were Rampur and Hyderabad, and

the place arising from its being built on the battle-field where Husain, son of Ali and Fatima, perished (680 A.D.). The word *Kerbela* is derived from *Kerb* = house, + *ela* = ghat which means the house of ghat and it must be a place where there was a temple.

a few of the smaller Indian States. British officials have also shown interest in Urdu and to a less extent in Hindi. Dr. John Gilchrist²⁸ invited a number of distinguished Hindu and Muslim scholars to Calcutta. These wanted to support and patronise Urdu at the cost of Iranian, which was the court language of the Moghals. This political move was a blessing in disguise to Urdu. A large number of eminent Urdu scholars gathered together in that city, and under the supervision of British officials wrote a number of books. Among these are :—Syed Hyder Bakhsh (d. 1828), who composed *Tota Kahani*, *Araishe-mahfal*, *Dah Majlis*, etc.; Husaini wrote *Akhleq-e-Hindi* (Indian morals), an indirect translation of the Sanskrit *Hitōpadēsa*; and Mir Amman wrote *Bagh-o-Bahar*. Hafiz-ud-din Ahamad translated the *Iyar-e-Danesh* (of Abul Fazl) which originally was done from the Sanskrit *Panchatantra*. Nihal Chand translated an Indian story known as *Gule-bakavali* and named it *Muzhabe-Ishq*. Jawan was the translator of the celebrated drama of *Sakuntala* and wrote a book named *Bara-masa* (Twelve Months) to which an account of the Hindu and Muslim festivals was also added. Ikram Ali translated a portion of an important work in Arabic entitled *Ikhwan-us-safa*. Sri Lallu Lal, a Brahmin of Gujarat, translated several books into Hindi. Among them were his *Prem-sagar*, a portion of the *Bhagavata Purana* and *Rajaniti*, a translation of the *Hitōpadēsa*, and wrote short stories in Hindi and Urdu, under the title of *Latāef-e-Hindi*. Mazhar Ali joined with him in writing a book named *Baital Pachchisi*, and Jawan helped him in completing another such work entitled *Singhasam Battisi* or the legends of Raja Vikramāditya.

The last half of the 19th century was the beginning of a new period, in which attention was drawn towards Western civilization. Authors as well as poets instead of seeking shelter at the courts of Nawabs and kings, addressed the public direct, and sought their approval and support. It was the beginning of the political awakening among educated Hindus, and for Muslims to reconcile themselves to their British masters. Sir Syed Ahmad and his party grasped the critical position of their co-religionists and created a sense of loyalty on the side

²⁸ Born in 1759; educated at Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh; joined E. I. Co.'s medical service, 1794. He was the first to reduce to a system the Hindustani language; he published a dictionary and grammar in it and popularized its study. He was also well versed in Sanskrit and Iranian. Marquis of Wellesley made him Principal of the College of Fort William at Calcutta, in 1800. He supervised the preparation of works in Hindi and Urdu by Indian scholars, and himself wrote chiefly in those languages. He left India in 1804; was made LL.D. at Edinburgh; acted as Professor of Oriental Languages at Haileybury, 1806-09. Died in Paris, January 9, 1841. A scholarship in his name was founded in Calcutta.

of Muslim towards the Government and tried to win its confidence in favour of their Muslim subjects. Aligarh became the centre of the new Muslim culture and learning. The object aimed at was to imitate Western ideas, to adapt the Western style in prose and to absorb the Western way of thinking and looking on natural beauties. Western poets came to be read, though most of the first batch of scholars were ignorant of the English language. They sought help from various translations and thus helped to originate a new style. These were Muhammad Husain Āzād, Sir Syed Ahmad, Hāli, Zakauila, Hāfiz Nazir Ahamad, Shibli, Cheragh Ali, Syed Ali Bilgrami, Syed Husain Bilgrami, Syed Ahamad Dehlvi and others. Important books, including the biography of distinguished men, the history of India and a commentary on the *Quran*, aiming at harmony with European thoughts and in reply to Western critics, were attempted. Novels were written in imitation of English authors. Among the more celebrated novelists were Pandit Rathan Nath Sarshar, who was a voluminous writer. His book *Fisana-e-Āzād* in four big volumes, *Sair Kohsar*, *Khudai fanjadar* and several others received public approval and admiration. Abdul Halim Sharar of Lucknow was the author of a large number of novels and so was Sajjad Husain. Jwala Prasad Barq translated several novels from the Bengali into Urdu. Rāshid-ul-Khairi, known as a painter of sorrows, became famous as a novelist especially in connection with the cause of the advancement of women. A large number of dramas came to be written, mostly translated from the Bengali and English. Though, on the whole, Urdu drama is inferior to what has been accomplished in some other vernaculars, such as the Bengali, the attempt itself is worthy of note.

Among other Hindu writers, Girdhari Prasad Barq was a scholar in Sanskrit, Iranian and Urdu. He had also studied Arabic. He wrote a large number of works in Urdu, among them is his versified translation of the *Bhāgavata*. He is noted for expounding the Sufi teaching and Eastern philosophy. Munshi Durga Sohai Surur is the author of a work entitled *Khum-Khana-e-Surur*. Raja Kishan Parshad, Prime Minister or Hyderabad, under the pen-name of Shād, is a poet both in Urdu and Iranian. The last great poet of this period, following the old style, was Nawab Mirza Dāgh, a pupil of Zauq and poetical preceptor of the late Mir Mohabub Ali Khan, the Nizam of Deccan. He has left several *Divans* in Urdu.

MODERN HINDI AND URDU

Unlike in Iran and Turkey, modern writers in India keep no fixed ideas in view. The awakening began with a mania for Western civilization and developed into fanaticism and got

automatically suspended with the rise of communal prejudice and lukewarm patriotism. Among the best Urdu and Iranian writers of this period is Sir Muhammad Iqbal, a writer of vast learning and information. He started writing poetry as an Indian Sufi, became an enthusiastic Nationalist, changed into a Pan-Islamist and has recently appeared as an expounder of the theory of self-assertion, which he has versified in his book named *Israr-e-Khudi*. His elder contemporary, who began with a more fixed ideal, was Syed Akbar Husain. Akbar was born in 1846 and died in 1921. He left three *Kulliyat* in Urdu poetry. His language is humorous and sarcastic. His aim is to reform society in all its cultural aspects. He does not approve of the blind imitation of European civilization. He wants Indians to remain Indian in spirit and appearance, and to remove such defects which bar their progress. His verses are instructive and simple in style. He has absorbed a number of English words. The other living poets are Josh, Aziz, Safi, Niaz of Fatehpur, Hādi, Saqeb, Majid, Nahshar, Kaukab, Yās, Ravān, Shāter, etc. None of these has yet distinguished himself as an original thinker or founder of a new school such as the distinguished Tagore of Bengal. The late Lala Sri Ram compiled a biography of poets, entitled *Khum-Khan-e-javid* which is perhaps the most comprehensive one of its kind in Urdu. Four volumes have already been published by him and several volumes from the hands of other scholars may follow. The Osmania University, the stronghold of Urdu, was established in 1918 and Urdu has been made in it the medium both for the study of arts and the sciences. It has been recognized by her sister Universities in India. A Bureau of Translation also has been attached to the University and considering the short time it has been in existence, its achievement should be deemed worthy of praise. A large number of books on the sciences and arts have been translated from English, Arabic and Iranian. If such activity and progress is maintained at a high level, Hyderabad may well become a great centre of Urdu learning in India.

POSITION OF URDU AMONG MODERN INDIAN LANGUAGES

As already stated, Urdu is an outcome of the combined efforts of Hindus and Muslims, and no other language in India can lay claim to such a distinction. It is the reservoir of Iranian, Semitic, Turkish and Indian linguistic tradition and history, in fact the four great cultures of Asia. For years, it has been freely absorbing European culture as well. It is spoken or understood all over India, and beyond its home in Mesopotamia, South Iran and South Arabia. It has the best chance of becoming the *lingua franca* of India and perhaps the leading inter-territorial language of Asia. Its Arabic script is ill-suited and

alarming to non-Muslim Indians. If Urdu writers adopt an alphabet agreeable to those who are accustomed to write it in characters invented on different lines from the Semitic and suitable to Indian vernaculars, they will perhaps be doing the greatest service for the more rapid spread of Urdu in India itself. Urdu is an offshoot of Sanskrit but unfortunately it has adopted its foster-parents Arabic and Iranian, as her true father and mother. It has not enriched itself from its original sources. Many important works from Sanskrit and Prakrit have been translated but many more are still available for translation. Urdu must not be considered and made an exclusive property of the Muslims. It has taken its birth in the Hindu-Muslim family and must remain under the protection of that joint family for ever and ever.

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATION, UNIVERSITIES, DEVELOPMENT OF ARTS AND SCIENCE

History—Geography—Botany—Science—Astronomy and Astrology—
Mathematics and Trigonometry—Natural History and Minera-
logy—Works on Sociology and Agriculture—Medicine.

At the advent of Islam, there were very few men in Mecca who could read and write. Arab education was restricted to poetry, oratory, and a primitive form of astronomy, *kāhana* or augury. There were as many as over twenty places where annual fairs were held during particular seasons, like the *jatras* in India. These places had temples and people from different parts of the country used to assemble, worship and transact personal business, selling their goods and buying noted manufactures of the different places brought together there and settle other affairs. Among these places, Hajar was in Bahrein Islands,²⁹ Oman in South-East Arabia, San'a, Al-mushaqqar Shahr, Duba, Adan and Suhar in the South-West, Rabiya in the South, Doumatul-jandal, Zul-majaz, Mino, Nifat, Badr, and Hubasha in Central and West Arabia. The most important among these was Ukaz near Tāif, close to Mecca. Here, among other places, the poets used to meet and recite their verses. The annual fair in this place continued for 21 days beginning from the 1st of *Zul-qadah*. The professional story-tellers in the Islamic period used to narrate old legends, for which they were paid by the audience. There were such narrators at the time of the Prophet, describing the heroic deeds of not only Arab warriors, but also the Iranian legendary hero Rustam and, perhaps, stories of great men belonging to the Roman and Greek nations were also included. The Prophet did not encourage poets, condemned story-tellers and abolished the gathering at Ukaz, but recommended and even persuaded his followers to acquire knowledge which has been repeatedly praised in the *Quran*, as for instance, in passages like the following :—

“We have given Abraham’s children the book and wisdom”
(Chap. IV-54).

²⁹ Also called Aval Islands, a group of islands in the Iranian Gulf. The most important of these is Bahrein, 33 miles long and 10 miles broad. Manamet, the capital, has a good harbour. The Islands are chiefly famous for their pearl fisheries, which employ during the season some 1,000 boats each manned with from 8 to 60 men. The annual value of pearls is estimated at upwards of £ 900,000. Since 1867, the Islands have been under British protection. They are inhabited mostly by Arabs.

"Certainly God conferred a benefit upon the believers by raising among them a messenger and recites to them His communication and purifies and teaches wisdom."

"Are those, who have knowledge, on an equality with those who have no knowledge?"

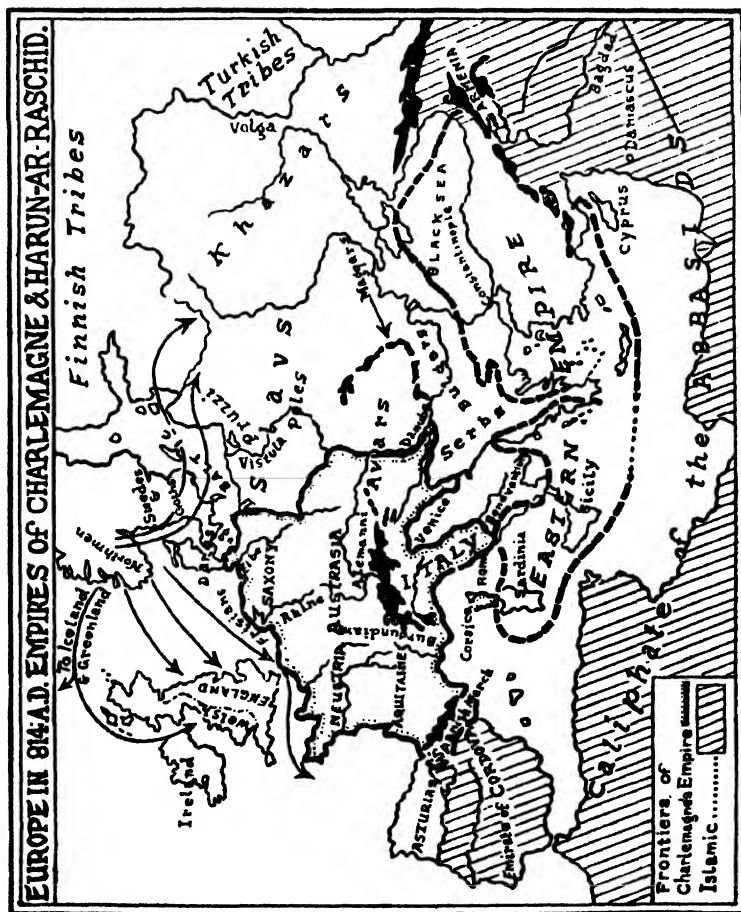
The Prophet is reported to have said :—

"To seek knowledge is duty for every Muslim man and woman."

"Seek knowledge though if it is in China."

There was no school in Medina or Mecca, but those who wanted to acquire knowledge, used to make a journey either to Syria or to Iran and Mesopotamia. The first known philosopher and physician of Mecca had studied medicine and philosophy in the college of Junde-Shahpur in South-West Iran. It was due to the recommendation of the Prophet that his young companions began to study under non-Muslims of Medina, and left their children under the care of a few learned men, who were available in that city. Therefore, among the next generation, there were a considerable number of literate young men. When the Muslims conquered Egypt, Syria and Iran, and came into contact with the civilized inhabitants of those countries, which had centres of learning, like those at Alexandria, Antioch, Edessa, Harran, Cæsarea and Junde-Shahpur and other places in Iran, and an established system of education, the Arabs remained indifferent to them for a short time. They were content with the study of the *Quran*. The second Khalif appointed a number of learned men to lecture in mosques in the new cantonments of Kufa, Basra, Damascus and other places on Islamic teaching. These were called *Qass*, which means narrators, but instead of old legendary stories as told in Pre-Islamic days, they recited from the *Quran* and traditions of the Prophet. In this way, the mosque became not only a place for worship but also a centre of education. The number of such lecturers increased and became the nucleus of a future mosque *madrasas*. The Umayyad Khalifs had taken interest in some branches of science known to foreign nations. Moawiya, the first Khalif of the Umayyad dynasty, was fond of hearing legendary stories, and his grandson Khaled was interested in logic and alchemy. Before the end of the Umayyad rule, Muslims had begun to study history, geography and astronomy, besides tradition, philosophy and theology. The Abbasid rule proved itself the golden period of Muslim learning. By this time, mosques had become places for public lectures not only on theology and tradition but also on other branches of art and science. Regular lectures were delivered by learned men. Basra and Kufa became two great centres of learning but were soon superseded by Baghdad. The poet and traveller Nasir Khusroe writes in the 5th century that the mosque at

Cairo was daily visited by about five thousand men, to hear lectures on various subjects, but the main subjects of study were the *Quran*, tradition and theology. The system of teaching was based upon free lectures and discussions on the old dialectic method in vogue. A famous lecturer could find hundreds of pupils and thousands of people for his audience. Admission generally was free and without any restriction whatever. The Abbasid Khalifs not only encouraged learning but also enjoined public discussions and founded schools where, besides Arabic literature, theology, philology, grammar, rhetoric, mathematics, physics, astrology, astronomy and other branches of science were studied. There was no regular system of education nor a fixed syllabus, each professor having his own method of teaching and syllabus. Besides the mosque and the buildings adjoining shrines, there were other places endowed by the wealthier classes, and in some cases the teacher's own house, where learned men delivered their lectures. The education given in the early Abbasid period bore some resemblance to contemporary church education in Europe. Charlemagne the Great, King of the Franks, who came to the throne in 768 A.D. and died in 814 A.D., is considered to have been one of the most capable rulers Europe has known. His contemporary Hārūn-al-Rashīd was the Khalif of the Muslim Empire. Hārūn ascended the throne in 786 A.D. Both these distinguished rulers in the West and the East were great patrons of learning and reigned over vast Empires. In Europe, the scriptures were the final authority for everything and even philosophy and science had to be reconciled with Christian theology. So with the Muslims, the *Quran* and Islamic teaching were the bases for everything. The book language of Europe was Latin and the Pope was the spiritual head. Among Muslims, Arabic became the *lingua franca* and the Khalif gradually lost his temporal supremacy and held the same position as the Roman Popes did, especially after the loss of their temporal authority. Arabic was unknown to the great mass of illiterate peasants and the poor classes. In Iran and Central Asia, a few scholars who studied were benefited, while the majority remained ignorant. Muslim society in this period was, in the limits covered by the Islamic Empire, as in contemporary Europe, divided into three classes. The nobility and the military, among whom the rulers were included, passed their time in hunting, amusing themselves, fighting and plundering each other. The learned men, theologians and merchants formed the middle class but formed a great minority; but the third class, who were in the majority, worked as cultivators and labourers, and under the heels of the two higher classes, remained ignorant for all the time. Arabic continued to be the language of science, philosophy and theology to the end of the



EUROPE IN 814 A.D.
Empires of Charles the Great and Harun-ar-Raschid

18th century and even at the time of writing this book the best works on these subjects are available only in this language. The use of indigenous Iranian was limited to poetry and a few subjects in prose, such as history, fiction, geography and rhetoric.

Teachers as well as poor students were supported by the income derived from endowments attached to mosques, shrines, hospitals and in some cases from donations from the wealthy classes. Some of them received allowances from the Royal Treasury. They lived simple lives and were for the most part contented people, who did not care much for worldly enjoyment. They were much respected everywhere and their status was very high in society. A student after satisfying his teacher that he learnt his subjects well, could ask and obtain a certificate or pass. Mosques and some of the shrines attached to them had special quarters reserved for travellers, students and teachers. This provision continues to this day in Iran, Syria and other Muslim countries. In some cases, students willingly served their teachers and worked for them as members of the family would, and in return they not only received education but were also supported in all respects as members of the family.

During the reign of Hārūn-al-Rashid and his son, a large number of richly endowed schools were opened, a University was founded, libraries were organized and an observatory was set up. In many schools, Muslims and non-Muslims studied together and learned men without distinction of religion and race were honoured and supported. It had become a fashion for rulers and wealthy nobles and ministers to become patrons of learning, to hold meetings in which subjects of science, philosophy and theology were freely discussed and to collect large numbers of books for the public libraries. In Egypt, the Khalif Al-Aziz and his minister built dwellings for a large number of professors and students who were paid salaries also. Following the example of the Abbasid Khalif Mamun, who had founded an academy named Bait-ul-Hikmat, the Fatimid Khalifs founded one in Cairo. Both these were on the model of Junde-Shahpur, Edessa, Harran and other Pre-Islamic centres of learning. They consisted of a library, an observatory and a dwelling for students with a medical college attached. The students were free to choose their subjects of study in these colleges, which, to some extent, resembled the present-day Universities. All important cities of the Abbasid, Fatimid, Spanish and Umayyad Empires were supported and founded by the rulers and the noble classes. Librarians held an important and responsible position in life and therefore men of high learning and ability were appointed as heads of libraries. The great philosopher Avicenna was in charge of the library

of the Samanid king. The historian and philosopher Ibn-e-Maskuvaih was librarian at Ray, founded by Vazir Fazl, son of Amid, and Ashshabushte was the librarian of the Fatimid Khalif Al-Aziz. The attenders were generally men but sometimes women were also employed as at the library at Darul-ilm of Baghdad, where one of the attenders was a woman named Taufiq.

Some donors of public libraries were generous in lending books to scholars as at the library in Merv, called *Damir-iyyah*, where Yaqut (the author) could borrow two hundred books. But other donors imposed conditions for borrowing books from libraries. All the great libraries were either burnt or destroyed by reckless and semi-savage conquerors. For instance, the magnificent library founded by Vazir Shahpur was destroyed by the troop under Toghrel Beg of Seljuk. The same happened at Ghazni, where Sultan Mahmud and his descendants had collected a large number of books, only to be burnt and destroyed by their rival Sultan Husain of Ghour. The Ghuzz Tartars burnt libraries in Merv, and Chengiz destroyed things mercilessly without leaving a trace of civilization all over the Eastern Iran, which, in those days, was the centre of learning and culture. Among the cities and libraries which were destroyed by him and his descendants were Balkh, Bokhara,³⁰ Merv, Ray and, last but not least, Baghdad, where Holagu slaughtered about eight hundred thousand human beings. A large number of libraries were neglected and the books lodged in them decayed or were eaten up by worms. European invaders from Palestine and Syria burnt the magnificent library at Tripolis on the occasion of the First Crusade. This library is said to have contained the largest number of books then known, numbering the astounding figure of three millions. There were fifty thousand copies of the *Quran* alone, which excited the leaders of the Crusade, who imagined that the whole collection in the library consisted of copies of the *Quran*. Among the more famous libraries were the following:—(1) Ali, son of Yahya, known as *Munnajjim*, had a large collection of books on astronomy; (2) Jafar, son of Muhammad, founded an academy with a library at Mosul, where students worked on various subjects; (3) Azad-ud-Doula, King of Iran (d. 367-72 A.H.) founded a magnificent library named *Khazinatul-Kotab* at Shiraz. Besides a considerable number of books, the library was noted for its fine buildings, furniture and arrangements. It was surrounded by parks and roofed with domes. There were 360 rooms and pavilions. The books were arranged on

³⁰ This city has been celebrated as a seat of learning, and contains about 80 colleges said to be attended by some 5,000 students. See Vambery, *History of Bokhara*.

shelves, with a complete catalogue ; (4) Shahpur, son of Ardashir, the Buvaihid Vazir, founded a library at Baghdad (1205), containing between 100,000 to 140,000 volumes. (5) Ibn-e-Sanwar founded two libraries, one at Basra and the other at Ram Hur-Muz ; (6) The city of Ray (near modern Teheran) possessed a fine library containing four hundred camel-loads of books. The Cairo Library cost its donor 1,000 gold *dinars* per month. The Fatemid Bait-ul-Hikmat (or academy) at Cairo had a big library and a large number of scholars on its staff. The number of books were estimated at about two million volumes, which sounds like exaggeration. The library at Tripolis in Syria, possessed, as already stated, some three million volumes, of which fifty or sixty thousand were commentaries on the *Quran*. The library at Cordova³¹ in Spain possessed 400,000 volumes. It required, it is said, six months when the authorities wanted to remove the books from one building to another. The library of Al-Hakim consisted of forty chambers, each containing about 18,000 volumes.

Thus there were three kinds of institutions, one established by the reigning Khalif or king and supported by the treasury; the second by a nobleman or wealthy scholar with sufficient endowment ; and the third by a private lecturer. All these were called *madrasas* or places of teaching. The following *madrasas* were founded during the 5th century A.D. in Nishapur³² alone which had become an important city and centre of learning during the Seljukid rule :—(1) *Sadiyya* by Sabuktagin, then Governor of Khorassan ; (2) *Bayhaqiyya* by Byhaqi ; (3) *Astrabadiyya* by Astrabadi ; and (4) *Isfarinayya* by the same.

There were small primary and secondary schools attached to the more important mosques. Girls and boys of tender age were educated together in the same school. The girls were expected to read the *Quran* and acquire religious knowledge. Those, however, who continued and became masters of theology and other subjects, took to teaching as a profession and we find some women theologians as great public teachers. The students had to begin with the *Quran* and afterwards Arabic literature and grammar. Those who wanted to take up higher studies had to study other subjects, including the sciences and arts. Teachers had to discuss the different subjects taught, hear criticisms offered and answer and satisfy the students on all points raised by them. Scholars used to travel and take long journeys in search of knowledge. Sometimes, an Iranian went

³¹ Cordova was a great Muslim town from 711 A.D. to 1236 A.D. It was the birth-place of Lucnar, Seneca, and Averroes.

³² A town in the Khorassan province, Iran, 53 miles east of Meshed. It was the birth-place, and contains the grave of Umar Khayyam.

as far as Spain and at other times a Spanish scholar was found studying in the extreme East. Some professors knew the text by heart and could lecture without referring to any book. The number of students varied from a few to thousands. Ink and paper were kept ready to take notes from the lectures delivered by professors. In a lecture hall at Nishapur, there were 500 ink-stands kept ready for the use of students. The lecturers were highly respected and followed by their pupils. Sometimes, a famous lecturer, say, a celebrated Sufi, had hundreds of students following him, wherever he went, and questioning him on various subjects, to which he had to give ready answers. Students served their teachers as disciples would their spiritual guides, and in some cases teachers not only taught their pupils but also helped them in other ways. For instance, Khaqani, the famous Iranian poet, and Kushairi, married the daughters of their respective teachers. When the great professor of Nizamiyya College in Nishapur, named Imamul-Haramain, died (1085 A.D.), the public mourned his loss by closing shops and pulling down the pulpit in the local mosque and students broke their pens and threw out their ink-stands. It was a common habit with the orthodox to know the *Quran* by heart.

The Seljukid period proved the golden age of learning in the East. This was mainly due to the long peace enjoyed under the first few great Emperors, and the able administration of the famous Nizam-ul-Mulk. He organized a system of education and started regular *madrasas* and founded several important colleges and universities and endowed them adequately with munificent grants from the government. He selected the best qualified men and employed them as heads of colleges. Among these were Imam Ghazzali and Imam-ul-Haramain at Nishapur, As-Shashi at Herat and Abu-Ishaq Shirazi at Baghdad. Tajud-Doula, another minister of Seljukid, founded a college under his name Tajiyya, and Nizam-ul-Mulk's other colleges were at Ispahan and Merv, which possessed ten public libraries. Besides these, there were other colleges in all important cities, such as Samarkand, Balkh, Aleppo, Damascus, Ghazni and even Lahore. To these the Khalifa Mustanser added a magnificent college with library and other arrangements under the name of *Mustanasariyyah*. There were thirty high schools in Alexandria and seventeen centres of learning in Spain with seventy public libraries. Spanish Muslims were so eager for education that from the Khalifa down to the poorest citizen—all were united in studying and undertaking long journey in quest of knowledge. There were colleges, academies and libraries at Seville,³³ Granada³⁴ and Cordova. The last-

³³ In Spain, 95 miles by rail north-east of Cadiz. Its mosque was one of the largest in Europe. One of its glories is the Alcazar,

named possessed, besides a most magnificent library, a college which produced over 170 eminent scholars. In Iran, Sadi, the great poet of Shiraz, left the Nizamiyya College of Baghdad when he was forty years old, and travelled abroad for twenty years to increase his knowledge. When he returned home, he was an old man of over 60 years, but lived to the ripe age of over 90 years.

Among the noted colleges in Syria were :—Al-Rishyya, Amaniyya, Tarkhaniyya, Khatuniyya and Sharifiyya. In Egypt, during the Ayyubid rule, the Colleges of Rambiyya, Nasariyya and Salahiyya were founded. The heathen Moghals destroyed the early Muslim civilization but their Muslim descendants revived learning once again. New schools were opened by the Timurid princes and learned men received fresh encouragement. The Moghal Emperors of India, the Safavid rulers of Iran and the Ottoman Sultans of Turkey are known for patronage and encouragement they gave to learning. In the meantime, European education on scientific lines made large strides. Indeed, the progress of European institutions was so great that the East lingered far behind. On the other hand, the influence of the theologians increased in the East. Arabic continued to be the language of science and the old system was neither modified nor reorganized. Since the 19th century, Eastern countries adopted the new European system but the change has been so slow and so gradual that it cannot be said to have helped towards modernization on the scale required. For instance, there are Muslim libraries in Constantinople, Teheran, Cairo and several other important cities in the East including India, but all these with the latest improvements cannot compare with the celebrated libraries of Europe and America. The Cairo public library, known as *Khadiviyya*, has been arranged under the supervision of Spitta, Vollers and Maritz, well-known German scholars.

During the classical period, science was divided into two groups, those developed by Muslims themselves and those acquired through foreign sources. Among the former were : the *Quran*, commentaries on it, traditions of the Prophet, jurisprudence, Arabic literature, rhetoric, prosody, grammar, lexicography and Muslim scholasticism. Those acquired by non-Arab sources were :—Philosophy, astronomy, astrology, geometry, medicine, music, alchemy, history, geography, mathematics,

the Muslim royal palace begun towards the close of the 12th century.

³⁴ Granada has to-day a University dating from 1531 and attended by nearly 1,000 students. The city was founded by the Muslims in the 8th century and its old buildings attest to its former greatness under the Muslims. It still ranks as one of the larger cities of Spain.

botany, mineralogy, etc. Brief accounts under these will indicate the progress attained.

HISTORY

The work of writing on history and biography began during the Umayyad period though it fully developed in the time of Abbasids. The author of *Kashfuz-zunun* has given a list of 1,300 books on history. Among these the most celebrated is the one written by Jarir of Tabaristan (Iran), who died in 923 A.D. Another is a history of Spain by Abu Maruan (1075 A.D.) of Cordova, entitled *Al-matin* in 60 volumes. Hamadani wrote a comprehensive history of South Arabia. Ibn-Muqaffa translated several books on Iranian history from the Pahlavi into Arabic. Among other important works on the same subject is one by Aul-Faraj (967 A.D.) of Ispahan (Iran), of Arabian descent. He wrote a history of Arab poetry set to music, in 21 volumes, entitled *Aghani*. Ahmad, the son of Yahya Baladhur (892 A.D.), an Iranian by origin, was the author of *Ansāb-e-Ashraf* (Lineages of the Nobles). Ibn-Qutaiba wrote *Katabulmarif*. Abu Hanifa Ahamad Dinawari, also an Iranian, wrote the *Kitabul-Akhhbār-ai-tavil* (long histories). Other noted authors on history are Alyaqubi, Masudi, author of *Murrajjaz-zahab* from the creation up to 947 A.D.; Abul Fida; Ibn-e-Katib; and Ibn-e-Husain (both from Spain); Ibn-e-Khallekan (Iranian), author of an important biographical dictionary, often quoted by European authors; Ibn-ul-Qifti (Egyptian) wrote the lives of philosophers and scientists; Ibn-ul-Jauzi (1200 A.D.); Ibn-e-abi-usaibia (1270) was the author of a history of physicians; Ibn-ul-athir (1234) wrote *Kamil*, a history of the world up to 1231 A.D.; and Muhammad Abu Abdulla of Spain, a dictionary of science. An-Nadim wrote *Fehrist* (Index), a literary history of the Arabs up to the 10th century A.D.

GEOGRAPHY

Much progress was made on the subject of geography, existing works by Greek and Iranian authors being utilized for the purpose. While the Europeans believed in a flat earth, contemporary Muslim geographers had measured the circumference of the globe. Khalif Mamun had gathered a large number of scholars on geography. Ptolemy's works were translated into Arabic and independent researches were made by Khawrazmi and other scholars. Muhammad, son of Musa, made a measurement of the earth by order of Mamun. A map of the world was drawn up, in which the world was divided into seven *Iqlims* or climes. The oldest known work on geography in Arabic is the one written by an Iranian named Ibn-Khurda-beh (about 850 A.D.) entitled *Masalik-Wal-mamalik*. Abu

Istakhri, another Iranian, wrote a similar work named *Masalik-ul-mamalik*. The last-named was revised and enlarged by Ibn-Houqal. Al-maqadassi (856 A.D.), a native of Palestine, has, in his encyclopædia, given a fair description of the places he visited during the twenty years he travelled in different regions included in Islamic territories. Gardizi was the author of *Hudusul-ālam*, Alberuni was the first Muslim geographer to give the geography of Siberia and North Europe. Much information was gathered through merchants taking the risk of travelling into distant countries. Rashid-ud-din, for instance, gives an account of Siberia and Southern Europe. These countries became known to Muslims through the conquests of the Moghal Emperors. During the rule of the Moghals in China (1331), Muslim geographers influenced the geographical science of the Chinese. Qutb-ud-din of Shiraz prepared a map of the Mediterranean Sea for Argun (1290), the Moghal king of Iran. Hafiz-Abru, the historian and geographer of the Timurid period, compiled a work on geography in which he has given a description of Arabia, Africa (North) and Spain. Among Spanish Muslim scholars in geography, were Idrisi (1154), Ibn-Jubair, and Bakri of Cordova (1094). Yaqut, son of Abdulla (1179-1229), whose ancestors were Greeks, compiled the celebrated geographical dictionary named *Mojma-ul-Buldan* in six volumes. Musudi (d. Cairo 957 A.D.), the author of *Meadows of Gold*, was the Pliny of the Arabs. Sicily was ruled by the Aghlabide family during the ninth century and Idrisi, the famous geographer, lived at the court of Roger of Sicily, for whom he made a globe of silver.

BOTANY

Regular experimental gardens existed in Cordova, Fez, Cairo and Baghdad for the study of Botany. Muslim students of this subject discovered a large number of herbs and plants now used in medicine. Among botanists, Ibn-ul-Baitar (d. 1248) is perhaps the most distinguished. Alberuni (941 A.D.) resided in India for forty years in order to study, among other subjects, Botany and Chemistry.

SCIENCE

In the Pre-Islamic period, Arab learning was confined to poetry, genealogy, interpretation of dreams, and crude information about astronomy and history which was recited in the form of mythology. The art of writing was known to few in ancient Arabia. Among the Quraish some began to learn, just before the advent of Islam, through their intercourse with Iraq and Syria. The Prophet persuaded his followers to acquire knowledge. His early successors were not less enthusiastic about education, but the first two were mostly engaged in

foreign conquests and the last two in internal troubles. Moawiya, the founder of the Umayyad dynasty, had as his court physician a Christian named Ibn-Athal, who translated several works on medicine into Arabic. During the reign of the first six Abbasid Khalifs, the work of translation was done by Iranian, Arab, Greek and Indian scholars. Among them Fazl, son of Naubakht, and Ibn-e-muqafa, Sahl son of Herway, were commissioned to translate Iranian books ; while Yuhanna, son of Masawaih, Hunayn and other Syrian and Mesopotamian writers were made responsible for translations from Greek and Syriac works. The period of translation was soon passed and original works came to be soon written in the known subjects of science and arts. Among the masters of science were Hasan, son of Husain, who introduced for the first time geometry of position ; Abul Wafa detected the third inequality of the moon ; and Abu Yunus made his well-known Hakamite tables. The authors of the encyclopædia, entitled *Brethren of Purity*, in 52 parts, included seventeen parts on Natural Science. Alberuni (973-1048 A.D.), after acquiring a good knowledge of Sanskrit, Indian history and philosophy, wrote his monumental works on these subjects and on science. He may be called the Sir William Jones of Islam. His works on mathematics, physics, geography and astronomy are all invaluable. His chronology of ancient nations is often quoted by European authors. In his physics, he has given the exact specific weight of eighteen precious stones and metals. Shahab-ud-din Tifashi (Cairo 1154), in his *Flowers of the Knowledge Stone*, has given descriptions of a large number of jewels and precious stones. Abdulla Khawrazmi (820 A.D.), from whose surname the word *Algorism* is derived, was among the earliest Muslim mathematicians. He translated the Indian *Siddhanta* and revised Ptolemy's tables. Umar-e-Khayyam, known as a mystic poet in Europe, was a great astronomer and mathematician. He has written on algebra, geometry, chemical analysis and mineralogy and helped to reform the calendar known as *Jalāli*, still in use in Iran. Jaghamini wrote an abridged treatise on astronomy. Jabir, son of Hayyan, supposed by some to have been an Iranian of Khorassan and by others a Syrian of Harran (776 A.D.), was the author of twenty-seven works. He discovered sulphuric and nitric acids and *aqua regia*. He wrote several works on chemistry. He is known as Geber in Europe and his works were all translated into many European languages. The Arabs obtained their knowledge of alchemy from the Iranian school of Junde-Shahpur and the Greek school of Alexandria and made it an important subject of science. Jabir gained also the distinction of preparing lead carbonate and separating arsenic and antimony from their sulphides. He explained the preparation of steel, the polishing of metals, the

dyeing of cloth and leather and the distillation of vinegar into concentrated acetic acid. Other Muslim chemists discovered that mercury and sulphur combine into a brilliant red sulphide. Ibn Musa and Jabir wrote original works on spherical trigonometry. In zoology, Muhammad Damiri (d. 1405 A.D.) wrote on the life of animals. Zakariyya Qazvini (1283 A.D.) has also given a fair description of animals, plants and stones. Khazini of Merv (1200 A.D.) has, in his valuable work entitled *The Balance of Wisdom*, written on the specific weight of alloys and the density of water. Jazari (1206 A.D.) wrote an important work on mechanics and the manufacture of clocks. Rizvan (1203 A.D.) has furnished a description of a water-clock made by his father. Muslims are also credited with having invented wind-mills.

ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY

With Muslim astronomers, the study of mathematics was essential. Hence all astronomers were mathematicians; and most mathematicians were also astrologers. Between 750-1150 A.D., Arabic was the language of science not only among Muslims of Western and Central Asia, but also among the Christians of Southern Europe. During these four hundred years, Muslim scholars were the torch-bearers of civilization and culture. Their activity in studying and spreading science and arts exceeded that of any other ancient nation. The best and the most original works on science are found in Arabic. Among other subjects, which received the attention of Muslim scholars, were astronomy and astrology. The latter was based more on speculation than on scientific investigation. Superstition was thus made a semi-scientific subject by Muslim astronomers. Ibrahim Al-Fazari was the earliest Muslim (d. 778 A.D.) who constructed astrolabes, and his son (d. 806 A.D.) together with Yaqub, the son of Tariq, were among the first to have any connection with Hindu numerals. Mashallah (815 A.D.) wrote several works on astronomy and astrology. He was a co-worker with the celebrated astrologer Naubakht. These two measured the city of Baghdad while planning for laying its foundation. Naubakht was also an engineer. His son Fazl became the chief librarian to Khalif Hārūn-al-Rashīd and translated several books on astronomy from Iranian into Arabic. His nephews were also known astrologers in their time. Abu Said Zarir of Gurgan (North-East Iran) wrote a treatise on geometrical problems and the drawing of the meridian. The astronomical and trigonometric tables of Khawrazmi (Muhammad, the son of Musa, 850 A.D.), as revised by Maslama Al-majritee, which were translated into Latin, are supposed to be the first Muslim tables containing the tangent. Ahamad of Nehawand (Iran, d. 835 or 845 A.D.) made astronomical observations at Junde-

Shahpur. He compiled tables which are known as *Mushtamil*. Habash, son of Hasib (lived between 770 to 870 A.D.), compiled a table in the manner of the Hindus. His *apropos* of the solar eclipse is supposed to be the first determination of time by an altitude. He also introduced the notion of *Zil* (shadow), equivalent to the European tangent. Ali, son of Isa (d. 832 A.D.), made astronomical observations at Baghdad and Damascus, and wrote treatises on the astrolabe. Yahya, son of Abi Munsur, an Iranian astronomer (d. 831 A.D.), has written several works on astronomy and has compiled *mamunic* tables. Alfarghani (Ahamad, son of Muhammad), was one of the greatest astronomers during the Khilafat of Al-mamun. He is known as Alfraganus in Europe and was the author of the *Elements of Astronomy* which was translated into Latin. He believed in the value of precession³⁵ and held the view that it affected not only the stars but also the planets. He superintended the erection of a nilometer at Fustat. Umar, son of Furrukhan, an Iranian of Tabristan (d. 815 A.D.), was an architect and astronomer. He translated several books from Iranian into Arabic and also wrote independent works on astrology and astronomy. His son Muhammad was also a known author on astrology. Abu Mashar Jafar of Balkh (Latin *Albumasar*), born 786 A.D. and died in 886 A.D., wrote *Kitab-ul-Madkhul* (An Introduction to Astronomy) treating, among other subjects, astrology, the theory of tides, etc. He was well known in Europe and is often found quoted by Western writers. Nairizi (Faz, son of Hatim, who died in 922 A.D.) compiled astronomical tables, and wrote a book on atmospheric phenomena. His work on the spherical astrolabe was considered the best in its time. Albattani (Muhammad, son of Jarir), born in 858 A.D. and died in 929 A.D., was one of the greatest astronomers that Islam produced. His astronomical treatise with tables was greatly valued in Europe, and both have been translated into Latin. He is known as Albategnus in Europe. Abu Baker (in Latin *Albubather*), an Iranian astrologer, has written both in Arabic and in his mother-tongue. His works have been translated into Latin. The following verse in the *Quran* condemns astrology, although it has become an important subject of study to Muslims who followed the old tradition of Iran in this respect:—"Have they (astrologers) a ladder by which they (ascend to heaven) and listen (the future events)?"

³⁵ *The precession of the equinoxes* : a slow movement of the equinoctial points causing the equinoxes to succeed each other in less time than they would otherwise do. The *equinoctial points* are the two points of the heavens at which the celestial equator and ecliptic intersect each other. The celestial equator is so named because, when the sun is on it, the days and nights are of equal length in all parts of the world.

Then let their listeners (believers) bring a clear authority.” In the third century of the Hijra, Abuyusuf Yaqubi Al-qarshi wrote a book on astrology in twelve chapters. Al Khujandi (d. 1000 A.D.) made astronomical observations and determined the obliquity of the ecliptic. He was the discoverer of the five theorems in relation to spherical triangles. Maslama, son of Ahmad of Madrid, corrected and replaced the astronomical tables of Khawrazmi from Iranian into Arabic chronology. He also wrote one astrolabe. Al-Qabisi (Alcabitius) was a well-known Muslim astrologer, whose work on astronomy entitled *Introduction to the Science of the Stars* has been translated into Latin. Zarqali (1029-89 A.D.) of Cordova, was the best astronomer of his time. He invented an astrolabe and wrote a book on the same. He proved the motion of the solar apogee in connection with stars. His planetary tables were translated into Latin. Umar-e-Khayyam, the famous Iranian, who was as great a mystical poet as a mathematician and astronomer, recognized thirteen different forms of the cubic equation. He reformed the old Iranian calendar, which he made more accurate than the Gregorian one. Nasir-ud-din Tusi (d. 1274 A.D.) was the most celebrated philosopher and astronomer of the Mongolian period in Iran. He made observations at Maragha (in N.-W. Iran) in his own famous observatory and drew up the astronomical tables known as *Il-Khani*. The instruments at Maragha Observatory were noted as the best and most perfect of his time. Muslim astronomers perfected the armillary sphere,³⁶ which consisted of the three rings, corresponding to the meridian, the ecliptic, and the colure³⁷ of the solstices. They also improved the sphere of Ptolemy and added rings giving the co-ordinates of the stars with respect to the horizon, and made their instruments large to make it perfect and correct. At the Maragha Observatory, there were rings for ecliptical, solstitial and equatorial armillaries. The ecliptical had five rings, of which the largest was about 12 feet across. In 1437 A.D., Ulugh Beg, grandson of Taimur, commanded Ghias-ud-din Jamsid of Kashan (in Iran) to erect an observatory at Samarkand. He started the work but died before its completion; but it was carried fully into execution by Ali Kushchi and other astronomers. His calendar is known as *Zij-e-Ulugh Beg*. This observatory was excavated and discovered by the Russian

³⁶ *Armillary sphere*: an arrangement of rings, intended to illustrate the relative positions of the principal circles of the heavens. The *ecliptic* is the path which the sun, owing to the annual revolution of the earth, appears to describe among the fixed stars.

³⁷ Either of the two great circles supposed to intersect each other at right angles in the poles of the heavens, one passing through the solstitial and the other through the equinoctial points of the ecliptic.

archæological department of Samarkand in 1900 A.D. In Turkey, Sultan Murad, son of Salim, commanded Taqi-ud-din to build an observatory at Constantinople. He began one but could not complete it owing to the strong objections of the orthodox Mullahs. In India, by Akbar's command, *Zij-e-Ulugh Beg* was translated into Sanskrit and Najm-ud-din erected the observatory now to be seen at Delhi, during the reign of Muhammad Shah (1719-48 A.D.). Raja Jaisingh established observatories at Benares and Jaipur and several important works on astronomy were translated from Arabic into Sanskrit. The system of erecting observatories was imitated from Muslims by Europeans, who improved it on a large scale. Many useful astronomical instruments were either invented or improved by Muslim astronomers and these were transmitted to Europe and received further improvements, thus leading to their perfection. The earliest observatory was the one erected by order of Khalifa Mamun at Damascus (214 Hijri), and the other at Shamashiya (Baghdad in 215 Hijri). The directors of these observatories were Al-Farghani, Abbas Jouhari, Said, son of Ali, and Khaled of Merv. The Banu Musa brothers also built an observatory for themselves. Sharaf-ud-din, son of Azad-ud-doula, built one in his garden at Baghdad, under the direction of several Iranian astronomers. A Fatemid Khalif had one in Egypt, known as *Rasad-e-Hakami*, which was among the best Muslim observatories known then. The rulers of Syria had also their own. The observatory at Seville (Spain) was destroyed by Christian invaders.

As stated above, Islamic teaching has condemned astrology. Ali, the fourth Khalif, while starting on his expedition to Syria, met certain Iranian astrologers, who informed him that the time for starting was not auspicious, and he replied, "By Ka'aba, astrologers tell lies in what they predict." The majority of philosophers, such as Avicenna, Ibnur-Rushd and others denounced the practice of foretelling future events. Avicenna demonstrated that astrology has no scientific foundation. Al-Ghazzali has opposed astrology in his famous work entitled *Ahyaul-Ulum*. Nevertheless, astrologers were greatly honoured at the courts of the Khalifas, Emperors and Kings. The influence of Indian astrology is apparent through certain words used by Muslim astrologers, such as *Durijan*, which must be an Arabicized word for the Indian word *Drekkana* or *Daishkhana*. Muslim astrology is usually arranged under five fundamental principles. Among these are :—(1) the division of the ecliptic ; (2) properties of the various celestial places ; (3) the planets ; (4) the method of determining the ascendant ; and (5) the twelve signs of the zodiac. The horoscope is derived from the sign of the planet rising at the time of birth. The choice of a good moment for doing anything is made by

seeking in which of the signs the moon is found at any given time. The signs of the zodiac are divided into tropical (Sk. *chara*), fixed (Sk. *sthira*) and bicorporeal (Sk. *divisvobhavah*). Astrologers asserted the birth of the science on the following data :—That human life depends upon phenomena in nature ; for instance, the fertility of the soil is due to sunshine and rain. Moonlight and sunshine cause happiness or misery to things on earth, with whom human beings should be included. We find complete accord between certain heavenly phenomena and occurrences on earth, such as ebb and tide. When the effect of moonlight and sunshine on plants, animals and human beings is visible, the same holds good with other planets, though to a less extent. The benevolent or malignant influence of the planets was modified by the sign of the zodiac in which it happened to inhabit at the time of birth or the beginning of a work. For instance, Jupiter indicated wealth in one house, fame in another and beauty in a third and so on. Distances of the planets from each other had separate names and aspects such as semi-sextile, square, quintile and so on. Each planet was associated with a certain colour, metal, stone, plant, day, etc. Theologians opposed astrology because they suspected that the action of the stars on human destiny a menace to the power and will of Allah. Strict Islamic monotheism could not tolerate the idea of spheres possessing souls and their movements determining the happiness or the misery of human beings on earth.

MATHEMATICS AND TRIGONOMETRY

Muslim mathematicians were also leading men in philosophy and science. They made marked advance in these subjects. The use of the cipher which was obtained by them from India, was passed on by them to Europe. Algebra was made a regular subject of scientific study. Plane and spherical trigonometry were founded. Hajjaj, son of Yusuf, translated the first six books of Euclid ; he also wrote a treatise on geometrical problems. The Banu Musa brothers were authors of works on the trisection of the angle and the measurement of the sphere. Khawrazmi studied arithmetic and algebra through Greek, Iranian and Hindu sources and wrote his famous books on these subjects. These works made a deep impression in Europe. His work on algebra explains algebraic multiplication and division. He has enumerated the six possible cases, and probably it is through his work, Europe became aware of Hindu numerals. Alkendi, the Arab philosopher, also wrote several treatises on mathematics. Muhammad, son of Isa of Mahan (Iran), who died in 874 or 884 A.D., was an astronomer and a mathematician. He made observations on the solar and lunar eclipses and planetary conjunctions and wrote commentaries

on Euclid and Archimedes. Ahmad, the son of Yusuf, of Egypt, who died in about 912 A.D., wrote a commentary on Ptolemy's centiloquim and propositions. Abdullah of Farghana (885-933 A.D.) and his son known as Banu Amajur, were mathematicians and astronomers. They have left several astronomical tables. Abu Kamil of Egypt was the mathematician who completed the work of Khawrazmi on Algebra. Abu Usman translated a book on Euclid and the commentary of Pappo into Arabic. Ibrahim, son of Sinan, wrote commentaries on the first book of conic sections, *Almajest*, and other independent works. Abu Jafar al-Khazin of Khorassan, who died in 961 or 971 A.D., wrote a commentary on the tenth book of Euclid and solved by means of conic sections the cubic equations. Abdul Fath Mahmud, son of Muhammad of Ispahan (982 A.D.), commented on the first five books of Euclid. Kuhi, an Iranian of Khorassan (988 A.D.) investigated Archimedian and Apollonian problems, and Sijzi or Seistani (951-1024 A.D.), studied the intersections of conic sections and circles. Abul Wafa of Buzjan (Iran), who died in or about 998 A.D., was one of the greatest of Muslim mathematicians. He wrote commentaries on Khawrazmi, Diophantos and Euclid. His contributions to astronomy and trigonometry are invaluable. He was the first to point out the generality of the sine theorem in relation to spherical triangles. He also studied the tangent and introduced the secant and cosecant, and showed the simple relation between the six trigonometric livis. Abu Raihan Muhammad Alberuni, born in 973 A.D. and died in 1048 A.D., an Iranian mathematician, historian, linguist, philosopher and encyclopædist, was one of the greatest geniuses not only of the Muslim world but of his time. He has written with great accuracy on various subjects after close investigation. Among these are the following :—(1) Chronology of ancient nations ; (2) History of India ; (3) An astronomical encyclopædia entitled *Masudi* canon ; and (4) A summary of mathematics, astronomy and astrology. His work on Hindu philosophy, his appreciation of the *Bhagavadgita* and his study of Sanskrit vernaculars current in Western India in his time are peculiar to him. In some of these respects, he resembles Burzuya, the Sassanian philosopher. Avicenna, the great Iranian philosopher (980-1037 A.D.), was also a mathematician. His encyclopædia evidences a theoretical knowledge of mathematics on his part. Among the Spanish Muslim mathematicians were Al Karnani and Abu Salmah, who lived at Granada and wrote a book on commercial arithmetic, geometry, mental calculus and the nature of numbers. Ibn Younus of Egypt, one of the greatest Muslim astronomers, had his observatory in the hall of the Egyptian Muslim Academy of Science. His contributions to astronomy and mathematics are invaluable. His astronomical

tables are known as *Zij-ak-Kabir*. Kushyar, son of Labban, an Iranian (917-1029), was a mathematician and an astronomer. His astronomical tables were named *Zij-al-jam'i-wal-baligh*. He wrote on astrology and arithmetic and contributed to trigonometry. Ibn Husain of Khujand is known for his work on rational right-angled triangles, and Muhammad, the son of Laith, classified equations and reduced them to conic sections. Abu Bakr Muhammad, son of Husain of Karkh (d. 1029 A.D.), wrote a work on arithmetic and also on algebra, solved quadratic equations, and diophantine equations. Nasavi, an Iranian of Khorassan (d. 1030 A.D.), was the author of an arithmetic in Iranian and Archimedes' lemnata and Menelao's theorem. Umar-e-Khayyam, the greatest mathematician of his age (11th century A.D.) has written several treatises on arithmetic, algebra and astronomy. His work on algebra contains solutions for geometric and algebraic equations of the second degree. Yusuf, the king of Saragossa (1081-85 A.D.), was a patron of learning and himself a distinguished mathematician. His work on mathematics is entitled as *Istakmal*. Nasir-ud-din Tusi, the well-known astronomer and mathematician of the time of the Moghal rule in Iran, and Bahah-ud-din Ameli, the greatest theologian and mathematician of his day, flourished during the rule of the Safavid kings.

NATURAL HISTORY AND MINERALOGY

Muslims did not evince much interest in Natural History. Asmai, an Arab, who was born at Basra in 739 A.D. and died 831 A.D., wrote a book on the camel, the horse, sheep and wild animals. An-Nazzam (d. 845 A.D.) expounded the theory that Adam and mankind were created at the same time, but appear in their own turn in different ages. Utarid, son of Muhammad (9th century A.D.), wrote a book on precious stones. Avicenna's treatise on minerals became the source of geological knowledge in Europe. Alberuni's investigations in the matter of precious stones are still valuable. He measured the density of 18 precious stones and metals with much accuracy and made researches into natural history.

WORKS ON SOCIOLOGY AND AGRICULTURE

Almawardi wrote a book on the principles of government and on ethics and so did Maskawihi, the philosopher. The famous Seljukid minister, Nizam-ul-Mulk, was the author of *Siasat Nama*, which throws much needed light on Irano-Islamic system of administration. Nasir-ud-din Tusi wrote a book on ethics and politics, entitled *Akhlaq-e-Nasiri*, and his successor Jalal-ud-din of Davan wrote on the same subject a work named

Akhlaq-e-Jalali. In India, Abul-Fazal, the minister of Emperor Akbar, wrote *Ain-i-Akbari*, a complete description of the Moghal governmental system and *darbar*. In the twentieth century, several important works bearing on the civilisation of Islam have appeared. Among these is one by George Zaidan in Arabic and by various authors in Urdu. Ibn-e-Wahshiyya was the author of Nabatæan agriculture. Several other important works were written on agriculture in Turkish, Arabic, Iranian and Urdu during the 20th century.

MEDICINE

The Pre-Islamic Arabs knew the medicinal value of plants and of certain stones found in Arabia. The earliest known physician is Haris, son of Kalda, who lived just about the advent of Islam. He studied medicine and philosophy in the College of Junde-Shahpur in Iran. Probably on his way home, he was received by the reigning king Khusroe I, who put questions to him on the subject of his study. The next Arab was Nasir, the son of Alqama, who also was a graduate of Junde-Shahpur. The Prophet himself is attributed to have given medical advice to his companions, and *Sahih-e-Bukhari*, an authentic work on the traditions, contains two chapters on how to cure various diseases. Though the Umayyad rulers (661-720 A.D.) encouraged medical study, real progress in Arabian medicine began only from the rise of Abbasides (750-1258 A.D.). At that time, the school at Junde-Shahpur was yet in existence. Besides that school, Harran in Syria was another centre of learning. The medical college at Junde-Shahpur had Greek as well as Iranian elements. Teachers and students were Iranians, Syrians, a few Greeks and perhaps some Indians as well. Its professors were noted for their efficiency in the science of medicine. The work of translation from Greek into Syriac and Pahlavi had begun as early as the 5th century A.D., perhaps still earlier. In the 6th century, one Sergius had translated the work of Hippocrates³⁸ and Galen³⁹ into the Syriac language. Hence the Abbaside Khalif looked towards Junde-Shahpur and Harran for translations of medical works into Arabic. In 765 A.D., Mansur, the second Abbaside Khalif, sum-

³⁸ Born at Cos, 400 B.C.; a contemporary of Socrates and Plato; was of wide-spread renown as a physician; no fewer than 60 writings are ascribed to him, but only a few are probably genuine.

³⁹ A famous Greek physician, born in 131 A.D.; went to Rome and became physician to the Emperors Marcus Aurelius, L. Verus, and Severus. Of his voluminous writings, 83 treatises are still extant. Died in 120 A.D. For centuries after his death, his works were accepted as authoritative in the matter of medicine.

moned Jurjis, son of Bakht Yishu, the chief physician at Junde-Shahpur, to his court. Successive members of his family became celebrated as physicians and continued to study the science of medicine, from father to son, for about 250 years. Other physicians from Syria, Egypt, the Byzantine Empire and even India assembled at Baghdad. A large number of works from Greek, Iranian and Indian sources were translated. The following were the Greek authors whose books became standard works in Arab medicine :—Hippocrates, Galen (Rufus) of Ephesus, Oribasius, Paul, Alexander of Thales, Dioscorides⁴⁰ and others. Sinan, the physician, was entrusted with the work of examining medical pupils and granting diplomas. There were about 800 physicians holding such diplomas in Baghdad alone. Regular organised hospitals under official control were instituted in Baghdad and other important centres of the Islamic Empire. Botanists were commissioned to travel in Europe, Africa and Asia and collect herbs useful for medical purposes. Much improvement was effected in the preparation of drugs and syrups. Veterinary science was also practised. Muslim contributions to the world's *materia medica* proved valuable.

The development of Islamic medicine may be divided into four periods :—The *first* is the age of translation from 750 A.D. to 900 A.D. in Arabic, which had become the medium of learning in Islam as Latin had in Europe. The following are among the best known translators, the earliest known translator being an Iranian Jew named Masorjawaih, who translated Ahron's work into Arabic :—

(1) Hunayn, son of Ishaq, was an Arab of the tribe of Ibad but Christian by religion. Besides several independent works of his own, he translated seven books of Hippocrates ; and a hundred Syriac and thirty-nine Arabic versions of Galen, some medical and some philosophical works, a synopsis of Oribasius, the seven books of Paul of Algina, and the *materia medica* of Dioscorides.

(2) Isa, son of Yahya, translated the remaining works of Hippocrates and seventeen books of Galen.

(3) Ishaq, son of Hunayn (910 A.D.) and Hubaysh translated about thirteen books into Syriac and sixty into Arabic.

Other famous translators were Thabit, son of Qurra (825-901 A.D.), a native of Harran (Iraq), whose independent work has been recently published at Cairo in 31 sections, on hygiene, diseases from head down to the breast, stomach and intestines, their causes, symptoms and cure.

⁴⁰ A Greek physician born in Cilicia, 1st century A.D. Left a treatise in 5 books on *materia medica*, a work of great research and long the standard authority on the subject.

Qusta, son of Luqa, and Yuhanna, son of Masavaih, were also translators. The latter has written independent works as well.

Among the Greek works translated into Arabic, some original texts such as the seven books of Galen on anatomy, have been lost but are extant in Arabic translations.

The *second period* is the age of independent observation, criticism on Greek and other past authors, and the production of standard works on medicine, some of which continued to be in use among European medical experts as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century A.D. The most famous physicians of this period were:—

(1) Ali, son of Rabban (*d.* 994 A.D.), an Iranian of Tabaristan, whose father was a scribe at Merv. Ali entered the service of Khalif Mutavakkal and wrote his celebrated work entitled *Firdous-ul-Hikmat* (*The paradise of medicine*). This book deals not only with medicine, but also contains other subjects such as philosophy, zoology, psychology, astronomy, etc. Its sources, according to the author, are from Greek, Iranian and Indian works. It is divided into 7 parts, 30 discourses and 360 chapters. It contains a summary of Indian Medicine also.

(2) Abu Bakr Muhammad Al-Razi (European Rhazes), 869-925 A.D., the great physician of the mediæval period, was an inhabitant of Rei,⁴¹ situated near Teheran, the present capital of Iran. In his early life, he learned music and could play well on the lute. Afterwards, he studied philosophy and at an advanced age specialised in medicine. His works on various subjects number as many as 200. His chief work, named *Al-Hāwi*, which is even now considered a masterpiece in medicine, was written in 20 volumes. For each disease he gives references to his Greek, Iranian, Arabic and Indian authors, and then his own opinion. This work was translated into Latin by order of Charles I of Anjou⁴² in 1279 A.D. under the title of *Continens*. His other works are on theology, philosophy, mathematics, natural science and astronomy. He has dealt with nutrition, motion, time, space, growth, putrefaction, meteorology, optics, etc. He has also written on alchemy. His treatise on small-pox, measles, stone in the bladder and kidney, his descriptions of the eye, the nose, the ear and the heart were well known in

⁴¹ Rei is near Teheran, capital of Iran, 70 miles south of the Caspian Sea. Rei has been identified with the *Rhages* of the *Book of Tobit*, and the *Ragæ* of Alexander the Great's time, Hārūn-al-Rashid's birth-place.

⁴² Brother of St. Louis, the Crusader King of Naples. He lost Sicily after the Sicilian Vespers. He lived between 1220 A.D.-1285 A.D.

Europe. He was appointed the chief physician, first in his native place Rei and then at Baghdad.

(3) Ali, son of Abbas, known in Europe as Haly Abbas, was an Iranian of Zoroastrian descent (d. 994 A.D.). His chief work was an encyclopædia named *Kitab-e-Maleki* (or *Liber Regius*), which deals with both the theoretical and practical sides of medicine. It begins with a criticism of previous Arabic and Greek writers such as Galen, Paul, and Oribasius, etc. It was dedicated to the reigning king Azad-ud-doula and is divided into twenty discourses, containing among other medical subjects, anatomy and surgery.

(4) Abu Ali Husain Ibn Sina (known in Europe as Avicenna) was the greatest Islamic philosopher and most popular physician, whose works were studied as the most authentic writings on philosophy and medicine both in Europe and the Islamic countries. He was born in 980 A.D. and died in Hamadan in 1037 A.D. His great work on medicine known as the *Canon of Medicine*, deals with general medicine, drugs, diseases, pathology, pharmacopæia, etc. It was translated by Gerard of Cremona (1114-87 A.D.) into Latin and in popularity superseded even the works of Hippocrates and Galen. The *Canon* is divided into five parts. The first deals with principles; the second with simple drugs; the third and fourth with diseases; and the fifth with compound medicine, etc. All his works are in Arabic, except a few verses and one or two small treatises which he has composed in his mother-tongue Iranian. His learning was immense and his practice in his art extensive. He was an authority in philosophy as well, his philosophy being of the school of Aristotle with a mixture of Neo-Platonism. His *Canon* was supreme in medical science for centuries in Europe.

In the West, the Muslims of Spain and North Africa produced a number of distinguished physicians, whose labours became models to European scholars during the period of European renaissance. Among these were:—Abul Qasim Zahravi (Abdul Casis), 1013 A.D., who was Court Physician at Cordova. He wrote the work entitled *At-tarif* (*Medical Vade-mecum*) in thirty sections, dealing with all medical subjects including surgery. This work helped the progress of European surgery. It was translated and commented upon in Latin. Abn-juljil was a contemporary of Hushām, the Umayyad Khalif in Spain, and was a translator and an original writer on Medicine. Other Spanish Muslim physicians who were also philosophers were Ibn-Baja, Ibn-ul-Wafd, Ibn-ul-Jazzar, Ibn-ur-Rushd (known in Europe as Averroes), Aven Zoar, author of *Kitabut-Taisir* (a manual on medicine and hygiene) and last but not least Maimonides, a Jew. Of these, Ibn-ur-Rushd, better known by his European name of Averroes,

deserves a few words. He was of Arabian descent and a native of Cordova. Celebrated both as physician and philosopher, he is one of those who has made Muslim reputation last eternally in Europe. He early devoted himself to the study and exposition of Aristotle, earning for himself the title of the *Commentator*, though he appears to have coupled with the philosophy of Aristotle, the Vedantic doctrine of emanations. He lived between 1120 and 1198 A.D. As regards Moses Maimonides, it has to be remarked that he was a great Jewish Rabbi, born at Cordova. His co-religionists regarded him as their Plato and called him the *Lamp of Israel* and *The Eagle of the Doctors*. He was a man of immense learning and was physician to the Sultan of Egypt. In his relation to the Jews, he ranks next to Moses. He taught the Jews to interpret their religion in the light of reason, perhaps his greatest service to them. His best known work is the *Moreh Nebochim*, or *Guide to the Perplexed*. He lived between 1135-1204 A.D., his 800th anniversary having been celebrated this year in Europe.

During this golden period of learning in Islamic countries, all facilities and encouragement were given to scholars and workers in the field of science. According to the testimony of Qifti, Jibrail, the son of Bukht Yishu (d. 830 A.D.), used to receive 10,000 drachmas *per mensem* from the public treasury and 50,000 from the privy purse of the Khalif. His total earnings as physician in about 23 years was estimated at as much as three and a half million pounds. Besides permanent hospitals in large cities with full medical equipment and separate wards for men and women, and dispensaries, there were travelling hospitals also. Physicians, druggists and barbers were subject to official inspection. Some physicians had their own botanical gardens for cultivating and experimenting with plants from various parts of Asia, Europe and Africa. In Egypt, Syria and Iraq, we find distinguished scholars in medicine such as Ali, the son of Rizwan of Cairo (1067 A.D.), author of a work dealing with the medical topography of Egypt; Ibn-butlan (1063 A.D.) of Baghdad, whose synoptic tables of medicine were translated into Latin; and Abu Mansur Mowaffiq, an Iranian of Herat (975 A.D.), who wrote a work describing 585 drugs, drawn from Syriac, Iranian, Greek, Arabic and Indian sources. Ophthalmology as practised by Muslims reached its zenith in or about 1000 A.D. Ali of Baghdad and Ammar of Mosul have left valuable treatises on the diseases and treatment of the eye. These were translated into Latin and were used as text-books on the diseases of the eye till about 1750 A.D. in Europe. Optics was developed by the famous scholar Abu Ali Husain al-Haitham (Alhazen), of Basra (965 A.D.), whose work on the subject survives in Latin. Western writers on optics based their works on this work. He also wrote on

light, the rainbow, the halo. He is specially well known for his discovery of atmospheric refraction.

The *third period* of Arabic Medicine extends from the fall of the Abbasides to the rise of European surgery in Western Asia. During this long time (1250 A.D. to 1850 A.D.), scientific study declined in the East and made rapid progress in the West. All important works in science had been translated from Arabic into the European languages. Their shortcomings and defects had been noted and rectified. The Muslim spirit of reverence for the dead prevented them from dissecting dead bodies, which Europe took up and gave the world a better knowledge of the internal portions of the human machinery. Evidence, however, is not lacking to show that interest in surgery was kept up during this period also. The more important works on surgical operation known to this period are : *Al-umda fesanā-ātul jiraha* by Ibnul Kuff ; *Kitab-ul-Tasrif* by Abul Qasim Zahrāvi, of which its 30th section had much influence on Western surgery ; while Ibn-e-Sina's *Qanun* contains a section on the same subject and Ali Abbas has treated surgery in about 110 chapters in his work entitled *Kamil-us-Sinā*. Europe received from Eastern scholars its knowledge of drugs, the qualities of minerals, ideas about the science of optics and a better developed chemistry, but has managed to return all these with compound interest during the 19th and 20th centuries. Europe has advanced to such a high level both in the arts and the sciences that its scholars will continue to teach Eastern pupils for another half a century or more, if Asiatic nations will not bestir themselves in the meanwhile.

During this, the third period, the following physicians and authors flourished in the Islamic world :—Maimonides (1135-1204 A.D.), the great Jewish philosopher of Spain and author of *Aphorisms*, in which he criticizes Galen ; Abdul Latif, who settled in Egypt, is known to have corrected the description of Galen as regards the bones of the lower jaw ; and Ibn-e-Baytar (d. 1248 A.D.), who collected various kinds of plants and drugs in North Africa, Spain and Syria and has given descriptions of about 1,400 drugs on medicine. Baytar's work is considered the best known on botany in Asia. His other work is named *Aqrabadin* (in Greek *Graphidon*). Zainuddin Ismail of Gurgan wrote the *Zakhira-e-Khawrezm Shahi*. This work is one of the most important works on medicine, ranking only next to *Qanun* (Canon) of Avicenna, and is written in ten volumes. The same author has also written several treatises in Iranian. Rashid-ud-din Fazl-u-lah, the Iranian minister to the Moghal ruler of Iran, was a great physician, administrator and historian. He founded many colleges, hospitals, libraries and encouraged the study of science in Iran. His library at Rabi-e-Rashidi (a suburb of Tabriz) possessed sixty thousand

manuscripts. In one street of this locality, there lived, it is said, as many as four hundred scholars with suitable salaries while in the students' quarters, there were one thousand students receiving scholarships and support. Fifty physicians worked, it is said, on the staff of the medical college. Great scholars were invited from India, China, Syria and Egypt to teach medicine.

In the *fourth* or the present period, once again, the East has to sit at the feet of Western scholars. The old Arabian method of treatment, known as *Yunani*, appears to be incomplete in many ways. Its perfection is possible only by the absorption of newer Western methods, particularly in its surgical portions. The period of brilliant Muslim exponents of the healing art has passed into history. They were the teachers of Mediæval Europe in the arts and the sciences, but to-day they are the pupils of Europe. F. Wustanfeld (1808-99 A.D.) enumerates three hundred Muslim medical writers and according to Adolf Fontan (1910 A.D.), in his work *Zur Quellen Kunde der Persische*, in Iran alone four hundred books have been written on medicine. The chief contributions of Muslim physicians may be summed up to be their production of the best known pharmacopœa; important ideas in regard to the science of optics; and the use of simple drugs. There are signs of a new awakening in the East. In India, thanks to the ambition of Hakim Ajmal Khan of Delhi, a *Yunani* College has been founded in which instruction is imparted in new methods of healing. This is likely to develop into a first-class institution of *Yunani* research in medicine. Hyderabad (Decan) and Mysore, two leading States of India, are taking some interest in the *Yunani* and the Ayurvedic systems of medicine. There are at Hyderabad and Mysore *Yunani* Colleges conducted on modern lines. As the interest of these States in this very important branch of Eastern science increases, as it is bound to before many years pass, there is no doubt that it will progress. Such progress is necessary as the future of medicine in India is more largely bound up with the spread of indigenous systems rather than the allopathic, valuable as it is. Some suggest that the *Yunani* and other systems might eventually be absorbed in the leading European system, but there seems little ground for this view now, if apart from the aid given to it by Government, as the allopathic system cannot compete with the indigenous systems, even with increased Government grants; it can at all hope to cater to the wants of the 370 millions of people inhabiting the vast sub-continent of India. Unfortunately other great Islamic countries like Iran, Turkey, Iraq and Egypt have adopted the Western method at the cost of their own. Thus the Arab-Muslim medicine, which started at the end of the 7th century A.D., has been succeeded by the

European system of treatment from about the *beginning of the 19th century* in these areas. Muslims were successors of Greek and Roman physicians. They extended and improved anatomy, physiology and other branches of medicine and taught them to Europe, from whom, it is their turn again, to learn so that they might spread the new discoveries—of the 19th and 20th centuries—and help humanity on its onward march towards the killing of disease and the suppression of dust in the most scientific and simplest manner.

CHAPTER VII

TRADE, COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION

Pre-Islamic Trade—Arab Commerce in the Red Sea, etc.—Commerce in the *Quran*—Heyday of Muslim Overseas Trade—Mediæval Muslim Navy—Muslim Terms in European Languages.

PRE-ISLAMIC TRADE

LONG before the rise of Islam, the earlier civilization of Arabia was in the south-west corner of that country now known as *Yemen*.⁴³ Among Jewish writers, Job has mentioned that Arabs were noted for their skill in navigation, commerce and the art of conducting fisheries. The Arabs also knew astronomy, geometry, music and engraving on stone and metal. They imported balm, spicery, myrrh and other articles from Western India and exported them to Egypt and Palestine. They risked the sea voyage as far as Coromandel, Ceylon, and further East in the Indian Ocean. In the West, they explored the East African coast and had established several colonies in that continent. Their chief seaport and centre of trade was *Arabia Felix*, the modern Aden. In the North, their trade extended as far as Palestine and Syria. They were in touch with another great trading nation known to Phœnicians. The rise of the Israëlites under David and his son Solomon and the surrender of the Queen of Saba (*Yemen*) marked the beginning of the decline of the first Yemenite ascendancy. Finally, the Roman world power in the West and the Sassanian Empire in the East became two great rivals to the small enterprising State of *Yemen*. New land and sea routes connected Europe with India, *viz.*, one through modern Afghanistan to Balkh and Central Asia; another to the Caspian Sea and Russia; a third to the Black Sea ports and the Balkan Peninsula; and a fourth *via* the Iranian Gulf to the Euphrates and thence to the interior of Asia Minor and Syria. When Egypt became a Roman province, the northern portion of the Red Sea passed under their control and their sailors ventured even into the Indian Ocean. Iranian traders became rivals and co-traders with Southern Arabs in the Indian Ocean. Thus, the Yemenites lost their supremacy in the sea but the rise of Islam brought fresh vigour

⁴³ The *Arabia Felix* of Ptolemy. It is about 400 miles in length and 150 miles in breadth; is a well-watered, highly fertile region, and yields tropical and sub-tropical fruits, in particular coffee, dates, gums, spices and wheat. A fifth of the whole population of Arabia is said to be found in this province. It possesses two very important commercial towns, Mocha and Loheia, both situated on the coast of the Red Sea.

to them and once again Arabs became the foremost trading nation in the East. This time, their supremacy lasted several centuries, till the War of Crusades and the Renaissance of arts and sciences in Europe. The fanatic Holy War of the Christians ended by their coming into close contact with the peoples of the East and the wiping out of their false pride which made them think that they were the chosen people of God. They unconsciously appreciated Eastern learning and refinement and carried a better feeling towards Easterns generally and fired with the ambition that they should help towards a revival of trade and the sciences in their own lands. Their economic conditions forced them to risk the sea and find new sources of wealth, which they thought they may obtain in the East.

ARAB COMMERCE IN THE RED SEA, ETC.

The ancient Arabs were traders in the coast of the Red Sea, the Iranian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean. Gherra, in East Arabia, was the chief port for Indian trade. Arab merchants imported gold, gems, silver, sandal, spices and ebony into Palestine. Herodotus mentions in his history that Arabia possesses frankincense and myrrh. At the advent of Islam, the Prophet and most of his early converts were merchants, exporting goods from Hejaz into Syria and importing them from Syria into Hejaz. Mecca was the city of bankers and money-lenders. Usury was prevalent, money being invested in foreign enterprise, and advanced to the organizers of caravan trade bound to Yemen, Syria, Mesopotamia and other places. According to Strabo, an Arab was either a broker or a trader. Even in expeditions and pilgrimages, articles of trade were carried. When the early disciples of the Prophet were forced to migrate from Mecca to Medina, on their arrival in the latter city, some used to enquire the way to the market-place, where they could do some business. Men as well as women used to join in caravan enterprise. Abujahl's mother was a trader in perfumery. Khodija, the wife of the Prophet, was a wealthy merchant lady. Hind, mother of Moawiya, the first Umayyad Khalif, had business transactions with the Kalbi tribe in Syria. Other similar instances can be easily quoted. The arrival and departure of caravans were very important for the Meccans. Large sums of money were invested in them and leaders of caravans were supported in every way possible. The Badr caravan under Abu Sufyan carried about 50,000 gold *dinars* with 2,500 camels and a large number of men. The capital was contributed largely by the Umayyad houses and hence, on their return from Syria, Abu Sufyan suspected that the Prophet, who was a member of the Hashimite, a clan hostile to the Umayyad, might attack him. Sometimes a whole family used to invest money together and form a joint-stock company, in

which outsiders were also permitted to become partners. The latter were sleeping partners who invested the requisite money but did not take any active part in conducting the venture itself. A fixed percentage of the profits earned was paid to them. The Umayyad and Makhzumi tribes were the most enterprising and wealthy. Among the rich merchants of Mecca were :—Walid, father of Khaled, the famous general and conqueror of Iraq and Syria ; Abdur-Rahman, son of Awf, who invested a capital of 8,000 gold *dinars* ; Haris, son of Amr ; Umayya, son of Khalif ; Abu Bakr, the first Khalifa ; and Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet. Meccan traders imported Indian and Chinese products through Yemen ; Syrian and Egyptian goods through the border towns of Syria ; and Iranian articles from Mesopotamia, such as silk, cotton and linen goods, arms, cereals, oil, etc. They exported to these countries, especially to Syria, skin, leather, currant, ingots of gold and silver, perfumes, specie, aromatics, gems, drugs, etc.

COMMERCE IN THE QURAN

With regard to commerce, some references are to be found in the holy *Quran*, of which a few are noted below :—

"Your Lord causes the ship to sail far in the sea, so that you may seek wealth, through Him. When distress comes upon you in the ocean, you call upon Him, but when you are safe on the land you turn away from (and forget your) Lord."

"(Quraish) are protected during their journey in the winter and the summer. So let them serve their Lord of this house (Ka'aba) who feeds them against hunger and gives them security against enemies."

Allusion is made in the last verse to the security enjoyed by the Meccans as guardians of the great temple at Mecca, which large numbers of pilgrims used to visit and which, accordingly, became the source of a profitable trade for its inhabitants. In fact, the extent of the prosperity and wealth of the Meccan was and is still largely dependent on the large or small number of pilgrims that visit Mecca annually. During fixed months, war and plunder were forbidden, with the result that large caravans proceeded unmolested to the Roman and the Iranian border provinces.

Elsewhere the *Quran* says :—

"O ye believers, shall I lead you towards a merchandise which may deliver you from a painful chastisement?"

"And when they see merchandise or sports, they break up (prayer) for it and leave you (O Prophet) standing (alone)."

HEYDAY OF MUSLIM OVERSEAS TRADE

The first thirty years of the Khilafat were passed in the conquest of Egypt, Syria and Iran, but when the conquerors

became wealthy by the booty obtained from it, once again they turned their attention towards trade on a much larger scale. The caravan routes were improved and repaired. Medina, Kufa, Basrah, Fastat (Egypt), Damascus, Mosul and finally Baghdad, became the seats of Government and the centres of trade. Halting places for caravans were constructed, roads were made, a postal system was established and all facilities were given to the traders. Arabic became the *lingua franca* of all Muslims from Spain to the confines of China, and by sea as far as the islands of the Pacific. Geographical and commercial information was increased through the wanderings of the adventurous travellers and wealth-seekers risked the high seas and wrote important and useful works on what they saw or heard. Industry was developed, mines were opened out, paper was manufactured, silkworms were reared, porcelain, earthenware, iron, steel and leather goods were made and exported to distant places. The tapestries of Cordova, woollen stuffs of Murcia (Spain), silks of Granada, gold work of Toledo, sword blades of Damascus and Ispahan were noted in the then known world. Fine carpets were made, on which figures of not only animals, such as lions, tigers and birds, were woven into, but also rivers, seas, gardens, even pictures of the Khalifs, kings and heroes were represented in embroidery. The last-named art was learnt and improved from the Greeks and the Iranians. There were carpets woven valued at over twenty thousand gold coins. Yemen was noted for its woven fabrics and its coffee, which latter was introduced into India in or about 1719 A.D. From about the 10th century A.D., to about the rise of the European marine activity, Muslims were the masters of the Mediterranean and the Red Seas, the Indian Ocean, the China Sea and the Pacific Ocean. Their love of trade and journey on land extended over a great area comprising the whole of the Northern, and a part of the Central, Southern and Eastern Asia, as far as the interior of China. The mariner's compass was invented, and colonies were founded from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans. The Azores⁴⁴ in the West and the Malay Archipelago in the East were discovered and some bold adventurous sailors even reached the American Coast. Important places such as Malaga,⁴⁵ Cartagena,⁴⁶ Alexandria, Basrah,

⁴⁴ The Azores, or Western Islands, now a Portuguese archipelago in the mid-Atlantic, were undoubtedly known to Arab geographers as inhabited islands, though in 1431-53 when they were occupied by the Portuguese, they were uninhabited. The fact that Punic coins have been found on Corvo, the most northerly of the group, shows that it should have been inhabited long before the Arabs came to know of it.

⁴⁵ On the Mediterranean, 65 miles north-east of Gibraltar; now a Spanish sea-port. Founded by the Phoenicians, it became an

Baghdad, Barcelona,⁴⁷ and Cadiz⁴⁸ became flourishing ports. Spanish Muslims alone maintained over one thousand ships. They founded factories on the Danube and it was through Muslim merchants that the silk industry spread to Constantinople, Palermo and Spain. But this grand work of civilization was not limited to Arabs, who were the earliest members of the Muslim brotherhood. It was the combined effort of Arabs, Iranians, Turks, Indians, Chinese, Africans and Spanish Muslims. The fall of the Iranian Empire did not seriously affect the well-established Iranian trade with India, which continued to carry on regular business with the Indian West Coast and the islands of the Indian Ocean as far as Shan-tung Peninsula, a maritime province of what is now North China. The Arabs and Iranians as Muslim brothers continued in the Eastern trade and their joint efforts resulted in missionary activity on the West Coast of India, and in the islands of the Pacific Ocean. Sulaiman, an Arab writer, who lived about 850 A.D., mentions the use of tea which was brought from China. He is perhaps the earliest known Muslim author who has written about this famous article of trade. The amalgamation of so many nations under the name of Muslims gave birth to a new culture and civilization, similar to Christianity in modern times, which started from Europe on a much larger scale and with a more perfect organization and higher consciousness of the objectives aimed at. Islamic culture, though small when compared with modern world culture, may be said to have been superior to all ancient cultures of the West or the East. There were a number of cities under Muslim rule, with a population of over one to four million inhabitants. Fastat (Egypt) alone possessed thirty-six thousand mosques. Baghdad had sixty thousand public-baths, in which three hundred thousand men and women served. Even half of this number, if true, gives an idea of the flourishing conditions of these cities. According to French authors, Toledo⁴⁹ had two million and Cordova one

important town under the Muslims of Spain down to 1487 A.D., when it was captured by Ferdinand and Isabella.

⁴⁶ On a bay of the Mediterranean. Formerly the largest naval arsenal in Europe. It even now wears a Muslim aspect in its streets, its place of worship and its ruined castle.

⁴⁷ The second largest city in Spain, beautifully situated on the Mediterranean between the mouths of two rivers.

⁴⁸ A great Spanish port on the Atlantic. It reached its highest prosperity after the discovery of America.

⁴⁹ A famous city of Spain, capital of a province of the same name and for long the whole of Spain; stands on the right bank of the Tagus. It was held by the Muslims from 714 A.D. to 1083 A.D. Its great square (Zocodover), which is a fashionable promenade, is thoroughly Muslim in character. Toledo still manufac-

million inhabitants. Iranian trade centres were noted for their fine carpets, silk, precious stones, textile manufactures, wool, cotton, household furniture, dried fruits, etc. Rei, Ispahan, Herat and Nishapur were situated on the highways to China and India. Trade was carried to Russia and indirectly through the European and Jewish merchants to England, Norway and Sweden, where a number of Islamic coins have been discovered. Through Khorassan and thence to Khiva,⁵⁰ traders penetrated to the mouths of the Volga as far as Kazan⁵¹ and the Don.⁵² Russian goods such as fur, wax, honey, etc., were exchanged for silk, cotton and linen. In the North-East, caravans passed deep into Siberia and Chinese Turkestan. When the Moghals under Chengiz and his successors conquered Iran, Muslims found their way into the heart of China. The Indian route was traversed through Herat, Balkh, and Ghazni. During the prosperous rule of the Seljukids, Merv⁵³ had become the capital of their vast empire, and a centre of learning. It was noted for its textile fabrics and silk. Herat manufactured carpets, sword-blades and other warlike weapons. Balkh and Badakshan⁵⁴ were known for their precious stones. In Spain,

tures the sword-blades known after it as Toledo Sword-blades, famous since the old Roman times.

⁵⁰ A Khanate of ancient Turkestan in Central Asia, now divided between the Republics of Turkoman, Turkamanistan and Uzbekistan. The City of Khiva is within the territory of the last of these Republics situated on a great oasis which stretches from the mouth of the Oxus for 200 miles along its banks and is watered by canals fed by it. Khiva, the capital of the Khanate, is on the Hazreti Pehlivan canal, in the western portion of the great oasis. To-day, it consists entirely of earth-huts.

⁵¹ Kazan stands 3 miles from the Volga's north bank. It was the seat of the Mongol Kingdom until 1552 A.D., when the Russians put an end to it. Its red brick Sumbeck Tower is an object of veneration to Tartars. The merchants of this place trade as far as Bokhara and Iran on the one side and as far as Asia Minor on the other.

⁵² Don is a river of Russia having its source in a small lake in Tula province and flowing 1,125 miles southward through four provinces in succession and the country of the Don Cossacks, till it enters the Sea of Azov by several mouths, of which the Aksai is the most considerable. It has four large affluents. It is navigable for large boats below Voronaj and in its upper course is connected by railway and canal with the Volga. Its waters abound in fish.

⁵³ Merv, an oasis of Turkestan, lying between Bokhara and the north-east corner of Iran. It consists of a district 60 miles long by 40 miles broad, watered by the river Murgharb. Alexander the Great built a town in this oasis. The Arabs made Merv the capital of Khorassan. Under the Seljuk Turks, Merv enjoyed its greatest splendour and it decayed after being sacked by the Mongols in 1221 A.D.

⁵⁴ In North Afghanistan; is famous throughout the East as a picturesque hill-country diversified with woods, rich pasture, fertile,

Muslim prosperity increased to such an extent that King Abdur Rahman had an annual revenue of ten thousand ounces of gold and the same quantity of silver, besides a large number of mules, armour, helmets, etc., which still further increased during the reign of his successor to five and a half million sterling, a very large amount for what was then a moderately taxed country. The mosque at Cordova used to be illumined with eight thousand lamps, consuming about twenty thousand pounds of oil.⁵⁵ This city was known for its leather trade, silversmiths and filigree works. Its industry supported two hundred thousand families. It possessed sixteen thousand looms for silk alone.⁵⁶ In Seville,⁵⁷ there were one hundred and thirty thousand weavers. Rubies were obtained in Malaga and Bija, coral and pearl were sought in the Spanish islands and the Iranian Gulf. Spanish Muslims were famous as weavers and dyers of silk and wool. They were masters in metal work as well. The North African town of Qirawan was the centre of trade for the West, East and Central Africa. There were other places also, such as Bakkadah, Kafsah, Mahdiyyah, where the silkworm and white mulberry were reared. Morocco had several important cities. Irrigation was improved everywhere. Fez, in Morocco, became noted for its red caps, afterwards worn by Turks and later in India, though the makers of the same are no more Moroccan Muslims. It also fabricated silk and gold thread, and manufactured caps. Men and women slaves were sought in Spain, Greece, the African Coast, Georgia and Russia and sold for very high and advantageous prices in big cities, such as Baghdad, etc. Gold dust, ivory, ostrich feathers, etc., were exported from Africa. Fastat and Alexandria were the places through which the merchandise of the East passed to the West. Sicily, as a Muslim dependency,

well-cultivated valleys, its surface varying from 500 to 15,000 feet above sea-level. Faizabad is the capital. The present inhabitants are largely Tajiks, an Aryan race speaking Iranian, and Muhammadans.

⁵⁵ Its present cathedral was originally built as a mosque in the 8th century A.D., at present celebrated as "the most magnificent Muhammadan temple in Europe".

⁵⁶ The silver-fabrics of Cordova are even to-day much prized articles of local manufacture.

⁵⁷ Seville is one of the most famous of Spanish cities. Stands on the left bank of the navigable Guadalquivir, 62 miles north-east of Cadiz. Until recently it had the appearance of a picturesque Muslim town but within the past twenty years it has been greatly modernized by the clearing away of the narrower quarters to make room for wide straight streets and modern houses and shops. The present Gothic cathedral stands on the site of the old Muslim mosque and dates from 1401-1519 A.D., when it was completed. Some 300,000 Muslims abandoned the place in 1248 A.D., when it was captured by Ferdinand III of Castile.

enjoyed a prosperous trade. It had also flourishing industries. Eastern commodities were imported to it and it passed them on to the other places in Europe, from which it obtained wheat, vines, olives and fruits, and exported them to the surrounding sea-ports of Africa, Europe and Asia. Muslim marine activity, compared to what marine activity is to-day, must be deemed insignificant, but compared with the activities of the contemporary nations, must be held to mark a great advance. Defects on their part in regard to the construction of vessels and boats were balanced by the adventure and courage they displayed in risking the dangers of the high seas, of which we may form some idea by reading the romance of Sindbad the Sailor, in the *Arabian Nights*. Sindbad was not only a merchant but also a mariner. His several wonderful voyages, in which he meets with surprising adventures, afford some evidence of the maritime activities of the Muslims. Basrah was the chief port on the Iranian Gulf, from which vessels left *via* Muscat to the coast of Western India, Ceylon and the islands of the Indian and Pacific Oceans in the East. On the West, they explored the East African coast as far as Madagascar.⁵⁸ Chinese, Indian and African commodities were brought to Baghdad and other places in the West. Muslim merchants reached South Chinese ports as early as 787 A.D., where they established agencies. Between the 9th and 14th centuries, a considerable quality of geographical literature was formed by travellers and sailors, who wrote accounts of their observations and experiences, such as Masudi, Naser Khusroe and others. Their works not only helped Muslims but instilled a desire for sea adventure in the new Christian conquerors of Spain. King Roger II of Sicily⁵⁹ wrote a book on geography which was translated into Latin in 1619 A.D. Muslim sailing boats reached Khanful (Canton) in the 10th century A.D., where already a Muslim colony had been in existence. From here Muslim vessels passed towards the north-east as far as Korea, Japan and Philippine Islands. In the south, Sumatra, Java, Malacca and other islands of the Pacific were discovered by the Muslims. According to the works of Ibn-e-Rusta (d. 900 A.D.), Sulaiman (850 A.D.) and Abu Zaid (950 A.D.), Muslim navigators were quite familiar with the China Sea. Muslim ships kept a regular traffic with Malabar and Ceylon. Daibul in Sindh became an emporium

⁵⁸ The Malagasy people who inhabit the island of Madagascar, though derived from the Malayo-Polynesian stock, show an Arab admixture, quite apart from Melanesian and African.

⁵⁹ Roger II was the son of Roger I, the youngest of the 12 sons of Tancred of Hauteville, who conquered Sicily in 1091 A.D., from the Muslims after a war of 30 years. Roger II carried on war advantageously against the Muslims of North Africa and the Emperor of the East. He ruled over Sicily well, promoting its industries, from 1097 to 1154 A.D.

for the Indian trade and on the Malabar Coast small Muslim colonies were founded. Muslim pilots, like the well-known Ahmad, guided the early Christian sailors, such as Vasco-de-gama, towards India. Ahmad possessed a good sea map and the necessary maritime instruments such as the compass, etc. He also wrote a sailing manual for the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, the Iranian Gulf and the China Sea. Muslim traders imported silk, camphor, cinnamon, wood, cocoanuts, musk, aloe and other Indian and Eastern commodities to Iran, Iraq, Egypt and the Mediterranean ports. The system of commercial representation, now so common in connection with the Indian Legislative Councils, may be dated back to the times when Muslim mercantile activity was all supreme in Asia and Europe. Besides this, many other Islamic trade customs and methods were copied by their European contemporaries. In India, Muslim rule brought Hindus into contact with the outside world. Seaborne trade was revived. During the reign of the early Moghal Emperors, land trade between India and Central Asia flourished to the extent of fourteen thousand camel loads of merchandise which passed every year through Afghanistan. Masulipatam was the chief port of the Golconda Qutb Shahi dynasty, from which place ships sailed for distant places in the East, such as Sumatra, Java, Siam, China and to the West in the Iranian Gulf.

MEDIÆVAL MUSLIM NAVY

The Muslim navy, though insignificant judged from modern European standards, more than served its purposes in the mediæval ages. Its utility in opening up communications and establishing trade relations between distant nations cannot be overestimated. It paved the way for the ocean commerce of later days. Muslim *Tarsana* or docks were established in the chief Mediterranean ports. A mercantile fleet was called *Stole*. Each stole had a commander. Muslims had their first naval experience in the reign of Moawiya, the first Umayyad Khalif. They gathered strength during the Khilafat of Abdul Malik and his son Walid I. The Fatemid Khalifas made Alexandria their naval port. The large sails were classified into *Alshuna*; *Alharaq* (fire-throwing); *Altarda* (transport), etc. Ships carrying merchandise were numerous. The river Nile alone had a navy of twenty-six thousand small and large vessels. The Mediterranean Muslim navy reached the high figure of 100 stoles, which helped them to take possession of the Mediterranean islands. After the fall of the kingdom of the Spanish Muslims, the Turkish Empire in the East became a formidable naval power. The Turkish navy was the terror of Southern Europe. In India, Emperor Akbar made a feeble attempt at forming a navy but could not compete with the

European sea adventurers. His successors wasted their time in subduing the Deccan powers or quarrelling with each other. Tippu Sultan of Mysore had the high ambition of building up a foreign trade, for which he felt the need for a strong navy. He strived hard, with the limited resources at his command, in gaining his object. A naval department was established, first under a *Malukat-Tujjar* and afterwards in command of an *Amir-e-Yam*, i.e., a chief of the sea or admiral. According to Col. Wilks, the historian of Mysore, he possessed one hundred vessels, including frigates. His navy cost him about one-fourth of the whole revenue of the State. His sea-ports were Mangalore and Calicut. This scheme, though extremely valuable from the point of view of the future of not only Mysore but of the whole of the Deccan, cost him his kingdom and his life itself. On the whole, Muslims, judging from the eagerness they showed for trade and the activity they evinced in commerce, did really little or nothing for the development of a strong navy. This was the chief reason why they lost their supremacy on the high seas as well as their empires in the East and the West.

MUSLIM TERMS IN EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

The following are some of the words which have been absorbed into different European languages through contact with Muslim overseas traders:—Muslin,⁶⁰ damask,⁶¹ orange⁶²; lemon⁶³; apricot⁶⁴; tamarind⁶⁵; spinach⁶⁶; artichoke⁶⁷; saffron⁶⁸; aniline⁶⁹; lapis-lazuli⁷⁰; traffic⁷¹; tariff⁷²; risk⁷³; fare; calibre⁷⁴; magazine⁷⁵; cheque⁷⁶; aval; mahotra; etc.

⁶⁰ From French *Mousseline*, derived from Mosul or Moussul, a town in North Iraq, where muslins were first manufactured.

⁶¹ *Damask* means "of or belonging to Damascus", of the colour of the rose so called; hence pink or rosy in colour. The *damask-rose*, it would appear, was of pink colour. To-day, *Damask* indicates a fabric of various materials, especially silk and linen, ornamented with raised figures of flowers.

⁶² Orange: Iranian *narang*, Arabic *naranz*, adopted through Spanish *narunja*; Italian *arancio*; and French *orange*.

⁶³ Lemon: Arabic and Persian *Limun*; Italian, *Limone*; Spanish and French *Limon*.

⁶⁴ Apricot: From Arabic *alburquq*; Spanish *albaricoque*; Portuguese *albricoque*; French *abricot*.

⁶⁵ Tamarind: From Arabic *Tamr-el-Hind*, the Indian fruit, (lit. the copper-coloured fruit of India); French *Tamarin*; Spanish and Italian, *Tamarindo*.

⁶⁶ Through Spanish *espinach*; Italian, *Spinace*—so named from the prickles on its fruit.

⁶⁷ From Arabic, through Italian: *artieioeco*, an esculent plant somewhat resembling a thistle.

⁶⁸ From Arabic *saffra*, yellow; French *safra*.

⁶⁹ From Arabic *an-nīl*; *al*, the, and *nīl*, indigo.

⁷⁰ In this word, *lazuli* is from Arabic or Iranian *lajward*, blue.

⁷¹ From Arabic *Ta-friq*; Spanish, *Trafugo*, *trafico*; Italian *traffico*; French *traffic*.

⁷² From Arabic *Tarif*, explanation, information, a list of fees to be paid; Spanish, *Tarifa*; Italian *Tariffa*; and French *arafa*, to inform.

⁷³ From Arabic, through Spanish *risko*, a steep rock.

⁷⁴ From Arabic, *Kalib*, a mould; old Spanish *calibo*; Spanish *calibre*; Italian *calibro*; French *calibre*.

⁷⁵ From Arabic *al*, the and *makhzen*, a warehouse, the latter coming from Iranian *ganjina* or *khazana*, a store or treasury; Spanish *magacen*, *almagacen*; French *magasin*.

⁷⁶ From a check at chess *lit. King*, the call of King! in chess, from Iranian *Shah*, King, the chief piece at chess.

CHAPTER VIII

MUSLIM ÆSTHETIC CULTURE

Music—Periods of Development—Earliest Professional Musicians—During Umayyad Rule—Musical Literature in Eleventh Century—Muslim Music in India—Musical Instruments—Iranian Tunes borrowed by Indians—Iranian Legacy to Europe—Muslim System of Notation—Effect of Music—Strings on Instruments—Muslim Piping Instruments. *Architecture*—In the Arab Empire—Syria—Egypt—Egyptian Mosques—North Africa: Tunis, Algeria and Morocco—Spain and Sicily—Arabia—The Ka'aba in Mecca—Mesopotamia and Iran—Buildings in Baghdad—Early Buildings in Iran—Effect of Moghal Invasion—Buildings of the Moghal Period—Structures of the Safavid Period—Buildings of Qajar Period—Modern Buildings—Turkey in Europe and Asia Minor—Muslim Architecture in India—Pre-Moghal Period—Moghal Architecture—Muslim Architecture in China and Malay Archipelago.

Music

THE beautiful voice is indirectly praised in the *Quran* in the following *Sura* :—

“Verily, the least pleasing of voices is the voice of donkeys.”—(Ch. XXXI-18.)

Abu Musa Ashari, a companion of the Prophet, was gifted with melodious voice. His recitation of the *Quran* was sweet and musical and so the Prophet said that the harp of David had been renewed in his voice. According to tradition, the Prophet also said :—“Ornament your recitation of the *Quran* with your good voice. For everything there is an ornament and the ornament of the *Quran* is melodious voice.”

The Arabic word *musiqi* was borrowed from Greek, probably at the time when works on philosophy were translated from Greek sources into Arabic. *Musiqi* is a subject connected with mathematics. It was studied by scholars of philosophy, some of whom, such as Farabi, were authorities on it. The word *Ghina* means music in its ordinary sense. The singer is called *Mughanni*. *Ghina*, or singing with or without musical instrument, must have been prevalent long before the rise of Islam in Arabia, especially in Yemen, Hira and Ghassanid territories. Mecca, the chief town of Hejaz, was not only noted on account of its grand temple, as a place of pilgrimage, but also as a great centre of commerce. A number of dancing and singing girls used to go over there from the interior and from neighbouring countries, for example, Abyssinia, Egypt, and the

Roman and Iranian empires. The history of Grecian, Roman and Iranian music goes back to the remote period of 600 B.C. and even possibly earlier. The oldest portion of the *Avesta*, named *gathas*, was recited in a musical voice. According to Athanacus there were 329 singing girls in the palace of Darius (490 B.C.). The Sassanian kings were noted for their patronage of music. It is said that Bahram V was so enthusiastic a lover of music that he invited a large number of musicians from India. Barbad, the celebrated poet and musician of Khusroe, was the ornament of his court. The Sassanian sculpture at Taq-e-Bastam, represents a number of women musicians as playing on the harp. The Greek and Roman achievements in music are well known and from these nations the Arab conquerors enriched their own music. The cultivation of this important art, as a subject of study, began during the end of the Umayyad rule and was fully developed under the Abbasides, though singing and playing on musical instruments for purposes of enjoyment were prevalent as early as the time of the Prophet. After his death, the first thirty years were passed in the conquest of Roman and Iranian territories and suddenly the Arabs became the wealthiest nation in the world. *Ghina* was very popular with the higher classes and it soon became the very life of nobles. The Umayyad rulers, whose empire extended from Spain to China, covering North Africa, South Europe and West Asia, were fond of music and other enjoyments of life. Their subjects copied them in this respect and the demand for singers and players on musical instruments became so great that those who could afford used to keep permanent singers, most of whom were young and beautiful women. These singers sometimes enjoyed great influence over their masters. Khalif Yazid II was so passionately attracted to Sullama and Hubbaba, two singing beauties, that he could not leave them and attend to the affairs of his vast empire. And when one of these two died, the Khalif could not survive her death and in deep grief himself died. Contemporary theologians perceived that society was degenerating into lust and passion, and took serious steps to combat the evil. Most of them declared *ghina* as *malāhi* or a pleasure forbidden by Islam. But opinion was not unanimous. Imam Malik, son of Anas, considered it to be unlawful and Imam Ghazzali approved its practice subject to certain conditions. Imam Abu Hanifa said that a Muslim who destroys the musical instruments of other Muslims, such as the lute, the pipe, etc., does an unlawful act and should be made responsible for the loss but *ghina* he considered as vice. The majority of Sufi sages not only approved the playing on musical instruments but also permitted singing and dancing as necessary in addressing the Divine Being in terms of love and to reflect on sublime beauty.

PERIODS OF DEVELOPMENT

The development of this fine art among Muslims may be divided into three periods. The first was the period of passionate enjoyment; the second, when it became the subject of mathematics and philosophy, when the works of Ausloth, Aristoxenus,⁷⁷ Ptolemy and Nicomachos were translated into Arabic; and the third, when its use was taken up again under modern conditions under European influence. The development of Islamic music, particularly between the 10th and the 18th centuries, is a valuable contribution to world culture and may favourably be compared with the musical development of any civilized nation in the past. It has influenced both the East and the West and traces of its influence are apparent in European music, through Spain and North Africa, and in India through Iran and Central Asia. It is based, like other Eastern music, on the melodic principle. The Arabic flute was known to the Greeks of the time of Menander. The other pre-Islamic Arabic instrument for music was *tanbur*, known as *Baghdadi* or *mizani*. Its *dasātin* or frets gave a quarter tone scale and the string was divided into forty equal parts. The earliest foreign influence on Arabic music must have come from the border states of Hira and Ghassan. The former in the north-east was under Iranian suzerainty and the latter in the north-west under Roman protection, but the regular grafting took place, when a large number of captives were brought into Medina from the conquered territories of the Iranian and the Roman Empires. Among these captives, there were singers who played on the *Daf* (wand), *Tambur* (pandore), *nai* (flute) and the *oud* (lute).

EARLIEST PROFESSIONAL MUSICIANS

Among the earliest Muslim professional musicians were Tuvais (d. 705), Izzat-ul-maila and Saib Kathir. The latter was of Iranian descent and was killed at Medina in or about 683 A.D. Ibn-Misjah is known to have studied the Byzantine and Iranian systems of music. He blended the Iranian and Roman tunes with the prevalent Arabic. Soon after, Arab musicians adopted the Iranian lute by changing the highest and the lowest strings called *zir* (low) and *bam* (high). They retained their second and third strings, which were named *mesna* (second) and *maslas* (third). The strings of the Arab lute were :—

⁷⁷ Aristoxenus of Tarentum: Greek philosopher, author of the *Elements of Harmony*, the only one of his many works extant, and one of the oldest writers on music. He was a contemporary of Aristotle (385-322 B.C.).

Mutlaq

Khinser (first finger)

Wusta (middle finger)

Binser (fourth finger)

Khinser (small finger)

- To these, the Iranians added a new fret, which was placed between Arabian *Wusta* and *Binser*, and the celebrated musician Zaljal made one more addition between *Binser* and *Khinser*. Thus there were seven frets for the Arab instrument of music.

Muslim, son of Mahriz, a pupil of Ibn-Misjah, travelled in Syria and Iran and blended new tunes from those places into Arabic music. He is supposed to have invented the metre known as *ramal*. He and Ibn-Suraij were the two great musicians of Mecca and Mabad and Malik belonged to Medina. Ata abi Raba'h (734 A.D.) introduced the style known as *Tashriq*. He had two women singers, who sung and entertained the people during the pilgrim season. The verses which were sung by such women were mostly odes or love songs. Yunus Kateb, an Iranian, was the first musician who collected the Arab songs and wrote a book on music which became a model to the celebrated Abul-Faraj, the author of *Aghāni*. Yunus had the good fortune of studying music under great masters in the subject, such as Ibn-Suraij, Ibn-Mahriz, Gharid, etc. He was a favourite with Khalif Walid II, who on ascending the throne, invited him to Damascus (742 A.D.). The Khalif himself was a good player on the lute. *Kitabul-Kiyān* (*The Book on Melodies*) is one of the other works composed by Yunus.

DURING Umayyad Rule

Muslim music continued to progress during the rule of the pleasure-seeking Umayyads and reached its highest excellence during the golden days of Harun and Mamun. Ibrahim and Ishaq-Mousali (Iranian) were the two great musicians of Harun. Ishaq (769-850 A.D.) held the same position at the court as Tan-Sen did at Akbar's court. He wrote important works on music and perfected the Pythagorean mould. During this period, along with works on philosophy, books on music were translated from Greek sources into Arabic. The best musicians were found in Baghdad, the capital of the Muslim Empire. The theory of music was divided into *sout* (sound), *abād* (intervals), *ajnā* (kind), *anv'a* (species), *intiḡāl* (transfer), *talif* (composition) and *iqā* (rhythm). Musicians received big rewards from the Khalif and wealthy citizens. The Iranian (or Zalzalian) scale continued to remain in favour with the masters of the art. Safiy-ud-din Abdul Momin (d. 1294 A.D.), who was the contemporary of the last Khalif at Baghdad, established the systematist school, which was further improv-

ed by the quarter-tone system. Safiy-ud-din wrote two important works entitled *Sharifiyya* and *Kitab-ul-adwar*, both authoritative books on the subject. The quarter-tone system continued to be in vogue till the modern times. Arab music (like Indian) was learnt by the ear though a kind notation was also existing. During the Abbasid rule, the singers used to paint their faces and hands and used to wear coloured dress and let their hair grow long. According to some authors, Arab octave (*Al-kul* or the whole) was divided into 17 parts. During this time, Iranian influence was predominant. Out of 12 principal models, six were borrowed from Iranian sources and so were many technical terms. In the 14th century, consonances of the third and sixth major and minor were established. The tunes were classified into 12 modes. Khalil (d. 791 A.D.), the author of the first work on prosody, has left a work on *sout* (sounds) and *iqu* (rhythm). Ibn-Firnas (d. 888 A.D.) was among the earliest to introduce Arabic music into Spain. Yuhanna, son of Batriq (d. 815 A.D.), and Husain, son of Ishaq (d. 873 A.D.), translated Greek words into Arabic. Among Muslim philosophers, Al-Kindi wrote on composition and the laws of tones, besides books on the elements of music, on rhythm, and on musical instruments and the union of poetry and music. The seven books of Al-Kindi were followed by other important works on the subject. Obedullah, son of Abdullah, wrote on *Tones and Mutations (intiqal) in Song*. Farabi, the first great Muslim philosopher, was a musician. His criticism on Greek music, shows the extent of Muslim advance in the subject. Farabi's works are among the best and even at the present day may be studied with advantage. He has treated of the principles of sound and the variety of musical instruments in use and has shown the errors of Greek writers. His book entitled *Kitab-ul-musiqi* is considered a very important contribution to the study of music. He knew mensural music and has accepted the major and minor third (4 : 5—5 : 6) as consonances. He has noted the scale of pandore preceding by *limma*, *limma*, *comma*, which became the accepted theory for the future systematist school. Ibn-Sina, the next great philosopher, could not earn the title of *ustad* (master), because he was not a practical musician. But his treatise on the theory of the subject is as important as that of Farabi. He has dealt on music in his two celebrated works entitled *Shifa* and *Nijat*. He has written on *Tazief* (doubling with octave) and *Tarkib* (doubling with fourth and fifth). His chapter on the subject of music is a valuable contribution. Ahmad, son of Muhammad of Sarkhas (North-East Iran); Mansur, son of Talha; Sabit, son of Quara (of Syria); Muhammad, son of Zakariyya (of Rei); Qusta, son of Luqa (Syria) and other writers in the encyclopædia entitled *Ikhwan-us-safa* are important theorists and authors on music. Abul-

wafa of Buzjan (Iran), a mathematician, wrote a compendium on the science of *īqa* (rhythm). The *Ikhwan-us-safa* contains, besides, a section on music, in which the theory of resounding of hollow bodies has been explained. Muhammad of Khawrazm has dealt on the subject in his work *Miftahul-ulum*; and so has *Ibn-Zaila* in a work called *Sufficiency in Music*.

MUSICAL LITERATURE IN ELEVENTH CENTURY

Thus as early as the 11th century A.D., considerable literature had already come into existence on Muslim music; songs had been collected and classified according to melodies and keys; and the subject was relieved from becoming a source of mere sensual enjoyment to the few wealthy classes. Instead it became a subject to be studied and appreciated by the highest of the learned men in Islam. Imam Ghazzali has given a fair description of lawful and unlawful music. He has explained how it can be made a source for the attainment of spirituality and ecstasy in his celebrated work named *Ahya-ul-ulum*. The most important work in Arabic on music is the one composed by Abul-Faraj Ispahani (of Arab descent), in 21 parts, in which he has illustrated one hundred select tunes and has traced their origin, nature and scope. The philosophers Ibn-Bajja (Avenpence d. 1138 A.D.), Ibn-ur-Rushd (Averroes, d. 1198 A.D.), Ibn-Sabiri (d. 1269 A.D.) and Yahya-al-Khuduj were the most noted Muslim authors on music in the West (i.e., in Spain). The last-named wrote an important work in imitation of Aghāni of Abul-Faraj. Ibn-Abed Rabbihi (d. 940 A.D.), wrote a biography of noted musicians, in which he has defended the lawfulness and healthy effect of music. Almajrith (1007 A.D.), Kirmani (d. 1066 A.D.), Muhammad Haddad (d. 1165 A.D.) were also celebrated Western writers. Abu-Aisha, son of Khalif Mutavakkal, composed three hundred songs. In Egypt, Abus-Saht (d. 1134 A.D.), Alamud-din Qaisar, (1251 A.D.), Ibnul-Haithem (1039 A.D.) were authors of note. Zaryab (Iranian) was the pupil of the famous Ishaq Mousali and a favourite of the Khalif in Spain. He was also an accomplished artist, organiser and fashioner of manners and taste in dress. His innovations and models were followed by nobles and high class aristocrats. The Khalif Abdur-Rahman opened a school of music at Cordova, which was known for producing famous musicians. There were schools of music in Baghdad, Cairo, Damascus, Seville, Granada, Toledo and other important cities of Iran, Central Asia and Spain. Some Arab princes, such as Ibrahim, the brother of the famous Khalif Harun, were among the best musicians of their age. Musicians were respected, well paid and held in esteem. The Muslim work of civilization was temporarily checked when the Mongols under Chengiz Khan invaded Central and Western Asia but

soon after their settlement, cultural activity re-started and music, partly blended with the tunes of the conquerors, continued to be developed. The chief writers of the Mongol period were :—Nasir-ud-din Tusi, the famous astronomer and mathematician ; Shams-ud-din Muhammad, son of Al-marham Quth-ud-din Shiraz (1310 A.D.), the author of *Durratut-Taj* ; Muhammad of Amul, the author of *Nafais-ul-Funun* ; Abdur-Qader Ghaibi (1435 A.D.), who has left five works on music ; Muhammad, son of Murad (1481 A.D.) ; and Muhammad, son of Abdul Hamid Ladiki (1512 A.D.), the author of *Risala-e-Fathiyya*. Mubarak Shah, the contemporary of the mystic poet Hafiz, wrote a commentary on musical modes, and Jurjani (Gurgani), the supposed author of *Discourses on Science*, included a chapter on music. Other writers of the 14th and the 15th centuries were Amr, son of Khizi (1397 A.D.) ; Ibn-e-Fanari ; Shams-ud-din Jami ; Al-Laziqi (d. 1445 A.D.) ; and Jalal-ud-din Davani, the author of *Akhlaq-e-Jalali*.

MUSLIM MUSIC IN INDIA

In India, after the conquest of Sindh, music was introduced by Muslim conquerors and soon was blended with the system which prevailed among Indians. Sultan Mahmud was a patron of music and the Sufis, who followed his army and settled in different parts of Sindh, the Punjab and Central North India, gave music a devotional aspect. Music thus became popular both with Hindus and Muslims. Sultan Ala-ud-din, the second king of the Khilji dynasty, was a lover of music. A number of celebrated musicians, such as Nazir Khan Bahroz, Changi, and the famous Indo-Iranian poet Amir Khusroe were his courtiers. The last named invented several tunes in which he blended the Indian and Iranian systems. He is also supposed to be the inventor of the instrument *Sitar*, more correctly *Sehtar* (three wires), and the style of *Tarāna*. Other kings of Delhi, such as Mubarak and Muhammad Shah Toghluq, were also lovers of music. Muhammad Toghluq commanded the construction of a building named Tarab-ābād at his new capital Doulat-ābād, where a number of singing girls were ready to entertain guests. The director (or *Darugha*) of the place was an Iranian named Shams-ud-din of Tabriz. There were permanent singers and dancers employed at the *darbars* of Muslim kings of India and the head officer often used to be an Iranian. The tunes were sung according to the season and hour of the day or night in which they attracted the ears of the hearers and this produced a greater effect on their minds. Some tunes such as *Bhairon*, *Saras rāg*, *Bhairavi*, *Parach*, *Kalungra*, *Sohani*, *Sindh*, *Peelu*, etc., were sung in connection with devotional subjects at religious gatherings ; others such as *Durbari*, *Mal-kos*, *Shahama* were sung in *darbar*. Thus by a fusion of Indo-

Arabo-Iranian the present Hindustani music was formed. It is based on Indian principles and system, with a certain mixture of Turkish, Iranian and Arab tunes. The zenith of Hindustani music was reached in the golden age of the Timurids. During this period, Hindustani and Deccani music came into close contact, because both found great patrons in the person of Emperor Akbar and Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur. Both rulers had a considerable knowledge of musical technicalities. Akbar harmonized as many as 200 Iranian tunes and Ibrahim invented a large number of new tunes. Ibrahim was the author of a book entitled *Nau-Ras* and trained a large number of men in music. His students were divided into two batches, those who studied directly under him and those who studied under his students. Among both these sets there were Hindus and Muslims. There is every probability that in his time *Karnatak* music was much influenced by his system, and a number of his invented tunes found their way into *Karnatic* through their utilization by *Karnatic* musicians. Among his ancestors, Yusuf Adil Shah was also skilled in that art. Both Akbar and Ibrahim had excellent musicians at their respective courts, but Akbar surpassed his rival in possessing Tan-Sen, the greatest musician of his time. Tan-Sen, originally a Hindu, pupil of Haridasaswami, probably a native of Gwalior and friend of Sur Das, was under the Raja of Rewa, when he was summoned and had to be surrendered to Akbar. He soon became a great favourite of the Emperor. Besides Tan-Sen, there were a considerable number of Iranian, Turkish and Hindu musicians employed at Akbar's *darbar*. Both Akbar and Ibrahim Adil Shah were inclined to Indianise their courts. Both made a study of the Hindi language and music and adopted Hindu customs, though Ibrahim went further, indeed, to the extent of paying respect to the Goddess Saraswati, Jahangir, though not so enthusiastic as his father, yet patronized a number of musicians, such as Chatar Khan; Paravizdad; Makhu; Khurramdad; Hamza; Bilas Khan, son of Tan-Sen, and others. In the East, Sultan Husain of Jaunpur (15th century A.D.) was a lover of music and was the inventor of the style named *Khiyal*. Several tunes such as *Jaunpuri*, *Husain Todi*, *Kanhra*, etc., we owe to his interest in music. Naik Beyjoo, the famous singer, was a courtier of Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat (1526-36 A.D.), in whose honour he invented a new *Todi* named after him, as *Bahadur Todi*. In Kashmir, King Zainulabedin patronized the art. A large number of Iranian, Central Asian and Hindu musicians were employed in his *darbar*. Thus, Muslims contributed much to the advancement of music in this country. Shah Jahan, though not an enthusiastic admirer of painting, was a great lover of music.

Among known musicians at his court were Kaviraj Ramadas, who was once weighed against gold, Dirang Khan, Lal Khan, etc. Shah Jahan himself used to join occasionally in vocal performances. He not only was gifted with a sweet voice but had also studied the art of music. An important work entitled *Shamsul-aswāt* was written in his time. Muhammad Shah was the last great Moghal Emperor to patronize music. During the reign of Akbar, one Mirza Khan wrote another important book on music under the title of *Tohfatul-Hind*. When the Moghal power declined, musicians found their way to the Court of Oudh. Wajid Ali Shah, the last king of Oudh, was himself a poet, dramatist, musician and expert in dancing. He invented several tunes such as *Jogi-Kuntur*, *Shah Pasand* and *Johi*. He himself used to act as Kanahyya and his ladies took the part of Gopis. During his time, *Thomri* or short verses in the old Indian style became popular. Hard and difficult tunes such as *Dhrupad* and *Hori* gave way to soft and easy tunes like *Khamāj*, *Bhairavi*, *Sendora*, *Jhanjhote* and *Peelu*. The final disappearance of the Moghals and the Nawabs of Oudh was the cause for the decline of Hindustani music. The new European rulers could not appreciate Indian music, but helped its progress by importing their own system. A fresh grafting has taken place and is in course of development. The future of Indian music must be a fusion of the Indo-European systems. Among Moghal nobles, Abdur Rahim Khan Khana was such a lover of music that he presented once one lakh of rupees to the musician Ram Das. Akbar once gave a reward of one lakh of rupees to Tan-Sen. The chief instruments of music in use during the early Moghal period were:—*Nai* (flute), *Karnai*, *Tanburah*, *Ghichak*, *Surna*, *Qanun*, etc.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Musical instruments in Islamic countries are many and differ according to the nationality of the people using them. The earliest known Arabic stringed instruments are the *Ud* (lute) and a two-stringed violin. The other instruments are:—*Tanbur turki* and *Tanbur bighilma* (pandoe), *qitar* (guitar), *rubab* (rubic), *naqqara* (nakar), *sunj* (sonages or cymbals), *qisa* (caisse), *tabl* (tabor), *qanun* (acanon), *urghanun* (organ), *sintar* (dulcimar), *nay* (flute) and *tanbur* of the Khorassani variety which became popular in Europe. *Rubab* is said to have been improved by the philosopher Farabi, and a kind of flute known as *Nay-e-Zunamī* by Zunam and *Qud-ash-shabbut* by Zalzal, *Buq* (the reed blown or the trumpet), *Nafr Nuzha* (square psaltery) invented by Safiy-ud-din Abdul Momin are also well known. The Iranian popular instruments were *Chang*, *Barbat*, *Sanj*, *Duf*, *Nay*, *Shaipur*, *Rubab*, *Sarod*, *Senæe* (*Shahnai*), etc. Among Indian instruments of music are Sitar,

Senæe (supposed to have been invented by Avicenna), *Naq-qara*, *Tabla*, *Dilruba*, *Rubab*, *Sarod*, etc. All these were introduced by Muslim musicians, though there is a possibility of their having been used by Hindus before the Muslim period. *Sarangi* is a combination of *Vina*, *Sitar* and *Tanbur*. It was invented by one *Sarangi Khan*, who lived during the reign of Muhammad Shah. *Sarangi* "*tabla*" is added for keeping *lai* or time. According to Ibn-e-khurdaba, Hindus used an instrument named *Kankala* (*Yaktara*) which had only one wire. This musical author says that there are seven castes among Hindus, and that the 6th and 7th castes are musicians by profession and that they are called *Sandal* (*Chandal*) and *Dobiya* (*Domra*). This proves that Hindu music and musicians were present in Baghdad and in Iran during the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. Thus while Iranian-Arab music has influenced the Indian by means of political, social and intellectual contacts, Indians influenced the Islamic music in its own home.

IRANIAN TUNES BORROWED BY INDIANS

The following Indian tunes are considered to be Iranian in origin—*Zangola* (*jungala*), *Zlif*, *Shahana*, *Zala* or *Khamaj*. The chief defects of Hindustani Muslim musicians is their lack of theoretical knowledge and ignorance of Sanskrit literature, in which Deccani Hindus, particularly Mahrattas, excel. On the other hand, Hindu musicians have also had no recourse to Arabic and Iranian theories.

IRANIAN LEGACY TO EUROPE

The legacy of Muslim music to Europe is its mensural music, and gloss or adornment of melody, which is the striking of a note simultaneously with its fourth and fifth notes or octave. The Iranian division of tunes was somewhat similar to Indian. They are classified in twelve *maqām* (*Rāgās*), starting with *Rahavi* and ending with *Sifahān* at midnight. The *maqān* were subdivided into twenty-four *shoba* and these again into 48 *gusha*. Each *maqān* or *shoba* had to be sung at the time and conditions fixed for it. But the present system is restricted to seven *Dastgah*, subdivided to numerous tunes.

MUSLIM SYSTEMS OF NOTATION

The Muslim systems of notation as in the case of instruments differ according to nationality. Some use the European. The Indian Muslims follow the Hindu system. Iranians and Arabs have the following :—

Indian—*sa ri ga ma pa dha ni*

European—*do re mi fa sol la si*

Iranian—*yek do se char panj seš haft*

Arabic—*dil maid sik mazmum raml hasin sah sin*
or, *mim fa sad lam sin dal ra*

The high sound is called *Āli*; the middle *wasti* and the low *sa'ali* (all these words are Arabic). The Arabs are inclined more to rhythm than to melody and the Turks together with the Iranians take delight in melody. The Turks often sing without the aid of instruments and with Indian Muslims music is based on the Northern Hindu system with a mixture of Arab, Iranian and Central Asian tunes.

EFFECT OF MUSIC

According to Muslim scholars, music does not produce any effect by itself but stimulates the inner yearning and the emotions of man. It is a food to the nerves and the brain (*Alghazali*).

STRINGS ON INSTRUMENTS

The number of strings used on instruments depends upon the kind of instrument in question. For instance, a *mazaaf* (or *awtar-e-mutlaqa*), such as harp, dulcinar, lyre, etc., possesses a large number of strings. The Iranian *chang* was mounted with 25 to 35 strings. Its sound-chest was covered with skin and the handle had to be placed under the left arm. The fingers of both hands were used while playing on it. This instrument must have been held in esteem, as it has been represented in the Sassanian sculpture at Taq-e-Bastam, near Kirmanshah,⁷⁸ and has been mentioned by almost all Iranian poets of the classical period. The present Turkish *chang* contains forty strings. The Iranian variety was crooked or humped back and in some cases straight. *Qanun* (psaltery) was the favourite instrument of the Egyptian and Spanish Muslims. It was manufactured in Seville.⁷⁹ It had sixty-four and even more strings. At present, it is used in Turkey, Egypt and Syria, mounted with 51 to 75 strings. *Nuzha* which was invented by the celebrated Safiy-ud-din Abdul Momin, had 108 strings. *Santur* or *Dulcinar* is of two kinds, of which one is named *Santur-e-turki* (used by the Turks) is mounted with 105 strings, grouped into fives. The quarter tone system is supposed to have been originated by Iranian musicians. The octave was divided into 24 equal parts. The following are

⁷⁸ A flourishing town of Iran, capital of Iranian Kurdistan, near the right bank of the river Kerkhah; its carpets and weapons are well known.

⁷⁹ In Spain. See *ante* note 57, at page 203.

the names of the tones in Iranian music :—*Rast*, *Do-gah*, *Se-gah*, *Chahar-gah*, *Nawa*, *Husaini*, *Auj*.

MUSLIM PIPING INSTRUMENTS

Muslim piping instruments are very large in number. In Arabic they are known under the general name of *Mazāmīr*. Among the Iranians, the single pipe was considered to have been originated and played by the mythological king Jam-shid (corresponding to the Indian Yama). The reed-pipe is made conical with a number of holes. There are many varieties of the reed-pipe. The *Zunami* reed-pipe (invented by the musician Zunam, who lived during the rule of the Abbasides) found its way into Western Europe and was there corrupted into Zullame. It was the favourite instrument in the West, particularly in Spain, where it was called *Shelami* or *Xelami*. According to Farabi, the *Mazamirs*, used in his time, were made in eight finger-holes. The smaller kind was named *Surnai* (a vulgar form of *Suryani*). *Buq* was a kind of reed-pipe, made of horn or metal with finger-holes and played with a reed. This instrument received further improvement by Khalif Hakim II of Spain and became a favourite instrument in Europe. *Iraqiya* (reed made in Iraq), changed into *rackett* by Europeans, used to be played with a double reed. The Iranian *Du-nai* or *Diyanai* was a double reed-pipe. Its figure has been drawn in the Umayyad Palace named Qusair Amra. The double reed has two pipes of equal length, with five finger-holes in each. The bag-pipe is an old instrument of Iran engraved in Sassanian sculpture. It has been mentioned in the works of Ibn-Zaila and Ibn-Sina. In Arabic, it is called *muzmar-al-jirah*, in Iranian as *naianbān* or *nai-e-muskh* and in Turkish *tulan*. *Chuh-chik* or *musiqar-e-khata-ie* was used in Central Asia and the Chinese Turkestan. There were both long and short pipes, the longest was about 99 cm. and the shortest 31.5 cm. The number of finger-holes varied from eight to about six. Among the Turkish reeds were :—*Bol-ahang* (high-sound), *Davoodi* (of David), and *Shah-mansur*. The Egyptian reed was named *nai-e-shah*, which is an Iranian word meaning the King's pipe, about 77 cm. long. The other kinds are *nai-e-khushk*, *nai-superda*, *nai-e-muttleq*, *nai-e-Hussaini*, etc. Good reeds were manufactured in Turkey and Egypt. The influence of European music has been strongly felt in Islamic countries, for example, in Iran, Turkey and Arabia. The latest treatise on Iranian music has been written by Col. Ali Naqi Khan, who besides knowing Iranian music is also acquainted with European music. In India, Rampur succeeded Lucknow in patronizing Hindustani music. Other Indian States such as Mysore, Baroda, Gwalior have also taken considerable interest in music.

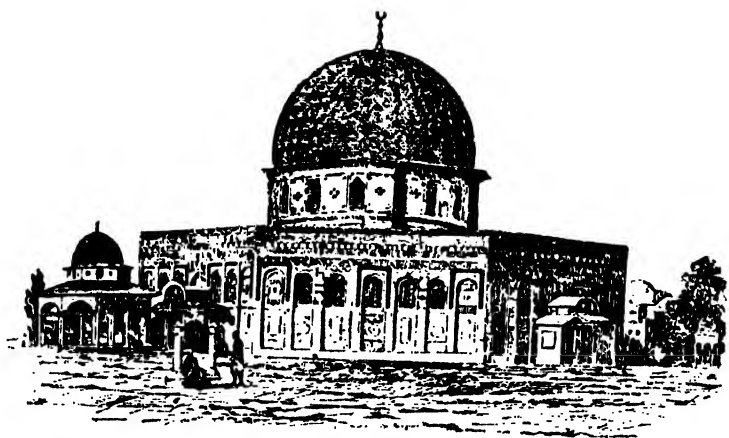
Architecture

Islamic architecture started from Arabia, developed in Mesopotamia, Syria, Iran, North Africa, Spain and Central Asia and reached its zenith of artistic beauty in India. The history of architecture begins with the construction of the mosque and the first mosque was built by the Prophet, assisted by his early companions, soon after his arrival at Medina in 683 A.D. It was a mud hut, simple in form without any architectural beauty, its roof being covered with palm branches and mud. At that time Muslims were a small band and they were so poor that they could hardly find enough food to satisfy their hunger. The Prophet himself had to live without food for days. The mosque became also the place where the Prophet held his meetings, heard and decided all important affairs. The small huts in which he and his wives lived, were attached to the mosque and after his death he was buried in one of these small huts, in which hardly a man could stand. Thus the mosque was not only a place of worship, but following the custom of the Prophet, it became a place where important matters could be discussed and decided. Schools, libraries, boarding houses for travellers and students, baths, etc., in fact, all necessities of life, were attached to it. It became the centre of Muslim life. Therefore its importance increased and a great deal of Muslim architecture is confined to the artistic beauty of the mosque. Next in importance were the tombs of kings, saints, nobles and noted personalities, and after these public buildings, palaces, forts, etc., Muslim architecture is neither the work of Arabs, who were the earliest Muslims nor of any particular nation. It is international in character—it is architecture in the moulding of which many nations—of North Africa, South Europe, West, Central and South Asia—have taken an active part. The buildings too were constructed by many different hands though they were raised under the supervision and direction and according to the tastes and designs of Muslim rulers of different times and countries; the masons and craftsmen who engaged themselves in it were both Muslims and non-Muslims. For instance, in India, Hindu *maistries*, artists and engineers were employed; so in Iran, Egypt and elsewhere. Yet the architecture remains essentially Muslim, because it was developed according to Muslim religious and social needs and tastes and general directions. Indian Muslim architecture and arts are as much Islamic as the present British buildings of New Delhi and other places are British, future monuments of British rule in India. Muslim architecture is the work of various races and nations, speaking different languages. Among them were nomad tribes, semi-savage Africans, the refined and cultured Spanish, the ancient Egyptians, the Syrians, Iranians and

Indians. Each with a different past but all made into one big whole, though inhabiting areas ranging from the Atlantic Coast to the islands of the Pacific. Their national and racial diversities owing unity to none but the Prophet, merged in the matter of Architecture into a general uniformity. The peculiarity of Muslim architecture, so far as the mosque and sacred places are concerned, is in the absence of pictorial representation in them, such as the carving of statues and images and the substitution of calligraphical decorations, prayer-niches, pulpits, minarets, arches of various shapes and domes of different sizes.

IN THE ARAB EMPIRE

In about eighty years from the death of the Prophet, the Arabs became the rulers of Arabia, Syria and Iran as far as the Indus in the South-East and the Chinese Turkestan in the North-East. In the West, passing Egypt and North Africa, they penetrated beyond Spain into Southern France. This vast Empire, greater than that of the Romans, was ruled by a Khalif who lived at Damascus. The great wealth of the vanquished nations was accumulated at the capital or at the chief military centres of the Empire or the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina. Arabs could not naturally remain content with the simple life of their forefathers. They employed subject nations to construct beautiful buildings for them. Sâd, son of Vaqqas, the first Arab Governor in Mesopotamia, built a palace for himself from the material of old Sassanian buildings. The Arab generals and governors in Syria, Palestine and Egypt did the same. They imitated the Romans and the Iranians in their dress and manners of life, which was objectionable in the eyes of the orthodox Muslims of the old school, who had personally worked under the Prophet. The earliest mosque had a court, a roofed hall to shelter worshippers and a pulpit for the Khalif or the person who led the worship to sit or deliver the sermon from or speak on important affairs pertaining to the community. This simple place of worship extended to a square court covered with a flat roof, supported by arches or pillars, with a cistern for ablution. These amenities were gradually elaborated into a number of halls, minarets, domes, till it became the very life centre of Muslim architectural activity. Mesopotamia, Palestine, Syria and Egypt were the first four places which became the concentration points, as it were, of the political, cultural and religious development of Islam beyond Arabia. Their chief towns were Basrah, Kufa, Damascus, Jerusalem and Fastat (Egypt), and it was at these places that Muslim architecture first came into being. The material was in the beginning transferred from old buildings and even old places



MOSQUE OF OMAR (called the *Dome of Rocks*), JERUSALEM

of worship such as Christian churches, Jewish synagogues, heathen temples, such as that of As-Shamsh in Mesopotamia, Ateshkadeh (fire temples) and Hindu temples. Sometimes, converts to Islam used to convert their older places of worship into mosques. Such conversion was not peculiar to Muslims. The followers of other religions have done the same, believing it an act of piety and devotion to their new faiths. For instance, the mosque of Cordova in Spain, now serves as a Christian cathedral. Non-Muslim craftsmen and masons were employed to work under the direction of the Muslim governor, Khalif, or local leader, but gradually among the converted Muslims, able engineers and artists became available.

A comprehensive history of Muslim architecture is beyond the scope of this work, but a brief survey of its development in the more important Muslim countries will be attempted in what follows.

SYRIA

Muslim architectural activity started simultaneously in the three conquered provinces of Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt. Each of these countries was influenced by different styles of architecture; Mesopotamia by ancient Babylonian and Sassanian; Syria by Byzantine; and Egypt by Coptic arts. The Umayyad rulers made Damascus their capital, where they built palaces and mosques. Among these, the one at Jerusalem is known as the *Dome of Rocks*, a large stone-built mosque, in a style which shows traces of Byzantine influence. This place became sacred to Muslims because they believed that the Prophet ascended to heaven from near here. It was the earliest Muslim mosque covered with a dome. The columns were transferred from other buildings. The walls were built with semi-circular stones. The dome was made of timber, but covered outside with lead and painted inside with plaster. The original building has been restored to the present condition. The other important building in Syria is the mosque of Damascus, built by Khalif Walid about the beginning of the 8th century A.D. Its chief sanctuary contains the aisle, crossed by transepts, at the end of which is the *mahrab* or prayer niche. The arches are of the horse-shoe pattern, and the interior decorated with marbles and mosaics. Besides these mosques, the palaces of the Khalif and the houses of the wealthy people show traces of ideas borrowed from Arabian and Syro-Byzantine architecture. The Umayyad Khalifs made improvements in the mosque of the Prophet at Medina and in the famous Ka'aba,⁸⁰ the House of God, the small square structure, in the

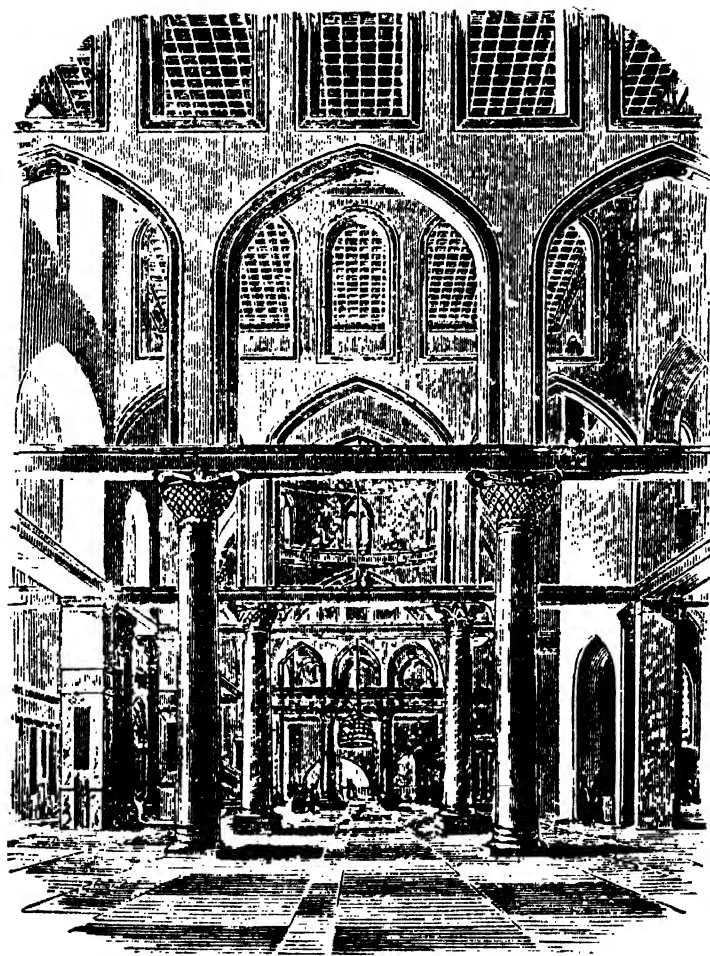
⁸⁰ As the famous description goes: "The Keblah of all Moslems, the eye of innumerable praying men being turned towards it from all the quarters of the compass five times a day." The Great

grand mosque at Mecca, to which all Muslims turn their faces while at prayer. The mosque El-Aqsa in Jerusalem, built in 690 A.D., is also a monument of the Umayyad rule. Its arches are large and vividly painted. The small size of the columns was made up by higher square ties over the capitals which are under the range of other arches, under which wood ties have been built. This principle of construction has been followed in other mosques subsequently built in Africa and Spain.

EGYPT

Egypt was the centre of Shāfai and Māleki schools of Muslim theology, the cradle of Arab Sufism and the land of popular tales. It has developed its own school of art and made an important contribution to Arab architecture. After its conquest by Amr, son of As (641 A.D.), it remained a province of the Khilafat till the decline of the Abbasides, then it became semi-independent and finally an independent Empire under the Fatemids. The earliest Muslim buildings show traces of Coptic influence, replaced by the Iranians during the Fatemid and Mamluke dynasties. The important buildings consisted of palaces, mosques, schools, mausoleums, Sufi monasteries and hospitals, sometimes isolated and at other times located (with the exception of palaces) in one compound. The Egyptian *Madrassa* or school was composed of a square open court, surrounded by high walls, with four halls towards the inside facing the court, possessing high arches. There were separate apartments for the teachers and the staff of the establishments, a latrine and a fountain for ablutions. Each hall was used by a particular school of theology. The *Madrassa*, like the mosque, was modified, according to local needs and the tastes of the builders. Muslim *Madrassas* had a politico-religious character, and were supported by the government in power. The early Egyptian Sufi monasteries, like the mosques, possessed a prayer hall, niche, pulpit and minaret but in its

Mosque stands at the broadest part of the narrow valley in which it is situated, surrounded by bare hills penetrated by two passes. It consists of a large quadrangle capable of holding 35,000 persons, surrounded by arcades of clothes, with pillars of marble and granite, and entered by nineteen gates surmounted by seven minarets. In the centre is the Ka'aba (i.e., cube), the temple of Mecca of ages before the time of Muhammad, who appears to have confirmed the popular belief that it was built by Abraham. Though it has been rebuilt twice in historical times, the old form—which, by the way, is not quite square despite the fact that it is generally so described—has been preserved; it measures about 18 paces by 14 and 35 or 40 feet high. The celebrated sacred object within of Black Stone is about a span long built into the south-east corner at the proper height for kissing. Hard by, and within the Court, is the well of Zemzem, the tepid water of which may have once been mineral.



THE MOSQUE EL-AQSA. JERUSALEM

detail a monastery had to be and is usually fitted up for a monastic life. Accordingly, it had a number of cells, where ascetics lived. This generally gave a Sufi monastery a peculiar appearance. Mausoleums or *Qubbas*, meaning dome, were built over the tombs of noted persons, such as kings, ministers, etc., who could be buried in places other than the cemetery. Sometimes they were buried in domestic houses, in mosques, or in isolated places. The tombs of famous Sufis, theologians or descendants of the Prophet, known for their piety and virtue, became places of pilgrimage. In spite of the warning given by the Prophet not to make a tomb a place of worship, such worship was started very early among the Muslims, perhaps owing to the influence of Christian saint worship and other cults current in Syria and Egypt. It soon spread into Iran, where even to the present day, over a thousand tombs of known and unknown persons are venerated and respected. This is the case in Central Asia and India as well.

EGYPTIAN MOSQUES

Egyptian mosques are noted for their pointed arches, which are considered an imitation of the Coptic style. Among the earliest mosques known in Egypt, is the one built in 643 A.D. by Amr, son of As, the conqueror of Egypt. It has an open court 240 feet square. Its prayer hall is 106 feet deep, its columns and capitals were transferred from other buildings, and carry arches of semi-circular, horse-shoe and pointed forms. The mosque of Ahmad Tulun (a family which ruled in Egypt between 868-905 A.D.) was constructed at Cairo in 879 A.D. It possesses a large number of pointed arches built by bricks. Its decoration is of the conventional pattern avoiding all representation from life. Muslim decoration, owing to its anti-pictorial tendency, took a new form, peculiar to itself and distinct from the architecture of other nations. Usually decoration in Muslim architecture consists of the following :—

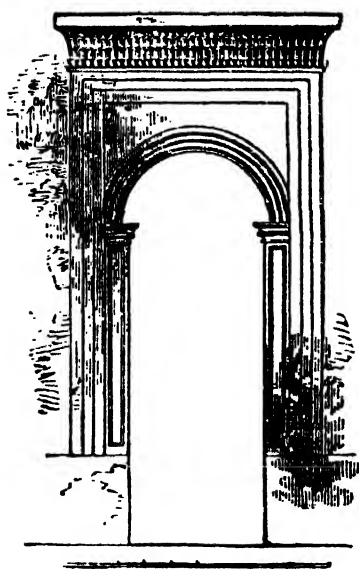
- (1) Passages from the *Quran* inscribed in Kufic or other writings in a most beautiful form.
- (2) Geometrical lines in marble or wood-work.
- (3) Stalactic Vaulting which means a pendant cone or cylinder of carbonate of lime, resembling an icicle in shape. This has become common all over Islamic countries.
- (4) Alternate courses of stone of different colours.
- (5) Glazed tiles.
- (6) Plant drawings.

Decoration of this kind is largely restricted to mosques and sacred places. Palaces and public baths, especially in Iran and Spain, have or had human and animal figures and even statues in them. Iranian carpets and tiles, metal work, textiles, pottery, etc., had various designs containing human as

well as animal representations on them, and these no doubt were used by Muslims all over the world. It is said that the Khalif Muntasir, son of Khalif Mutavakkal, who was suspected of causing his father's murder, had a wall-carpet in his apartment with the figure of Qubad, son of Khusroe II of Iran, who was also a parricide. The mosque and other ancient buildings in Cairo, owing to local climatic conditions, are well preserved. They are built of bricks and covered with stucco and retain the crispness of their ornaments. Among the more noted mosques are the following :—Mosque of Al-Azhar, along with the University of the same name built in 970 A.D., rebuilt in 1270 A.D. and enlarged in 1470 A.D. It contains 380 columns carrying the roof of its prayer-hall, which is the largest among Cairo mosques. The mosque of Al-Hakim (1003 A.D.) at Az-zaher, has its entrance arches ornamented with the zigzag decoration known as the *chevron*. The mosques at Kalaun (1278 A.D.), An-Nasir (1299-1303 A.D.), and Merdani (1338 A.D.), possess a large courtyard surrounded with porticos. The mosque at An-Nasir has a portal with clustered piers, painted and moulded. The mosque of Sultan Hasan (1357-60 A.D.) contains a central court out of which open four halls, with immense recesses on both sides covered with painted vaults. The prayer-hall is 90 feet high and 60 feet wide, with a depth of 90 feet. It covers a large area. Its rooms towards the external side are lighted with windows. Its entrance portal is about 75 feet high and is considered the finest in Egypt. Its antechamber is covered by a dome with a stalactite *pendentim*. The founder is buried behind the mosque. Most of the mausoleums in the vicinity of Cairo contain a mosque, such as the tomb of Imam Shāfai built by Saladin, the hero of the Crusades ; and the tomb of Sultan Burkuk (1348 A.D.), whose courtyard was made to resemble Sultan Hasan's mosque, and has a portico around it, with two great domes on the east and minarets in the west. The last-mentioned mausoleum is considered to be one of the best of its kind in Egypt. The tomb of Kait Beg with a mosque (1470 A.D.) is of the finest design. Its central court is covered by a cupola lantern. The ceiling over the prayer-hall is made of timber, painted and gilded. The tomb is covered with a dome in stone, carved with conventional decorations. It has a portal on its right, a high minaret and a great dome. Egyptian minarets are noted for their beauty and architectural perfection. Interesting examples of such minarets are those belonging to the Kalaun, Al-Bardani, An-Nasir, Muayyed and Sultan mosques.

NORTH AFRICA—TUNIS, ALGERIA AND MOROCCO

Soon after the conquest of Egypt, Muslims advanced towards the West and subjugated the whole of North Africa.



DOORWAY AT FIRUZABAD
Specimen of Sassanian Architecture

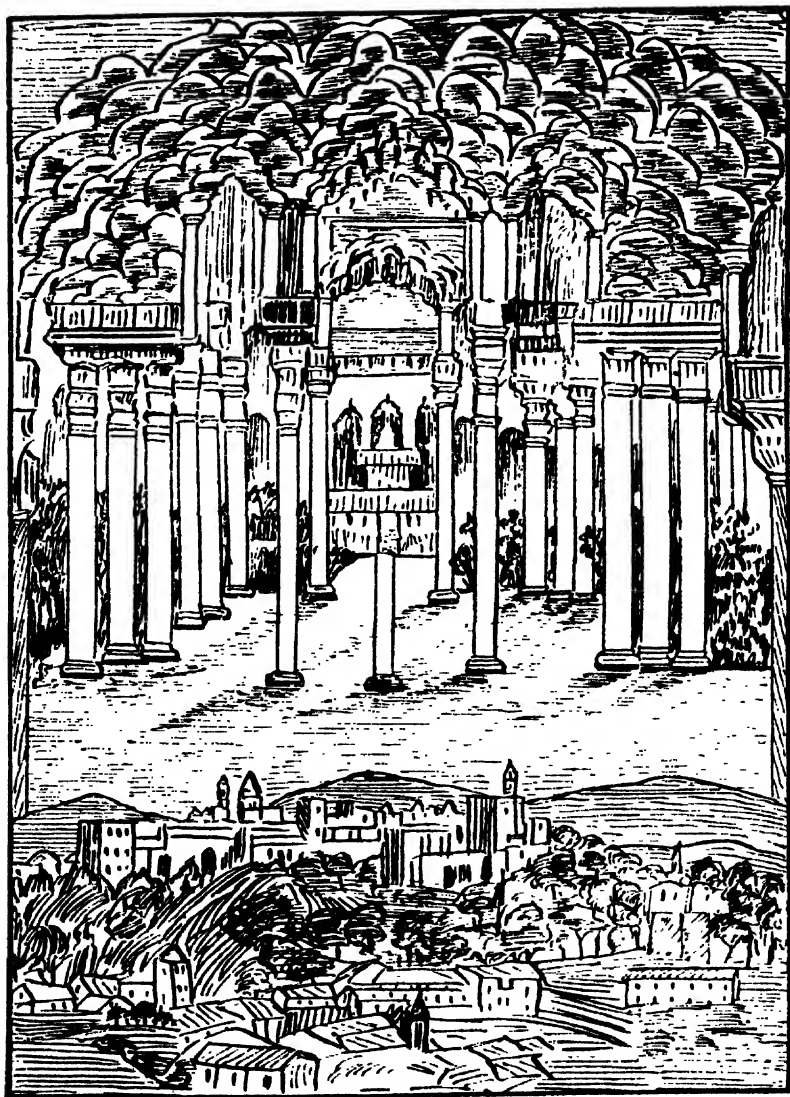
Their buildings in Tunis and Morocco were constructed in the beginning in the local and Byzantine-Roman styles, but in course of time owing to the influx of Muslims from the East, the style adopted developed into a combination of the Eastern and Western types of architecture. The Muslim wealthy classes following the style in the East had two apartments, one for the ladies called the *Harem*, and the other open portion for men. This provision was carried even into India, where Muslims have a *zenana* (or women's apartments) and *mardana* (or men's apartments), which are really two separate houses joined together. From the 11th century onwards, along with the Byzantine-Roman style, the Mesopotamian, Syrian and Iranian influences are visible in all important buildings of Muslim Africa and Spain. The Muslim rulers of Algeria, Tunis and Morocco have built magnificent palaces in their capitals, specially in Morocco, Fez and other large cities. The palace of Mustansir in Tunis is noted for its elevated marble pavilions, cupolas, fountains and garden, resembling the palace of Sassanian Kings at Qasre-Shirin. The palaces of Hammadites of Bougie are famous for their wealth of decoration and beauty of design. So are their forts and other buildings. The great mosque of Kairawan (Tunis), built by Oquba, son of Nafe, in about 670-675 A.D., is simple in its plan, possessing a colonnaded court with arches, supported by wooden beams. Its prayer niche is lined with tiles which give it an excellent appearance. Its depth is about 427 feet and its breadth 225 feet. The prayer-hall is 150 feet deep with a central avenue and eight aisles on each side. Its columns are from 15 to 22 feet high. Arches of the horse-shoe shape, with a wooden beam, are seen inserted at the point of their emergence. Its plan follows the mosque at Cordova. It was rebuilt by Hasan, son of Noman, in 703 A.D., and again by Ziadatullah in 837 A.D. Among the earliest surviving minarets is the one which was built by Khalif Hisham of the Umayyad dynasty, 724-743 A.D., in the great mosque at Kairawan. It is a huge square tower surmounted with a parapet. The mosque of Zaytuniah (Tunis), built in 732 A.D. by Ubaidullah, son of Hubab, consisted of arches supported with columns, and wooden blocks over their capitals. The Kairun mosque of Fez, was founded in 1007 A.D. and that at Bougie by Abu-Nasir in 1068 A.D., while the Qula mosque of Beni Hammad, was built by Hammad, son of Bulukkun, in 1007 A.D. The mosque at Morrakash was built by Almorāvīds in 1069 A.D.; the famous mosque of Qasba (Tunis) in 1231 A.D.; and that at Zavia by Sidi, son of Aruz (Tunis), in 1460 A.D. Almansur-az-zahihi built the celebrated palace Al-Badé at Morocco; a Kiosk at Kairun; and a mosque at Fez in 1577 A.D. At Tunis were built Humuda Pasha's mosque in 1631 A.D. and the Sidi Mahrez mosque in 1700 A.D. Thus we

find that Muslim rulers of North Africa were not far behind their contemporaries in beautifying their cities with splendid palaces, forts and mosques. During the rule of Almorāvids Fez and Morrakash were adorned with magnificent buildings. The earliest minaret is supposed to be the one built by Khalif Walid, attached to the mosque at Damascus; then came the one in the mosque of Tulun at Cairo (879 A.D.); and then that of Imam Shāfai's tomb (1218 A.D.). Other great mosques built in Africa copied the example set by these earlier mosques. The word *minaret* is derived from *manar* or *minar*, which means a place of fire or light. It is peculiar to the mosque, from which probably Christians took it over in building the towers of their churches.

SPAIN AND SICILY

Several dynasties ruled in Spain and each has left historical monuments in the shape of architectural buildings of note such as the Umayyad Khalifs, who built the mosque of Cordova, the Almohade Giralda tower and a portion of the celebrated palace known as the Al-Cazar at Seville; and the Nasirite family who built the palace of Alhambra.⁸¹ The noted

⁸¹ Alhambra (lit. *red house*) is the famous palace near Granada in Spain. A fortified suburb of Granada, it forms a sort of acropolis to the city. In it stand the exquisite remains of the ancient Muslim kings of Granada. The name *Alhambra* is a corruption of the Arabic *Kal 'at al hamra*, the red castle. It is surrounded by a strong wall more than a mile in circuit, and studded with towers. One of them contains the famous *Hall of the Ambassadors*. The remains of the Muslim palace are called by the Spaniards, *Casa Real*. It was begun by Ibn-ahmar (1248 A.D.) and completed by his grandson Muhammad III about 1314 A.D. It was decorated with gorgeous arabesques by Usuf I (1345 A.D.). The portions still standing are ranged round two oblong courts, one called the *Court of the Fishpond* and the other the *Court of the Lions*. They consist of porticos, pillared halls, cool chambers, small gardens, fountains, mosaic pavements, etc. In the most beautiful room in the palace, the *Hall of the Abeucerrages*, to the beauty of colour and of ornamentation is added an arcade resting on light and graceful marble arches that run round the place. A great part of this fine place was removed to make way for the one begun by Charles V, which was never finished. Since then, it has suffered from the neglect and greed of successive rulers; from the French, who blew up eight of its towers and tried to destroy the whole. It has also suffered from earthquake. A partial restoration was made at the expense of Queen Isabella (1862); but much damage was done by fire in September 1890. Not the least interesting point about the palace is its situation. Granada, of which it forms part, lies at the foot of the Sierra Nevada, on and between two hills, the southernmost being the site of the palace, about 2,245 feet above the sea level. It overlooks a fertile and expansive plain and stands on the right bank of the Jenil. The old houses, with their flat roofs, turrets, parti-coloured awnings, balconies and fountains, still preserve the old Muslim aspect. Compared to it, the modern



THE ALHAMBRA, GRANADA, SPAIN

Upper : Court of Lions, Lower : General view

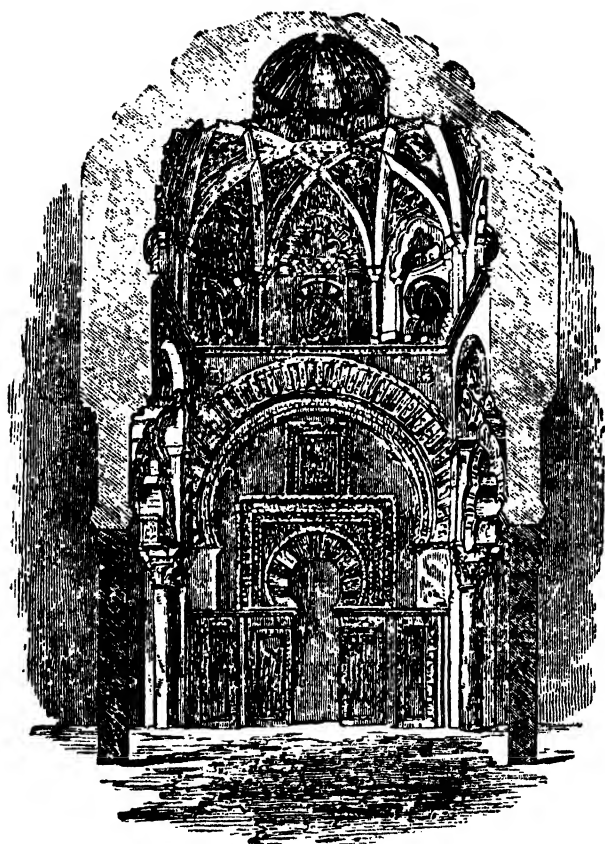
buildings of Muslims are chiefly mosques, palaces and *mad-rasas*. Hence we must seek the best specimens of their architecture in these buildings. Early Muslim rulers of Spain, as elsewhere, employed indigenous craftsmen, and followed the local styles of building, but soon Eastern workmen found their way to the West and modified the indigenous style into a combination of the East and the West. This new type—especially the arch form with the vaulting—was based on intersecting arches, the coloured tiles, etc., being in imitation of what was in vogue in Christian Churches. Arabic language and culture produced identical results in Spain and Southern Europe as the Irano-Moghal language and culture did in India. A large number of Arabic words were adopted into the Spanish language, even books of pure Spanish being written in the Arabic script. The same adaptation of Muslim culture is visible in the domain of architecture. The peculiar feature of Muslim architecture which stresses decoration and ornamentation in geometrical designs, is visible in the arabesque to be seen in old Spanish Muslim buildings.⁸² The mosque of Cordova, built by the Umayyad Khalif Abdur Rahman in 770-786 A.D., comprises of eleven aisles of 21 bays over it and a number of lateral aisles. Hisham, the next Khalif, built the minaret. Hislam II added eleven more aisles. It was an imitation of the mosque at Kairawan in Tunis. Khalif Hakim and Mansur also made additions and enlarged this mosque.⁸³ Its arches are the earliest specimens of the Cusped arch. It resembles the mosque of Al-Aqsa in Jerusalem. The mosque at Seville in Spain begun in 1171, of which at present there is only a minaret left standing in its place, which is part of the cathedral, should have been a fine specimen of Muslim architecture. Among palaces, the Al-Cazar of Seville is so much altered and modified that its original plan and workmanship has been lost to us. But that it was one of the glories of the place there can be no doubt! It was enlarged and beautified by Peter the

town is common-place and dull to a degree. Granada was founded by the Muslims in the 8th century A.D., not far from the ruins of an ancient Celtiberian town, Iliberis, and rapidly rose to distinction as a wealthy city and as a seat of arts. [Vide works by Washington Irving (1832), Owen Jones (1845), and Murphy (new Ed. 1856).] From Alhambra has descended the style of building called the Alhambric or Alhambresque, given to anything built or decorated after the fanciful manner of the Alhambra, in which arabesques are a notable feature.

⁸² Arabesque: A species of ornamentation, brought to perfection by Arabs and later adopted by others, especially for flat surfaces, consisting of fanciful figures, human and animal, combined with floral forms. A notable example is the cinque-cento Arabesque on the tomb of the church of St. Pietro-in-Vinculo at Rome.

⁸³ Several of the mosques in Tunis are magnificently decorated; likewise the Bey's palace there.

Cruel. Its halls and gardens are surpassed by only those of the Alhambra. The palace of Alhambra, which may be called the Taj-Mahal of the Western Muslim monuments, is still intact. It was built in 1248 A.D. by Muhammad, surnamed Ibn-Al-Ahmar (the Red). It was completed by Muhammad III, in 1314, and is considered to be one of the most magnificent buildings of Muslim Spain. Its Hall of Justice, Hall of Ambassadors, Hall of the Two Sisters and its Courts of the Myrtle and the Lions are all charming and beautiful for the delicate workmanship they display. Externally this great palace looks like a fort, but the internal structures contain beautiful apartments, halls and fountains. Its walls are built of earth, supported with courses of brick, and its wooden ceilings are masked by hanging stalactites of painted gypsum, a North African peculiarity. The walls are ornamented with glazed tiles in which gold has been used. The columns are of marble, the ceilings, beams and doors are of wood. The principal entrance is through the Gate of Justice, which is built of concrete. Its interior consists of an oblong hall 140 feet long and 74 feet broad. In its centre, is a pond of marble pavement, with galleries on two sides supported by a marble colonnade. This hall leads to another hall named the "Hall of Blessing", beyond which is a third hall called the "Hall of Ambassadors". It is a square of 37 feet covered by a dome about 75 feet high. The ceiling is covered with inlaid work of different colours in the shape of stars, circles and crowns. The Court of Lions is an oblong hall of about 116 feet in length and 66 feet in breadth, with galleries on all sides, supported by 128 white marble columns, supporting arches of the most beautiful and perfect finish. A portion of the wall is covered with glazed tiles in blue and yellow colours. In its centre is a fountain surrounded by twelve leonine figures in white marble. There is a hall with two beautiful white marble slabs measuring 15 by 7½ feet, for which reason it is called the Hall of Two Sisters. In the centre is a fountain and a dome of stalactite vaulting. Besides these, there are several other Halls, all built in beautiful designs and in the most delicate manner and with perfect finish. There are also baths and fountains. There was a special apartment called the Hall of Music, in which the king used to hear music. The inner side of the domes were decorated in different colours—blue, brown and gold. Close to Alhambra, there was another palace built in the centre of a beautiful garden, with fountains in which water flowed through streams descending from the surrounding mountains. The decoration was of a conventional character, consisting of Arabic inscriptions, foliage, geometric patterns, and painted tiles. But the beauty of the whole palace lay in its proportion and appropriateness of colour, the right colour for each spot, giving the whole a most beautiful and



INTERIOR OF SANCTUARY, CORDOVA, SPAIN
Rebuilt by the Caliph Hakim, A.D. 965

natural appearance. In a number of inscriptions found in it are included appropriate verses and selected passages from the *Quran*, which invite the attention of the reader to the Holy Scripture. Though the fort and the palace of Alhambra and the surrounding buildings are among the best specimens of Spanish Muslim architecture and art, the older structures found in Spain are in no way inferior, for example, the palace and mosque of Cordova, which, in the 10th century, was the most beautiful city in Europe. It was the centre of learning, trade and refinement. Its university was well known in Europe, where Muslims, Jews and Christians studied. Among its famous buildings are the palace of Az-Zahra built by Khalif Abdur Rahman III (8th century A.D.) and continued and completed by his son. It was the marvel of the period. It was finished in forty years, enclosed in a wall of 4,000 feet in length, in the midst of a beautiful garden decorated with marble fountains. Its roof was supported by 4,300 columns of the best marble imported from Africa, Italy and Constantinople. Its Halls were paved with marble done in varying patterns. The ceiling was of cedar gilded on an azure ground. Nothing of this palace, which perhaps should be reckoned as not inferior to Alhambra, is left. Its place has been taken by a Cathedral which is reckoned "the most magnificent Muhammadan temple in Europe". Azzahirah was another palace built at Cordova by Al-Monzar, the Regent, in 978-81 A.D. Among other palaces there were those known as the Palace of the Flowers, of Contentment, of Lovers, of Damascus,⁸⁴ and so on. Cordova was, indeed, a city of palaces, gardens and beautiful buildings. Its grand mosque, built in 786 A.D., had eleven aisles supported by 1,200 marble columns, and twenty brazen doors, decorated with jasper, porphyry and precious stones of various colours. Its inhabitants were so refined and desired to be so clean in body and dress that the poorest man in it preferred, it would appear, to spend his last pie in buying soap than food for his daily use. A large number of the existing irrigation canals and dykes of Spain are monuments of Muslim rule in it.

ARABIA

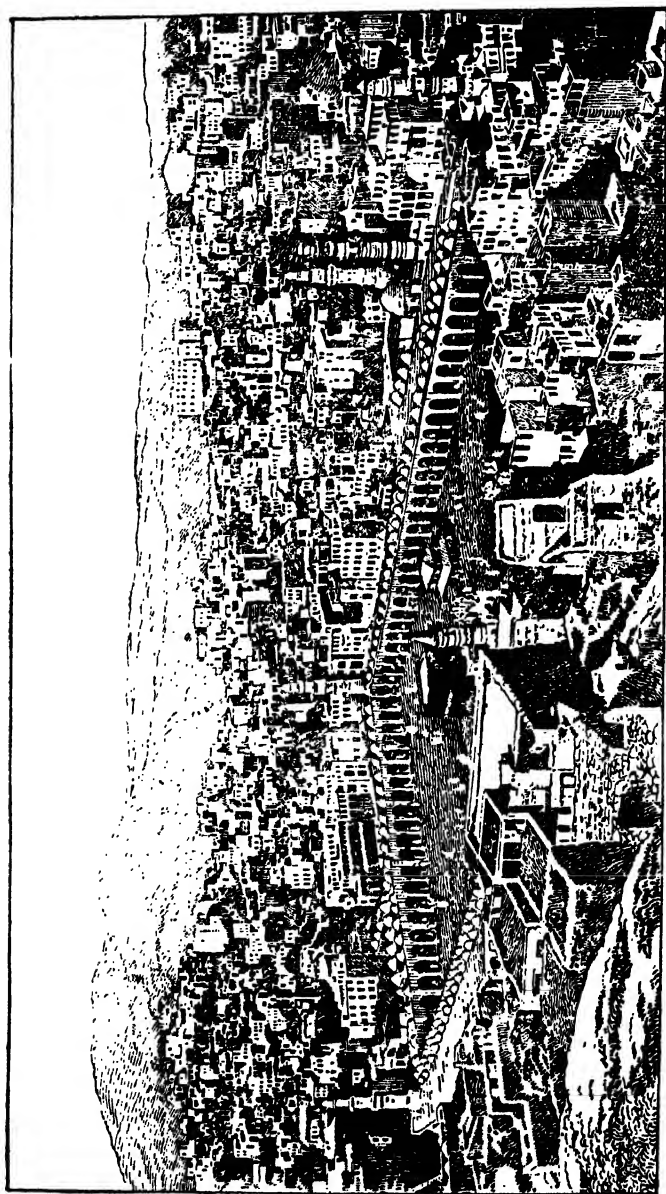
The noted buildings of Arabia, the first seat of Islam, are restricted to the tomb of the Prophet with its mosque, the Ka'aba, and a few palaces of the Sultans and chiefs in the South. The first mosque erected by the Prophet was at Quba,

⁸⁴ The Great Mosque of Damascus, after which this one appears to have been named, towered above the city of Damascus, which stands on a plain, 2,200 feet above the sea. It was built in the 8th century A.D. and was destroyed by fire in October 1893. Damascus, however, contains seventy other mosques.

a place about three miles from Medina. It was a simple square building roofed on one side with the trunks of date trees, without niche, minaret, dome and pulpit. Sultan Abdul Hamid of Turkey rebuilt it and effected some improvements in it. In Medina, the Prophet built another mosque, which now is considered next to the Ka'aba the most sacred place. The site was purchased by the Prophet, and a mosque was built of rough stone and unbaked bricks. Its roof was covered with the trunks of date trees and mud. The Prophet used to lean on a post and deliver his sermons, till his followers made a pulpit for him, so that he may take his seat on it and speak. It was a wooden frame of three steps. Later, it became a necessary equipment for a mosque and pulpits of the best workmanship were made in Turkey, Egypt and other Muslim countries. Close to the mosque at the Ka'aba, there were several small huts, where the Prophet's family lived, but he used to pass much of the time in his mosque. The third Khalif Usman rebuilt it and enlarged it and changed the trunks of the date trees of the roof into Indian teak. It received further and larger improvements at the hands of Khalif Walid of the Umayyad family, who, besides Muslims, employed Copts and Greeks for carving marble pillars for it, and included the tomb of the Prophet and of the first two Khalifs within the precincts of the mosque. Two minarets on two sides were also added. Khalif Al-Mahdi of the Abbaside dynasty, still further enlarged the building by adding ten excellent pillars of carved marble with gilded capitals. Mamun, the seventh Khalif of the same family, and Sultan Kaid Bey of Egypt (888 A.H.) made further improvements. The last named also presented to it a beautiful pulpit made in Egypt, and the gates and minarets were made as they now stand. Sultan Sulaiman of Turkey paved the court with white marble, and added another minaret. Other Sultans and Governors of Egypt effected minor improvements in it. Considering its architecture, it is not superior to the best Turkish, Spanish or Indian mosques.

THE KA'ABA IN MECCA

Mecca is noted for the Ka'aba, the most sacred place in Islam, to which all Muslims in the world must turn for prayers. It is an oblong building 18 paces long and 14 broad, and about 35 to 40 feet high, within a court enclosed by a colonnade whose pillars are each about 20 feet high. Most of these are of white marble, granite or porphyry and some of common stones found in Mecca. There are seven paved causeways leading from the outside towards the Ka'aba which stands from the northern side about 115 paces and from the southern about 88 paces. The Ka'aba is built of grey stones found in Mecca. Its roof is flat, and has only one door about seven feet



MECCA, WITH THE KAABA IN HEAVY BLACK CLOTH, ITS CHIEF SANCTUARY

high above the ground. It is opened three or four times in the year and entered by a flight of wooden steps. It has been rebuilt several times. It was originally built just before the advent of Islam, when the Prophet was not more than 35 years old. It was rebuilt by Abdullah, son of Zubair, and again by Hujjaj Saqafi. The present door, which is coated with silver, was presented by the Sultan of Turkey. The famous *Hajar-e-aswad* or black stone, supposed to have fallen from heaven, is fixed over four feet above the ground in the south-eastern corner of the wall of the Ka'aba. It is kissed by all pilgrims. It is an oval shaped stone.⁸⁵ On the northern side of the Ka'aba, near its door, is a spot named the *Mijan*, supposed to be the place where Abraham and his son stood and worked in building the Ka'aba. The *Mizab*, or water-sprout, is made of gold, and the spot where its waters fall is paved by various coloured stones. The Ka'aba is covered with black silk, hanging from the four sides, which is renewed every year, by a present brought from Egypt. The pilgrims must make *Tawaf* or walk round the Ka'aba. There is a sacred well named *Zamzam*, from which pilgrims drink and carry its water as a present in small portable tin or copper vessels. Its water is heavy but sweet to the taste.⁸⁶ This mosque has nineteen gates, of which the principal gate is called Babus-Salam, through which pilgrims enter it. On the exterior side, there are several minarets, rather simple in design.

The other buildings in Arabia have no architectural value.

MESOPOTAMIA AND IRAN

The history of Iranian architecture may be divided into two main divisions, i.e., the Pre-Islamic period beginning from the time when the *Avestan* hymns were composed by Iranian seers in Bactria, and the Post-Islamic period, when Iran became a province of the great Muslim Empire. The Post-Islamic period, to some extent, is a continuation of the Pre-Islamic style with such alterations and modifications as was needed for purpose of adjustment with the Islamic teach-

⁸⁵ Some have suggested that it is a meteorite. Ibn Ishaq, the earliest biographer of the Prophet, whose writings have come down to us, says that the custom of setting up stones arose from the practice of pre-Islamic Arabs, when going on a journey, of carrying away stones from the Ka'aba and rendering homage to them wherever they went. The practice of setting up stones was, however, common in patriarchal times and dates from antiquity in Arabia, being, indeed, an ancient form of Semitic worship. (See *Genesis* XXVIII. 18; XXXI. 45, 52; XXXV. 14; *Exod.* XXIV. 4; etc.)

⁸⁶ In 1893, European scientists traced the destructive visitations of cholera which had recently occurred, to this sacred well. The Powers alarmed the Turkish Sultan by demanding it should be cleansed or shut up. Steps necessary for cleansing were taken and the need for shutting it up has not arisen since then.

ing. The earliest architecture of the pre-Islamic period is called *Avestan* or *Bactrian*, to which a few allusions are to be traced in the *Avesta*, for example, references to houses of a thousand beautiful columns, well built, high, with many chambers, verandahs, well lighted, etc. The next period is called the *Median* (700 to 550 B.C.), concerning which we get some glimpses of information through Greek sources, which have given a fair description of the palace built by Diocose and his successors at Icbatana (or Ecbatana) or modern Hamadan.⁸⁷ There was much resembling between Iranian and Assyro-Babylonian style of buildings. The Median period is noted for its massive thick walls decorated from inside with vari-coloured gilded and glazed tiles. The walls were made of sun-dried bricks and clay. With regard to early Iranian temples, the Greek authors say that they never constructed any buildings for their temples. Towards the later part of Achæmenian rule, however, there were temples in honour of Anahita and Mithra, though nothing is known about the plan and architectural significance of these temples. The zenith of Iranian architecture reached during the third period under Achæmenian dynasty from 550 to 330 B.C., when the grand and magnificent palaces were built at Pasargadae, Persepolis,⁸⁸ Susa⁸⁹ and other capital cities of the Achæmenian Empire. Their chief feature was a high platform, ascended by a most beautiful staircase decorated on both sides with bas-reliefs, illustrating the grandeur of the Iranian court. At the entrance, there were two huge figures with human faces and animal bodies; in the inside, large halls supported by slender columns of nearly 69 feet in height,

⁸⁷ A town of Iran, at the northern base of Mount Elwend, 160 miles west-south-west of Tehran. It is the centre of converging routes from Baghdad, Erivan, Teheran and Ispahan. It has a few notable tombs, e.g., Avicenna's and others affirmed to be those of Mordecai and Esther.

⁸⁸ Lit. the *Persian city*; the Greek for the capital of ancient Iran; situated to the west of the river Madus (Murgab); 14 miles above its confluence with the Araxes (Bendemir), 25 miles north-east of Shiraz. A series of most remarkable ruins is now all that can be seen of this old city, with which "no other city could be compared either in beauty or in wealth", and which was called "The Glory of the East". Three groups are chiefly distinguishable in the vast ruins existing on the spot. First, the Great Hall of Xerxes, or Chahal Minar (Forty Pillars) with the Mountain of the Tombs (Rahmat), also called Takt-i-Jamshid, or the Throne of Jamshid, after the reputed founder of Persepolis. The next in order is Nakshe-Rustum, to the north-west, with its tombs; and the last, the building called the Haram of Jamshid.

⁸⁹ Susa has been identified with the *Shushan* of Daniel, Esther, etc. The ancient capital of Susiana, the *Elam* of Scripture, modern Khusitan, a town of Iran and one of the most important cities of the world. Its ruins cover 3 square miles and include four spacious platforms about 100 feet high.

standing on lotus flower or bell-shaped bases, with capitals surmounted by pairs of bull set back to back. The roof was flat, resting on cedar and covered with mud, mixed with chopped straw, as is done to this day. The walls from inside were painted with mythological descriptions of heroic deeds of kings and Iranian leaders. There were no arches between the roof and pillars. The fourth period, beginning from 330 B.C. and ending in 224 A.D., is noted for the development of the arch system and tunnel-shaped roofs and the absence of flat ceilings. Very few ruins of this period have as yet been excavated. It is left for the future to discover more about the architectural significance of this period. Several important monuments of the period when Iran was ruled by the celebrated Sassanian dynasty (224 A.D. to 561 A.D.) have, however, been discovered. The principal palaces where they have been found are Firuzābād and Sarvistan; also among the ruins of Qasre-shirin. The arches of Taq-e-Bustan, Taq-e-Kasra and several others of the same kind near Kermanshah and South Iran belong to the same period. The Firuzābād palace appears to have been about 320 feet by 170 feet, covered by three domes of 45 feet in diameter, with window-like openings to admit light. The palace at Sarvistan was evidently about 170 feet by 140 feet, and built with stone walls, with three domes of different sizes made of bricks and set over square rooms.

BUILDINGS IN BAGHDAD

Muslim rule begins with the conquest of Mesopotamia by Sad, son of Abi Vaqqas, whom the second Khalif appointed as General and Military and Civil Governor of the new province. He resided at Kufa, and soon built a house and mosque, transferring material for it from Madæn, the capital of the Iranian Empire. We know very little of these buildings. The earliest mosque built at Kufa in 639 A.D. was a square building. Its roof was supported by marble columns, which were transferred from a palace at Hira. Minarets were added to the mosque about the end of the 7th century A.D. and still later the prayer niche. In 762 A.D., Baghdad became the capital of the Abbaside Empire. Originally, it was but a village inhabited by the Iranians. The name Baghdad is derived from Bagha (Sk. Bhaga) *God*, and *dad* or *data*, which means *given*. Its founder Khalif Mansur gave it the new name of *Madinatus Salam* (The City of Peace). Baghdad was noted for a large number of palaces, mosques and other buildings constructed by successive Khalifs and other reigning princes of Iran. In density of population and grandeur, it became the Constantinople of the East, there being none equal to it in its splendour and magnificence. It was the capital of Hārūn-al-Rashīd, the hero of the

"one thousand nights". Here Mansur founded a round-shaped city enclosed by a double wall of four gates. There were one hundred thousand craftsmen and labourers employed for over four years. The fort with the palaces was completed in 766 A.D., the Khalif thereafter shifted his residence to his new capital. The walls and buildings were made of sun-dried bricks. The main features of the city were the palace of the Khalif, called the Golden Gates, crowned by a great dome of green colour, about 120 feet high, surmounted by a horseman, and visible from a long distance. Within this dome was the Audience Hall about 30 feet square, with a vaulted ceiling about 30 feet high, above which there was a Sacred Hall of the same dimensions. The Audience Hall had a verandah or *aivan*, 30 feet wide, covered by an arch, the middle portion of which was about 45 feet from the floor. A second palace, called the Khuld, was built after a few years, and this became a favourite residence of Hārūn-al-Rashīd. The royal mosque was built of sun-burnt bricks, with a roof resting on wooden columns, which, in their turn, were supported by round capitals. It was rebuilt by Hārūn-al-Rashīd, and again enlarged during the reign of Mota-zid. Ibn Rustah, who saw it in 903 A.D., has written that it was a fine building of kiln-burnt bricks covered by a roof of teak, resting on wooden columns, and decorated with lapis-lazuli. Azad-ud-dowlah of the Buwaihid dynasty built a fine hospital, which was in good condition in 985 A.D. It was a large building constructed on the bank of the Tigris, possessing many Halls, separate wards, and furnished with all the necessities. On Mondays and Tuesdays, patients were visited by the City physicians. Medicine and food was supplied free. The building was more a palace than a hospital. There were several Christian monasteries, whose monks were treated with respect and kindness by Muslims. Khalif Motazid constructed a new palace called the *Taj*, which was completed by his successors. Its external shape was like a crown supported on five vaults or arches resting on ten columns, each about five feet high. Khalif Muktafi added some more Halls and cupolas, one of these being known as the Cupola of the Ass, because the Khalif could ascend stairs riding on his ass. There were several other magnificent palaces and buildings, but unfortunately none of these including the Palace, the mosque, the hospital, the tombs of the Khalifs is left at the present day. Accordingly, a correct estimate of the architectural development of the period is not possible. Many wealthy people, princes, kings, even Emperors of Iran, had their own palaces in Baghdad. It was a city of palaces and gardens of which not a single trace has been left to us. There is a shrine dedicated in the name of Imam Musa and his grandson Imam Muhammad Al-Taqi, about three miles distant from the present city of Baghdad,

in a small town named Kazemain, which was in ancient days the cemetery of the Quaraish. This shrine was several times demolished and even burnt but has been rebuilt. Its present structure, which is not a very old one, contains double gilded domes with several smaller ones. There are also here the tombs of Imam Abu-Hanifa, Yusuf, and Sufi Saint Sheik Abdul Qader Gilani. The shrine of Imam Husain, the martyr of Muharrum, at Kerbala, is gilded and built in the centre, enclosed by walls possessing rooms and verandahs opening towards the inside. The best building, so far as architectural merit is concerned, was built over the tomb of Ali, the fourth Khalif, at Najaf. It has a large gilded dome with coloured decorations from inside. The plan is more or less the same as in the shrine at Kerbala and of the two Imams at Samarra. The majority of the engineers, craftsmen and supervisors of these shrines, which were repaired or rebuilt during the time of the Safavids, were Iranians by birth and hence the architecture belongs to Iranian type.

Among the oldest mosques extant in Iran the following may be noted :—The mosque at Ispahan, built about 760 A.D. and the mosque at Shiraz constructed by Amre, son of Lais, in 875 A.D. Both of these are peculiar in their construction. They were built in the centre of a court, as the Ka'aba is at Mecca. The mosque at Qazvin was built by Muhammad, son of Hajjaj, during the Umayyad period, but rebuilt and improved by Hārūn-al-Rashīd in 790 A.D. The Iranian *avān* or verandah of the mosque resembles the old Sassanian style of architecture ; also the tapered columns with flat ceilings and terraces. The arches were generally constructed of bricks and, owing to scarcity of timber, are very common even to the present day. In this, Iranian mosques have reached a degree of greater perfection than in the neighbouring countries. Walls are made of baked or unbaked bricks and sometimes enamelled. The stalactitic decoration was followed as in other Muslim countries, with the addition of covering with mirrors, which gives the whole arch or wall a good brilliancy and lustre. Geometrical linings, foliage drawings, glazed tiles, gilded domes and walls, ivory work in doors are other features common all over Iran. The college of Mustansarieh at Baghdad (1232 A.D.), is also built in the centre of a court enclosed by walls. It has many arches containing small rooms for students, resembling the present *sarai* (halting place for travellers) in Iran. The *Madrasa* of Shah Husain, the last Safavid ruler, was built according to the plan of Mustansarieh, and so also are many *madrasas* at Samarkand and Bukhara. The buildings over the tombs in Iran are built either square or oblong, cylindrical towers covered by conical roofs, bulb-form cupolas, decorated from inside by glazed coloured tiles or stalactite, such as the

supposed tomb of Zubaida, queen of Hārūn-al-Rashīd, at Baghdad. The tomb of Timurlane, built by an Iranian architect named Muhammad Isfahani, assisted by Chinese artists and craftsmen, consists of a square hall, crowned with a bulb-shaped cupola, fixed on a drum. Its inside wall is covered with enamelled tiles. Iranian arches have the springing curve turned into straight lines. Parapet walls were generally made in saw-teeth style, and window openings filled with pierced tracery or lattice work in stone or stucco. The dome of the blue mosque at Tabriz and the mosque and *madrassa* of Ispahan appear like an Iranian helmet and perhaps this is one of several reasons for bulbous dome becoming so common in Iran. It resembles the head dress which in the case of a building is made its crowning portion. While Byzantine domes were covered with lead, the Muslim domes were built of brick and mortar or stone. In the former case, they were covered with coloured glazed tiles or gilded. The glazed tile covering was derived from the ancient Iranian enamelled bricks, of which specimens have been recovered from the ruins at Susa by French archæologists. Some of them are to be seen in the palace of Louvre. Such tiles are called *Kashi* because they are manufactured at Kashan, a place not far away to the south of Teheran. Early Muslim buildings possessed pointed arches, but since 9th century A.D. the horse-shoe form became common. The cuspid⁹⁰ arch was inserted by Western nations from the East. Later on, the Muslim arch became low with a quick curve at the bottom. The chief features of Iranian architecture are brick-made bulbous domes, high facade tiles with recessed arches, graceful but simple minarets, glazed and enamelled bricks, decoration in inscriptions, geometrical lines or foliage drawings and scroll-like arabesque. Pavements are generally made with ordinary or marble stones.

EFFECT OF MOGHAL INVASION

Very few architectural remains have survived of the Seljukid and earlier periods. A proper history of Iranian architecture accordingly begins from the Mongolian period and reaches its zenith of accomplishment during the Safavid rule. The mosque of Nain is dated about 1000 A.D. and thus falls into the period a little anterior to that of the Seljukids. It is an arcaded courtyard decorated with stucco, and covered with a brick dome. The Jumma Mosque of Ispahan was built by Malik Shah, the third Seljukid ruler (1072-92 A.D.). Prior to the invasion of the Moghals, the Iranians had made considerable advance in faience and calligraphic decoration. The

⁹⁰ An arch formed by the meeting of two curves; cusp indicates the point or horn of the moon.

Moghal invasion destroyed 90 per cent. of the previous architectural monuments of Iran. The plan of the mosque was changed from an arcaded courtyard to the vaulted *aiwan* (verandah) having a court in the centre, as in the Jumma mosque of Ispahan and in the Varāmin mosque. These latter have a portal of a rectangular recess, roofed by a semi-dome, with stalactite decoration, as in the great mosque of Shah Abbas in Ispahan. The minaret built by Malik Shah has a somewhat carved balcony for the Muezzin. The dome of the mausoleum of Muhammad, known as Khoda Banda. Moghal Emperor of Iran, is made up in the semi-spherical form, but this was again changed into the older bulbous-shaped dome, which became the fashion all over the East.

BUILDINGS OF THE MOGHAL PERIOD

Among the more noteworthy buildings of the Moghal period the earliest is the tomb of Holagu's daughter, built in 1261 A.D., at Maragh. Another is the mausoleum of Khoda Banda at Sultania built in 1304 A.D., for transferring the sacred remains of Ali, the fourth Khalif, from Najaf, and of Husain, his son, from Kerbala, but before the accomplishment of his object, the founder himself died and was buried there. It is octagonal in plan, with two minarets, crowned by a dome, about 84 feet in diameter, which is the largest in Iran. The shrine of Imam Raza, the eighth Imam of the Shiahs, is at Meshed⁹¹ in Khorassan, which is a great place for Shiah pilgrims. It was built by Mamun, the seventh Abbaside Khalif, over the tomb of his father, Hārūn-al-Rashīd but as Imam Raza was also buried there, it is called after him. Its present golden dome has been built over the older one, which has been left untouched underneath. It was repaired by Muhammad of Ghazni; again by Sultan Sanjar of the Seljukid dynasty; and after that by the Safavids and Qajars. Recently the present Government also repaired it. Mashad contains another architectural monument known as Mosque of Queen Gouhar Shad, wife of Shah Rukh, son and successor to Timurlane. This mosque is considered the best structure erected during the Moghal period. It has big quadrangles with four great arches, of which the one named *Aivan-e-maqsurā* is covered by a blue dome. Its tiles and plaster work are strikingly beautiful. The

⁹¹ Lit.: Place of Martyrdom. The principal city of north-east Iran, the capital of Khorassan. Stands on a tributary of the Hari-Rud. Above the walls shine the gilded dome and minarets of one of the most splendid mosques of the East, that of Imam Raza. Is the sacred city of the Shiahs. It is visited yearly by almost 100,000 pilgrims. Close to it are the ruins of Tūs, the old capital of Khorassan, where Firdausi is buried.

province of Khorassan also possesses a building at Khorgird, near the Irano-Afghan frontier. This was a *madrasa*, built during the reign of Shah Rukh, quadrangular in form with four gates and four porticos, decorated with coloured bricks with vari-coloured conventional flowers and inscriptions. The other buildings of this period are the mosque of Varāmin (1322); the mosque of Mir Buzurg Qawamud-din (1379), the mosque of Bibi Khanum at Samarqand (1389); the blue mosque of Tabriz, built in 1403; and the Ispahan gate known as *Darvazae-Kuchik* (1496). The blue mosque of Tabriz was built by Jahan Shah, the Turkoman king of Western Iran. The mosque of Tabriz, built in 1294 by Ghazan Khan, has a central dome. The portal consists of a lofty niche vaulted with semi-domes and stalactite pendentives. It is built in bricks and covered on both sides with glazed tiles.

STRUCTURES OF THE SAFAVID PERIOD

Iranian Muslim architecture reached its zenith during the rule of the Safavids, when the two Muslim neighbouring Empires, the Moghals in India and the Ottomans in Western Asia, also erected many monumental buildings. We may accordingly say that not only Iranian but Islamic architecture reached its highest magnificence between the 13th and 17th centuries. The best buildings of the Safavids are to be seen in Ispahan, near the Maidan-e-Shah, or the Royal Square, which was a polo ground enclosed on all sides by mosques and notable structures. One of the more remarkable among these is the Royal Mosque, built by Shah Abbas the Great (1587-1628), which has a dignified and beautiful entrance, and contains four *aiwans*. The inner court pavement is made of marble. There is a large pond for ablutions in the centre, surrounded by two staired arcades. On the two sides are lofty *aiwans*, covered with tiles under a large arch. Behind the third *aiwan*, flanked by minarets, is the prayer-hall under a dome, which from the outside is covered with *Kashi* tiles of dark blue colour and green arbesque. There are other courts with porticos, all decorated with enamelled tiles and coloured mosaic. Its interior is made beautiful by a variety of features and the play of light and shade in its niches and the vaulted aisle lends additional charm to it. The college building of Shah Husain, constructed in 1700-10, is nearly a square court, surrounded by two storeys of vaulted arcades, with a large *aiwan* in the centre. Chehel Situn, not far from the Royal Mosque, was a hall supported by twenty columns of plane traces. It was decorated by mirror-work set in facets, behind which was the Throne Room, with other smaller rooms on both sides. In the rear of this building was a long art gallery—with oil paintings, showing the king fighting his battles or holding his feasts at home, with his

music parties, dances or other interesting scenes. This fine building suffered from fire but was rebuilt by Shah Husain.

The Ali Qāpi, a building with a large hall, open on the side, facing the polo ground, and supported by wooden columns, was the place where the king used to ascend the throne on the New Year's Day, and witness the military sports, such as horse races, polo and combats of wild beasts. His subjects, standing underneath around the royal square, could easily see him, just as in India Rajas enthroned in their Durbars are seen by their subjects during the Dasara and other great festivals. Passing from the palace of Chehel Situn, there is an avenue 150 feet wide, named Chahar Bagh, or the Four Gardens, entered by a fine gate-way. It ends at the bridge of Allah Virdi Khan, which is built on Zaendah river, and is counted among the great bridges of Asia. It is 388 yards long and 30 feet wide, with three distinct thoroughfares, all paved and in good condition. On both sides are arcades or galleries on which people sit and enjoy in the evenings. Besides, a large number of *sarais*, or halting places, of architectural merit were constructed by the Safavid rulers, especially Shah Abbas. Also bridges, *madrasas* and hospitals. Subterranean canals were also constructed and water was brought from a distant place both for irrigation and for supplying water to the cities. This is a peculiarity due to Iranian geographical conditions. The covered bazaars of Ispahan and Shiraz, and the public baths and *sarais* built by Karim Khan of the Zend family and his predecessors should be included among the architectural activities of the Iranians. The decline and fall of the Safavids caused the decay of architecture and arts in Iran.

BUILDINGS OF QAJAR PERIOD

Qajar rulers (1785-1925 A.D.), built several palaces in Teheran, but they did little for the comfort or the convenience of their subjects. The only mosque worth mentioning during Qajar rule is the mosque of Sipah-Salor at Teheran, a large building with *Kashi* decoration from outside and inside.

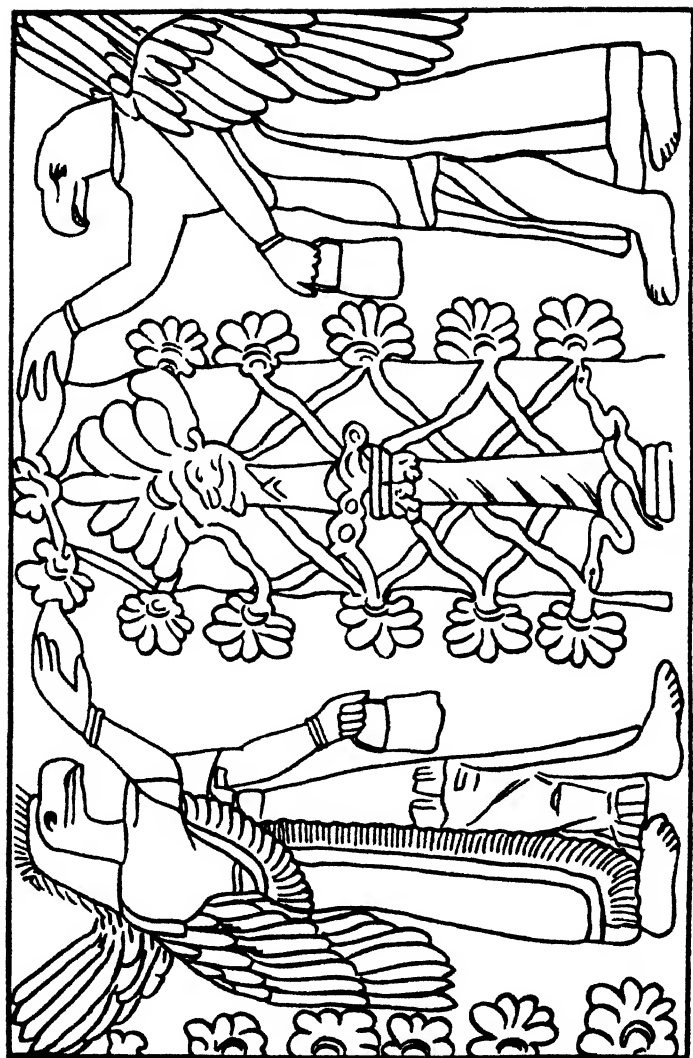
MODERN BUILDINGS

Iranian architectural tendency is to combine the European style with the traditional Iranian style. A number of modern buildings are worth mentioning. Among these are the palace of Raza Shah, the Municipal building, the Bank, Central Post Office and other public offices at Teheran. Development has been rapid of late and the next twenty years are likely to open up a new era in the history of Iranian architecture.

TURKEY IN EUROPE AND ASIA MINOR

Muslim architecture in Asia Minor and European Turkey may be divided into three periods, i.e., the period of Seljukid

rule in Asia Minor ; the period covered by the Ottoman rule in Asia and Europe ; and Post-War period. The erection of structures in Asia Minor began with the Seljukids who were succeeded by the Ottoman dynasty in the 14th century. In the meanwhile, the Moghals invaded the East and laid waste the whole of Central Asia and Iran as far as Syria. All those who could save their lives in East Iran fled towards the West and thence to Asia Minor and Egypt and to the South in India. Among these there were all kinds of people including artists and craftsmen. Hence it is that the architecture of Asia Minor and India in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has been greatly influenced by the Syro-Iranian style, which in course of time was Romanized in Turkey. There were a number of colleges, mosques and palaces built by the Seljukids at Konia. Notable examples of these are the palace built in 1160 A.D.; the *madrasa* of Ak-Shehr built in 1216 A.D.; the *madrasa* of Sivas built in 1217 A.D.; the mosque of Ala-ud-din at Konia built in 1220 A.D.; the Sircheli College of Konia built in 1242 A.D.; the mosque of Honen at Kaisariya built in 1300 A.D.; the Ulu mosque of Brusa built in 1357 A.D.; and the Yeshii mosque built in 1415 A.D. These buildings exhibit Syro-Iranian influence in porches, columns and prayer-niches, enamelled bricks and tiles and stalactitic decoration. The college at Konia has so close a resemblance to Iranian architecture that it appears a pure Iranian building, and the same may, to some extent, be said to the mosque of Injeminareli at Konia, the gate of Divrigi mosque and other structures. The mosque of Ala-ud-din at Konia, of Ashraf-Rum at Beishehr, and the mosque at Kaisariya, possess aisles like the mosques in Egypt. The old *madrasa* of Sircheli at Konia, of Ibrahim Bey at Ak-Serai, and of Sivas and Erz-e-Rum contain halls built in the Cross form. The *sarai* of Sultan Khan, near Konia, and the Turkish *sarais* generally are built in the Byzantine style. Thus as regards colleges and mosques in Turkey, it may be said that they were built under Iranian influence. The tombs and shrines were conceived partly under Iranian and partly under Armenian influence, while *sarais* were entirely in the Byzantine style. Following the Egyptian examples, shrines of saints or tombs of noted personages were included within the compounds of the mosques. *Yeshei*, or the green mosque of Barusa, contains a great porch opening on a facade, with a number of windows and niches. Its porch is covered by a half dome, decorated in stalactite, coloured mosaics and encircled by arabesque. The prayer niche is very high and entirely covered by enamelled tiles. The walls are decorated with ceramic panelling. Iranian enamelled work was prevalent in Asia Minor, both under the Seljukids and the Ottoman Turks. Even the early buildings of Constantinople were conceived in the Iranian style, e.g., the



ADAM AND EVE
(From an Assyrian Sculpture.)

Chinli Kiosk of Seraglio (Constantinople), built as early as 1466 A.D., is to all appearances an Iranian structure. Byzantine influence began at the end of the 15th century, when the Turkish capital was established at Constantinople and continued to be predominant in Turkish architecture up to the middle of 18th century. It was then replaced by the Western European style. Among the more notable Turkish buildings in Constantinople (excluding the royal palaces) may be included the following. Mosque of Ayyub where the Turkish Sultans, before ascending the throne, were girded with the sacred sword : the palace of the old Seraglio ; and the mosque of Muhammad were all built by Sultan Muhammad, the Conqueror of Constantinople, between 1452 and 1476 A.D. The mosque of Bayazid was built in 1497 A.D.; while the mosques of Selimiyya, Sulaimaniyya, Rustum Pasha and Mihraniyyah were built during the reign of Sultan Sulaiman, the Magnificent (1513 A.D.). The same Sultan also built the mosques of Inkelessi, Buyuk, Ayasma, and Jihangir. The mosque of Sultan Bayazid (1497 A.D.) is a copy of St. Sophia, and consists of a great dome resting on pendentives and supported by two other demi-cupolas of equal size. Its dome is 108 feet in diameter. The Sulaimaniya mosque was built in 1570 A.D. It consists of a central dome, 86 feet in diameter and 156 feet high, carried on pendentives fixed on great arches. The columns are of porphyry. The shafts are 28 feet high. Its court is surrounded with porticos, and it is lit by coloured panes and decorated by enamelled bricks and tiles. It contains four minarets. The Sulaimaniya mosque at Adrianople was built under the direction of Sinan Bey, the architect. Simple in design, it is beautiful in its external appearance and harmonious in its proportions. The Ahmadiya mosque, built in 1609 A.D., is the largest, consisting of various domes and semi-domes. The mosque of Shahzadah was built by Sultan Sulaiman. In it apses have been introduced on the north and south sides inside of the screen. The Baghdad Kiosk was built at the old Seraglio in 1634 A.D. and the Yeni Valideh mosque at Constantinople in 1650 A.D. The fountain of Bibi Humayun, and Azab Qapu Tope Khane were built at Constantinople in 1728. Early traces of the Western European style are seen in the Nuri Osmaniya mosque, built in 1748. Turkish buildings generally have a court in front, with a range of arcades surrounding it ; the central hall forms a prayer chamber, while the *avans* on its sides serve as passages. The central dome is supported by cupolas and minarets. In building hospitals and shelters for the poor and in carrying out other charitable works, the sovereigns as well as wealthy Turks took a considerable part and indeed may be said to have vied with each other.

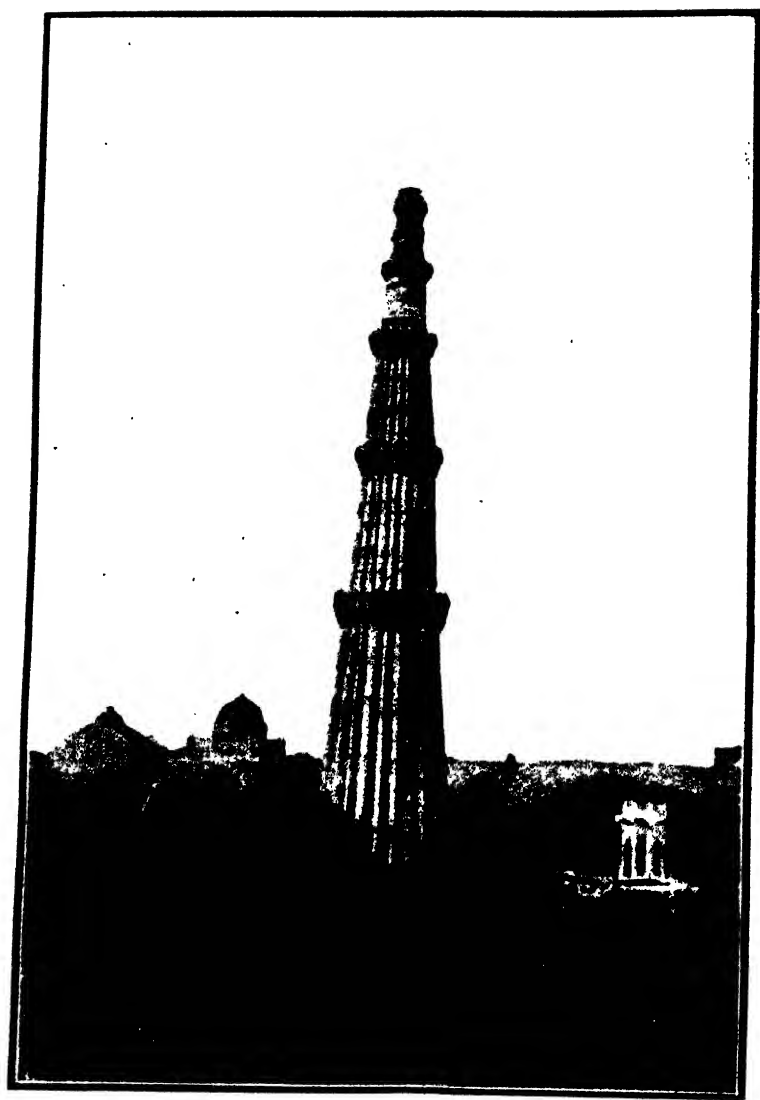
Turkish architecture, though it much resembles the architecture of other Muslim countries, has its own peculiar features. Buildings conceived in that style are in no way inferior in beauty and perfection to the buildings of Egypt, Iran or India. The dominant characteristics of this style are force and proportion.

MUSLIM ARCHITECTURE IN INDIA

Muslim architecture in India is, in its design, a mixture of the Syrian, Byzantine, Egyptian and Iranian styles, while, in its details, is Hindu, Jain or Buddhist. Some of the builders were Emperors of Delhi : others were kings or nobles of Bengal, Gujarat, Malwa and the Deccan. They were Turkish, Afghan or Iranian in their origin. The engineers employed were chiefly Iranians, Turks and Indians. Occasionally, European adventurers were also engaged by Moghal Emperors. Masons were almost all Indians, and artists and calligraphists were Iranians, Afghans, Indian Muslims and Hindus. Among the classes of buildings erected were king's palaces, forts, mosques, mausoleums, tombs of great men, *sarais*, bridges and shelters for the poor. There were several centres of architectural activity, each having its own peculiar features.

PRE-MOGHAL PERIOD

Ghazni.—During the pre-Moghal period, these were :— Ghazni, the Empire of Hindustan with capital at Delhi, the Jaunpur Kingdom, Gujarat, Malwa and Bengal. Moghal India was, for this purpose, divided into North India and Deccan. Ghazni became the capital of a powerful Empire during the long reign of Sultan Mahmud. The wealth of Western India was combined to the culture of Iran at Ghazni. There were four hundred Iranian poets, with a large number of scribes and learned men of Iran patronised by the King. Punjab, Gujarat and Sindh in India and the whole of the Samanid kingdom stretching from Siberia to Chinese Turkestan in the east and to the heart of Iran in the west were subdued by Sultan Mahmud. A large number of adventurers, craftsmen, masons, and artisans from the conquered province found their way to Ghazni. Iranian influence was predominant. Ghazni became a second Baghdad. Many palaces and mosques were built but Alauddin Hasan of the Ghour dynasty (1115 A.D.) invaded and captured Ghazni and in revenge for the murder of his brother, set fire to the city which was left burning for seven days. The innocent inhabitants were plundered, killed or made slaves. The great city was thoroughly devastated. All the monuments of the Ghaznavids were thus destroyed including the tombs of the kings. What remained of the latter were eventually taken out of them. At present, with the ex-



THE QUTB MINAR, DELHI

ception of the tomb of Mahmud (which was spared by the Ghorî conqueror) and two *minars* of a type earlier than the Qutub Minar at Delhi and similar to the *minars* of Dâmeghan in Khorassan in Iran, nothing is left at Ghazni to remind us of its past magnificence. These two *minars* had till the 19th century were about 140 feet in height, altogether, built of bricks. The tomb of Mahmud has been restored, but its old doors ornamented with six painted stars and geometric patterns, dating from the time of Mahmud were transferred by the British in 1848 A.D. from Ghazni to the fort of Agra. The workmanship of these doors exhibit the predominant influence of Iranian art at Ghazni.

Delhi.—Among the next earliest monuments of Muslim Indian architecture is the Qutub Minar at Delhi, built in honour of the Suli saint named Qutb-ud-din, who lies buried there. Its founder was Qutb-ud-din Aibak, the first Emperor of Delhi, who began the work and completed the first storey, about 95 feet high. His successor Iltamish or Iltutmish added a second storey, about 51 feet in height, and later the third and fourth storeys, 41 feet and 26 feet respectively in height. There is also a fifth storey, about 25 feet high, which makes the whole minaret, as it stands now, over 238 feet in height. In the lowest storey, there is the inscription of Qutb-ud-din Aibak, and on the second and third the name of Iltamish has been engraved. It was restored by Firûz Shah Tughlaq, who was responsible for the last storey. The first three storeys are constructed of red stone. Over them the other portions are built of red sandstone encased in marble. Sikander Shah Lodi restored the minaret once again in 1503 A.D., while the last repairs were carried out by the British Government in 1829 A.D. There are 375 steps leading up to the top. Qutb-ud-din also founded a mosque close by the minaret, named Quvat-ul-Islam (the might of Islam). It is Mesopotamian in its style, having a court in the centre, enclosed by colonnades. Side by side with it is a Hindu temple. The material used in the mosque, such as columns, capitals, etc., were transferred from the Hindu temples, not far away, which must have been demolished in the heat of conquest. An orchard screen extending to the whole length of the front side to the prayer-hall, was added after two years, after the construction of the mosque, of which the central arch is about 53 feet high, supported by two smaller ones. The decoration is Islamic in style, consisting of inscriptions, geometric traceries, foliage, etc. Emperor Iltamish enlarged the mosque by building an outer court, enclosing the Minar and Ala-ud-din Khilji added a second enclosure much larger than that of Iltamish. The latter also started a new mosque and a minaret on a larger scale but died before completing them. He further built a fine gateway to the mosque.

The prayer-chamber and the four corners of the mosque are covered with domes. Qutb-ud-din Aibak had built a mosque at Ajmer, which was also completed by Iltamish. Its plan is the same as the mosque at Delhi, but much larger, containing broad halls on three sides with a court on one side. It is roofed with a most beautiful and perfect dome supported by five pillars. Its material, as that of the Delhi mosque, was obtained partly from Hindu temples near by. The prayer-niche is made of white marble, cut in a circular fashion on both sides of its eastern facade. This was an improvement on the Delhi mosque, with the exception of the screen. The successors of Iltamish have left but a few architectural monuments. Among these is the tomb of Balban (1266-86 A.D.), in which the arches are an improvement on those observable in earlier structures. Ala-ud-din Khilji, besides being responsible for the gateway leading to Delhi mosque, mentioned above, built a mosque known as the Jama'at Khana, of which the design and workmanship is more Islamic in style, materials not having been obtained from Hindu temples, but specially collected and made for the mosque. It is built of red stone. It has three halls, two oblong, one on either side, and one square in the middle, with separate entrances decorated with lotus cuspings and Quranic passages. The central hall is covered with a dome supported at each corner by arches. From within the base of the dome, there are eight arched niches. The flank halls possess a double arch in the centre and are roofed by two small domes. This mosque was restored by the Tughlaq kings and again by Akbar. Among certain features peculiar to Muslim architecture during the Khilji period are proportion and symmetry. The Tughlaq kings adopted a simple but massive style in their buildings, of which the tomb of Ghias-ud-din, the first Tughlaq king, is a good specimen. It consists of a square hall, $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the outside and $38\frac{1}{2}$ feet from within, 70 feet high. The plan adopted seems neither pure Iranian nor entirely Indian. The dome is made of marble. Firūz Shāh, the third king of this dynasty, is remembered as the builder of a large number of forts, palaces, canals, mosques, tombs and *sarais* of the last of which 120 alone have been accounted for. The buildings are massive but simple in style. The object aimed at appears to have been cheapness and strength. In place of marble or sandstone, rubble and plaster have been used. Among the tombs, the one which was built for himself during his life-time, is a square structure about $44\frac{1}{2}$ feet from outside. The tomb of Khan Jihan Tilangani, with an adjoining mosque, was built by his son. The shrine of Nizam-ud-din is an interesting structure. It is an octagonal chamber covered by a dome and surrounded by verandah, with low arches, resembling the famous mosque called the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. This building be-

came a model for subsequent builders of tombs during the periods of rule of the Sayyed and Afghan dynasties. The tombs of Kabir-ud-din, known as the Lal Gumbad, which was built in imitation of the tomb of the first Tughlaq king ; of Sikander Lodi with a double dome : of Shihab-ud-din Taj Khan, Chota Gumbaz, Shish Gumbad, etc., built with gray granite walls covered with enamelled tiles or red sandstone are among the monuments of the Tughlaq, Lodi and the Sayyed kings. The tomb of Rukne-Alum at Multan, built by Ghias-ud-din Tughlaq, octagonal in form, is about 115 feet high and 90 feet in diameter and is Iranian in design. After the decline of Tughlaq dynasty, the Muslim Empire at Delhi, was broken up into several small and large States. Among these were the kingdoms of Western Bengal (1341-1572 A.D.), Eastern Bengal (1338 to 1349 A.D.), Madura in the extreme South (1334 to 1378 A.D.), Kashmir (1346 to 1357 A.D.), Sindh (1336 to 1585 A.D.), Jaunpur (Sharqi dynasty, 1394 to 1479 A.D.) and Deccan (Bahmani dynasty, 1347 to 1525 A.D.). These became divided later into the five smaller States of Bijapur (1490 to 1672 A.D.), Golconda (1512 to 1672 A.D.), Bidar (1487 to 1609 A.D.), Ahmadnagar (1490 to 1630 A.D.), Birar (1490 to 1562 A.D.) and Gujarat (1396 to 1597 A.D.). Within the limits of each of these States, we have a number of monuments reminding us of old Muslim rule over it, some of which should be classed as praiseworthy additions to the architectural wealth of India. A detailed description of any of these structures falls outside the scope of this work, though a brief sketch of the more important buildings will be found given below.

Jaunpur.—Jaunpur was founded by Firūz Shah Tughlaq, and is situated about fifty miles from Benares. It became the seat of an independent dynasty known as the Sharqi in 1394 A.D. Most of its fine monuments were destroyed by Sikander Lodi. Of those which survived is the famous mosque called Atala, built on the site of a temple called Atala Devi. Its founder was Kamil Khan, who began the work in 1377 A.D., by using the materials gathered from the temple and shaping them according to the requirements of a mosque. It was completed by Ibrahim Shah Sharqi in 1408 A.D. Its chief features are the surface decoration, and the propylon screen to be seen in it. This structure has an imposing and attractive appearance. The gateway and halls are as elsewhere in the Muslim style but the interior galleries and square pillars are in the Hindu style.

Bengal.—The main features of Muslim architecture in eastern India are heavy stone pillars, pointed arches, and brick vaults. Greater attention is given to surface decorations. The architecture is of Hindu-Muslim style. Among the more noted buildings in this style are a few which may be noted here.

First among these is the Adina mosque, erected at Panduah, with a length of 507½ feet and breadth of 285½ feet. It is a large quadrangular structure, surrounded by arched screens. There are 88 archways covered by domes. The halls are arcaded and are of an imposing nature. Its prayer-niche is beautifully carved. The building is a large one but it does not impress that the builder has realized his objective. The tomb of Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Shah is a structure 75 feet square, built of bricks and covered by a dome resting on squinch arches. Its surface decoration is impressively good. Other notable structures are Dakhil Darwaza, an arched passage, 60 feet high, with rooms on either side; Sāth Gumbad mosque and the tomb of Khan-e-Jehan Ali at Bagechhat; and the Tantipāra mosque, an oblong building of double aisles, one of the best mosques built in Bengal but now in ruined state. Daras Bari mosque and Lattan mosque, built of bricks, have square prayer-halls and arched verandahs, encased with glazed tiles of various colours. The Chota Sona mosque at Gour, built during the reign of Husain Shah (1493-1519 A.D.), and the Bara Sona mosque put up by Nasrat Shah are brick and stone structures while the Qadam Rasul Mosque (1530 A.D.) is built of brick only.

Gujarat.—Muslim architecture in Gujarat has developed along its own lines. Its rich ornamentation, delicacy of style and floral designs provide a contrast to the simplicity of style prevailing in Bengal. In Gujarat, Hindu architecture was well developed long before the Muslim conquest of India. When Ala-ud-din annexed Gujarat, it became, a little later, the seat of an independent Muslim kingdom, and its rulers adopted the prevalent local style for constructing their buildings making such modifications as were required for their purposes. Their architecture thus became a combination of the Hindu, Jain and Muslim styles. Some buildings, such as the mosque at Cambay (1325 A.D.) with its low dome, are of the Hindu design; others, such as the mosque of Sardar Khan (1680 A.D.), are in the Iranian style. Their fondness for domes and pointed arches is to be seen in the buildings erected by Muslims in Gujarat. These features mark off their buildings generally in this province. When Ahmad Shah established his dynasty in Gujarat, he founded the city of Ahmedabad and made it his capital. He built the forts of Songarh, Dohad and Ahmadnagar. Among his noted buildings are some deserving of notice. Teen Durwaze, or the three gates, which stands at the entrance to his palace compound at Ahmedabad, is 37 feet in thickness with the central gate 17½ feet in breadth. This entrance is noted for its fine proportions and general beauty. The Jumma mosque of Ahmad Shah, of which two minarets collapsed during an earthquake, is one of the most beautiful.

monuments put up by the Gujarat kings. Its prayer-hall is 95 feet deep and 210 feet wide, with 260 beautiful columns. Its aisles are narrow and covered with domes of Hindu style. It is well ventilated and protected, at the same time, both from sunshine and rain. The mausoleum of Sultan Ahmad, begun by Muhammad Shah and completed by Qutb-ud-din, is a large square structure (104 square feet), covered by a dome. It has four halls, supported by delicate columns and roofed by smaller domes. The tomb of Darya Khan (1453 A.D.) is a square building with a lofty dome in the centre and smaller domes over its verandah. It is built in Iranian style. Muslim architecture in Gujarat reached its highest development when several cities, including forts, palaces and mosques, were built during the long reign of Muhammad Shah Begorhah. He founded Muhammadabad at Champanir and made it his capital. Here, among other buildings, he constructed the Jumma mosque, similar to the one built by Ahmad Shah at Ahmedabad. The Sidi Syed mosque, which, though plain and simple in design, is one of the important monuments of his reign. The arches of this mosque are supported on square pillars, with beautiful window screens of quite a new design, three on either side, two in the end bays of the backside, and two on the right and left wings of the central prayer-niche. These window screens are specially noted for their floral ornamentations. There are two octagonal minarets in the front corners of the mosque. The tomb of Abu Turab, built in the 16th century, has arches on all sides, a central dome and smaller domes on its lower roof. The mosque of Muhafiz Khan, constructed in the 15th century, has minarets adorned in a temple form with floral tracery. At its entrance there are three high arches, under three windows. The construction of this mosque is a good specimen of Hindu-Muslim combination in architecture.

Malwa.—After the invasion of Timurlane, the Empire of Delhi was broken up into several Muslim States. Among these was Malwa, whose Governor Dilāwar Khan Dhuri became semi-independent, and his son Hoshang Shah ascended the throne in 1406 A.D. and completely detached himself from subordination to the Delhi Emperor. After him, his son and grandson ruled for a year and Muhammad Khilji founded a new dynasty, which lasted till 1531 A.D. Their capitals were Dhar and Mander, where they have left several monuments. Among these are some about which a few words may be added here. The Handola palace is built in the Cross form. It measures 160 feet by 100 feet. The front portion was used for holding the Durbar and the rest, the major part, containing several apartments, was used by the *harem*. Its walls are plain but the archways are well proportioned with recesses, windows, and wide spanned arches from the interior. The design of the

Jumma mosque is simple. It stretches to a length of 288 feet, but its interior hall is only 102 square feet, surrounded by eleven arched bays, each covered by a small dome. The prayer-hall is roofed by three larger domes. The tomb of Hoshang Shah is built in the rear of the mosque and is considered as one of the earliest mausoleums built of white marble. When the Khilji dynasty succeeded the Ghouris in Malwa, Malik Mughis, father of the first ruler, constructed a beautiful mosque, to which he attached a college, a mausoleum for his family and a tower of victory. His mausoleum is built in white marble both from within and without and decorated with other stones. The college appears to have consisted of a number of apartments screened by an arched colonnade, close to which was the tower of victory called *Haft Manzil* or House of Seven Storeys. All these are unfortunately now in a state of ruin. The other important Muslim buildings in Malwa and the adjoining provinces are Jahaz Mahal at Mander; the palace of Baz Bahadur; the Lal Masjid at Dhar; the Ukka mosque at Bayana; and the Sham's mosque at Nagaur in Jodhpur; the Top Khana mosque at Jalor; the Kushk Mahal and the Jumma mosque at Chanderi; the Shamsi Idgah (1209 A.D.) and the Hauz-e-Shamsi (1203 A.D.) built in honour of Emperor Iltamish at Badaun by his governors in the Central Provinces. Muslim architecture in Malwa was in imitation of the Delhi style during the period of the Tughlaq dynasty. Lofty arches and massive structures are accordingly the rule in Malwa though they are distinguished for the fineness of their stonework and proportion of design.

Kashmir.—In 1316 A.D., one Shah Mirza of Sowat, entered the service of Sinha Deva, the Raja of Kashmir, gradually acquired power and became king of that province under the title of Shams-ud-din. His descendants ruled till 1561 A.D., and were succeeded by the Chakk dynasty, whose rule extended up to 1589 A.D. In the beginning, as in other places in Kashmir, the materials for Muslim buildings were obtained from the indigenous constructions. Muslim monuments are, however, few and in grandeur, they do not reach the level of other Muslim kingdoms in India. First among their buildings is the Jumma mosque at Srinagar, begun by Sikander Butshakin (1390-1414 A.D.). It is built partly in timber and partly in bricks. It was completed by his son Zain-ul-Abdin. It was restored in 1620 and 1674 A.D. It is in the usual style. The court is in the centre enclosed by colonnades on four sides, screened by an arched facade. The largest hall is the prayer-chamber. The mosque of Hamadan Shah at Srinagar, built of timber, is a single simple square hall. There are besides a few other mosques and tombs. Their external appearance and interior design are quite different from other mosques in India.

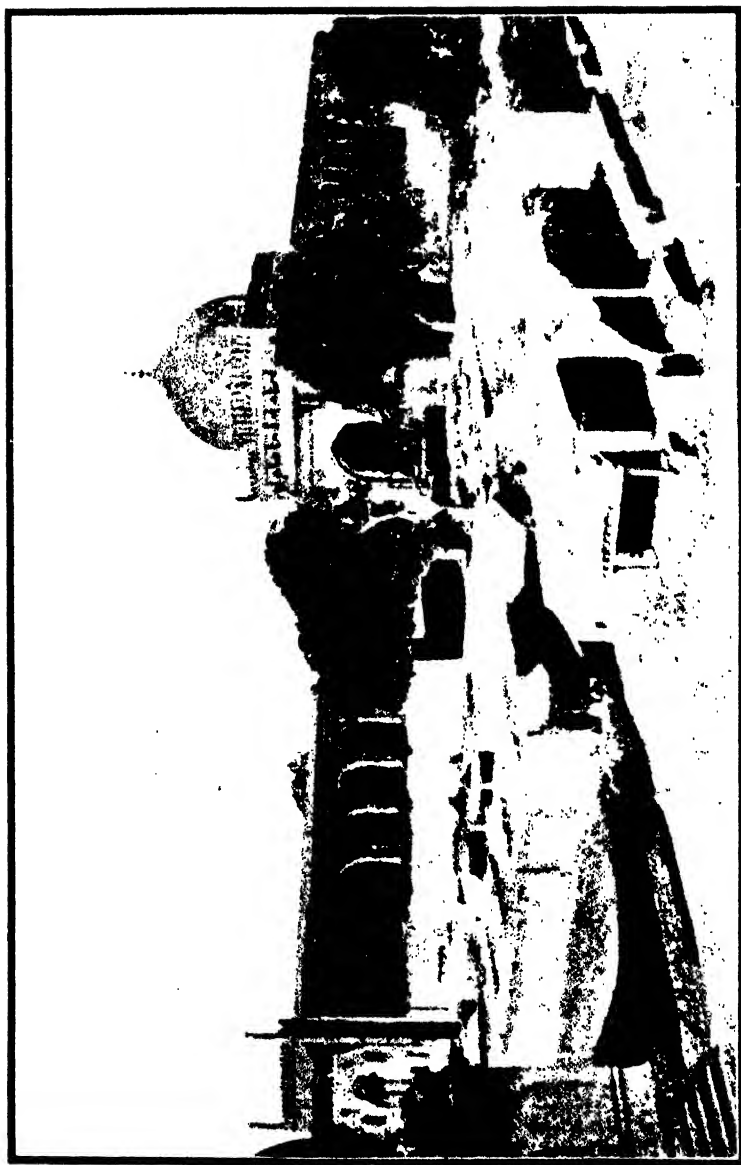
The pillars stand on an ordinary base destitute of all decoration. Even the roof is plain. Externally, the roof appears more a Chinese building than an Indian one. Domes are conspicuous by their absence. The tomb of Shah Zain-ul-Abdin's mother is covered with one large and several smaller domes.

Deccan.—The history of Muslim architecture in the Deccan may be divided into three periods. The earliest dates from the invasion of the Deccan by Ala-ud-din and ends with the decline of Tughlaq power towards the close of the 14th century. During this period, the Deccan appears to have followed Northern Indian Muslim style. The second period began soon after the establishment of the Bahmani Kingdom, when a number of adventurers from Arabia, Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia settled in the Deccan. Among these settlers there were scholars, poets, authors, Sufi saints, artists, craftsmen and merchants. They were received kindly by Bahmani kings and encouraged by high appointments and generous treatment. The Deccan became a second centre of Islamic culture, in which the Iranian element was predominant. Hence the architecture of the period turned Iranian in style. The third period which may be said to date from the decline of the Bahmani rule and the rise of the smaller States of Bijapur, Golconda, Bidar, Ahmadnagar, including Khandesh and Berar. During this period, Muslim culture became fully amalgamated with that of the indigenous population, and the rulers adopted the language of their subjects as their mother-tongue, and gave equal encouragement to local arts and architecture as much as they gave to their own. This period accordingly is found to be a fusion of Hindu and Muslim ideas in architecture. To the first period belongs the fort of Doulatabad, with its strong citadel, standing on a rock about 600 feet high. Among the buildings of the second period is the fort of Parendah, said to have been constructed by Mahmud Gavan, the faithful Iranian minister of the Bahmani kings. This fort is considered one of the strongest in the Deccan. The early tombs of the Bahmani kings of Gulbarga, mostly built in the Tughlaq style, consist of a low dome, narrow doorways, decorated with blue enamelled tiles, simple and plain in design. But in the tombs of the latter period, we find the decoration has increased. Muhammad Shah Bahmani built two mosques at Gulbarga, known as the Shah Bazaar Masjid, with high stilted archways in the prayer-chamber and the Jumma mosque built in 1367 A.D. by one Rafi of Kazvin in the Iranian style, with stilted domes, narrow doorways and very wide arches in the interior. The courtyard of the mosque, unlike other places, is covered by 63 domes, besides others at its four corners. The dome over its prayer-hall is larger than the rest. During the reign of Firūz Shah, a Sufi saint known as Gesu Draz (long-haired, an epithet of Sri Krishna), who

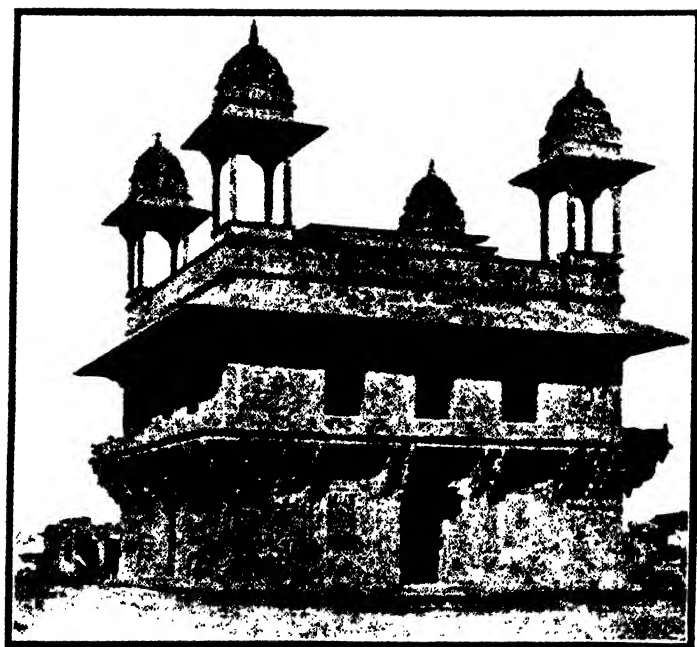
had been living at Delhi, arrived at Gulbarga and settled and died there. A mausoleum was built over his tomb, which is noted for its wide archway. The other tombs of the Bahmanis and their successors the Barid kings are in Bidar, with lofty and bulbous domes and facades ornamented with screened windows and colonnades and decorated with paintings in the Iranian style. Among these is the tomb of Ahmad Shah, adorned by a number of inscriptions in gold on a blue ground. The Char Minar (The Four Minarets) built by Ala-ud-din at Daulatabad is also ornamented in the Iranian style. Beside it is the tomb of Ala-ud-din himself. The college constructed by Mahmud Gavan with its mosque and library is an imitation of a college at Samarqand. It is about 265 feet by 180 feet in area, and is adorned with enamelled tiles. The Sola Khām Masjid (or Sixteen-Pillared Mosque), built in the reign of Muhammad Shah at Bidar, and the palaces still extant, though they have lost their original splendour, are imposing to a degree and attractive. As to the third period, the buildings at Bijapur are the best specimens. Among them is the fort and palace known as *Nauraspur*, founded by Ibrahim Adil Shah; also his tomb, with a large central dome with a tower at each corner and a number of smaller domes. The Lal Gumbad, which is the popular name given to the dome covering Muhammad Adil Shah's tomb at this place, is the second largest of its kind in the world, with four minaret-shaped octagonal towers of eight storeys, surmounted by elegant and beautiful domes, and is a masterpiece of Deccan architecture. The internal height of this large dome is 178 feet, with a cornice in the exterior about 83 feet high from the level of the surface ground, projecting 12 feet. The interior, pierced with an opening for letting in light from the walls, *has no parallel even in Europe*. The chief features of the mosque at Golconda and tombs are the stucco work and the close storeyed *minaret*. The domes here are of a peculiar shape with a narrow base. The mosque known as the Mecca Masjid and the Char Minar of Hyderabad are among the noted buildings of Qutb 'Shahi dynasty.

MOGHAL ARCHITECTURE

By the time of Sayyed and Lodi dynasties, Muslims were adapting themselves to Indian manners, customs, language and culture. They were gradually becoming more Indian in their habit and outlook, forgetting their past distinctions and possibly would have been absorbed by indigenous India, but for the invasion of the Moghals under Babar, who revived the Central Asiatic and Iranian culture and language in India, and once again not only westernized Muslims but even Hindus. Babar invaded India in 1525 and soon became master of Hindustan. A large number of Afghans, Central Asiatic Turks, Tajiks



THE GREAT MOSQUE, ALEPPO



THE DIWAN-I-KHAS, FATEHPUR-SIKRI

and Iranian adventurers followed in the wake of his conquest, and high offices were naturally filled by them. Indian society became divided in three classes: the highest, composed of Iranians and Moghals; the second, of Indian Muslims, and the third, of Hindus. Within a short period of four years, Babar raised several buildings in different parts of Northern India and Afghanistan. Among these are the mosques he built at Panipat and Sambhal, with oval-shaped domes remarkable for their workmanship. Both of these mosques were constructed under the direction of an architect from Constantinople. Babar was succeeded by Humayun (1531-56), who, after a reign of ten years, was defeated by Sher Shah and had therefore to seek refuge in Afghanistan and Iran, where he passed fifteen years. In the meanwhile, his rival had done much service to India by reforming finance, constructing roads and shelters for travellers, and a number of important public edifices. Sher Shah's short-lived dynasty, while struggling for existence, left a number of beautiful monuments (including his own tomb), a splendid specimen of the Indo-Iranian style known, which in some respects is not inferior even to the Taj at Agra. Humayun built a mosque at Agra and another at Fatahabad in the Punjab, decorated in the Iranian manner with enamelled tiles. The style adopted by both Babar and Humayun was foreign to India. The style of Sher Shah and his few successors, though Muslim from the point of view of exterior appearance, shows clearly the effect of Hindu influence in the details of workmanship, specially in the construction of the doorways. Humayun was succeeded by Akbar, the greatest Moghal Emperor of India, who displayed a perfect genius for architectural taste. The monuments he has left are among the finest and the most worthy of study from an architectural point of view. His palaces, mosques, forts, *sarais*, bridges, mausoleums, tanks, roads, are all worthy of his august name. His policy of combining Iranian elegance and richness of colouring and ornamentation with the exactness and mathematical calculations of Hindu workmanship, made his buildings objects of admiration.⁹² Fatehpur-Sikri,⁹³ the capital of the Moghal Empire from

⁹² Laurence Binyon writes: "Akbar's artists looked back to no struggling primitives behind them, but to the finished achievements, supreme in this kind, of the Iranian masters. And his patronage would have resulted in less of value had it not been for the example and opportunities it gave for revivals of the indigenous schools of Indian art in local centres. The Hindu element, after his death, came to infiltrate more and more of the Moghal school, while, outside the capital, provincial Rajas encouraged artists to give push to ancient native traditions. The whole Moghal school reflects Akbar's political aspirations: its aim is to fuse the Iranian, the Muhammadan, with the Hindu style."—Akbar, 76.

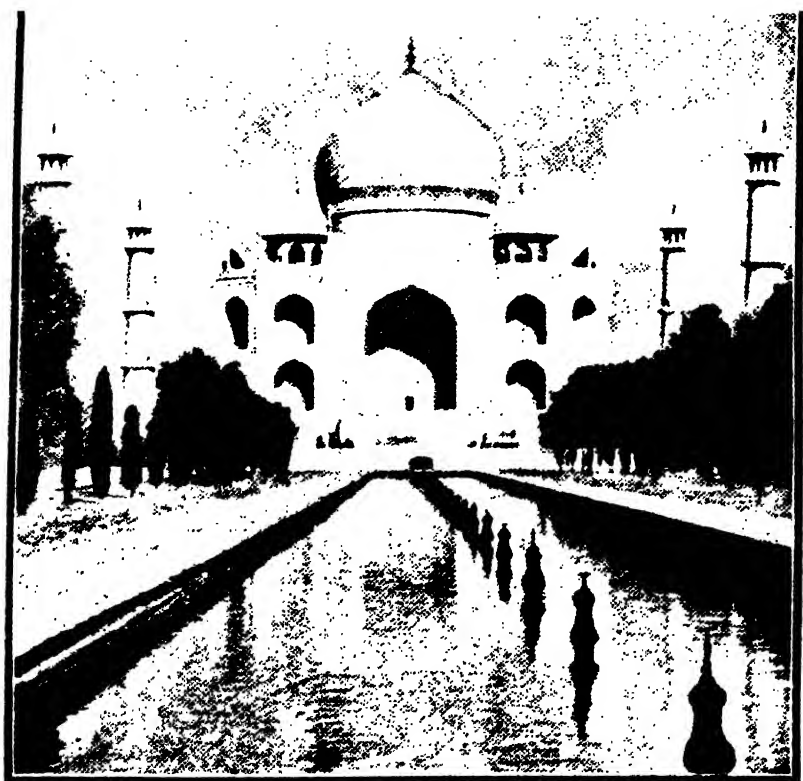
⁹³ Fatehpur-Sikri (the City of Victory), was begun about 1596

1569-84, was founded in the vicinity of the monastery of Akbar's favourite spiritual teacher, Shaikh Salim Chisti's monastery. The fort, built by Akbar immediately after the birth of his first two sons, Salim and Murad, at this new city, is considered a masterpiece of Indo-Iranian genius in architecture. Its southern gateway, the finest feature of the fort, is made of marble and sandstone, and is the highest and most perfect gate in architectural India, being one of the largest of its kind in the world. It is about 176 feet high from the ground and is conceived in the most splendid Iranian form, in a background of a rectangular court, with porticos surrounding it, small domes behind the parapet wall, and broad steps leading to its entrance. It was made the entrance to the mosque, as an Arch of Victory in commemoration of the Emperor's success in the expedition against Khandesh in 1601-02, just three years before his death, and it is really a triumph of Moghal architecture. The other building of Akbar is the mausoleum of Humayun, his father, near Delhi, built in the Iranian style, under Hindu influence. There is an absence of colouring here and the substitution of marble and a few other details, marking the change the Iranian style underwent in its adaptation. It is built on a plan which was afterwards imitated and perfected in the construction of the famous Taj at Agra. Its dome is of white marble, while the rest of the building is in red sandstone inlaid and decorated by white marble. Its four corner cupolas and narrow-necked domes are magnificent in appearance. The great mosque at Agra also was built in the Iranian style; so also his palace named *Akbari Mahal*. The palaces at Sikandarah, the fort at Attock, and the celebrated Allahabad fort, which occupied forty years to complete worked by twenty thousand men, are also built in the same style. Jahangir, Akbar's son, though not so great as his father in administrative achievements, inherited all his father's artistic taste. Though his monuments are not so numerous as those of his father, they are all well built. Among them is the Emperor Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandarah, in planning which Jahangir himself took part. It was completed in 1612. It consists of five square terraces. The tomb of Itamud-ud-doula, near Agra, was built and completed in 1628 by his daughter, Nurjehan, the beloved wife of Jahangir. Its material is white marble decorated with five-coloured stones, surpassing in beauty of design even the buildings of Shah Jahan. The architecture of the Moghal period reached its climax during the reign of Shah

and took fourteen years to complete. On the great portal of the mosque referred to in the text is the famous inscription: "So said Jesus, upon whom be peace. The world is a bridge; pass over it, but build no house upon it."



THE EMPEROR SHAH JAHAN



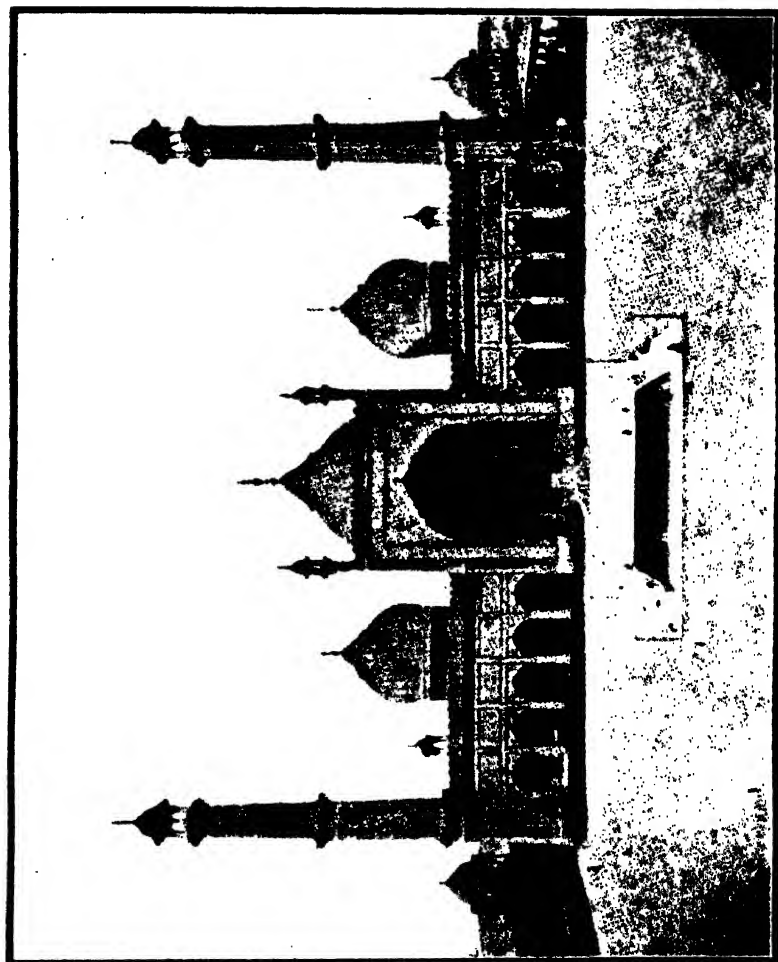
THE TAJ MAHAL, AGRA

Jahan, the greatest builder of palaces, forts and mausoleums among the Moghal emperors. He was gifted with a natural taste for æsthetics of every kind, including music, architecture and the fine arts, to which the prevailing long internal peace and amassed wealth encouraged him to engage in. He took up with avidity the work of beautifying his capital with magnificent buildings. Among these, the best is the mausoleum built for his beloved wife, the Empress Mumtaz-Mahal, the niece of Nurjehan. She died in 1631, and was buried here six months after her death. The work at the Taj Mahal commenced in 1631. Twenty thousand men were daily employed in the task of construction during a period of 22 years. It was completed in 1653. Before starting the work, the Emperor held a council of well-known architects and craftsmen, among whom were Iranians, Syrians, Central Asiatics, Hindus and, according to some writers, even Europeans. The plan was finally approved by the Emperor and the following men were appointed to complete the work :—Ustad Isa of Shiraz, the chief architect, assisted by his son Muhammad Sherif ; Muhammad Hanif of Kandahar ; Muhammad Saeed of Multan ; Abu Turab, the master-mason ; Ismail Khan of Turkey, as an expert in dome construction, assisted by Muhammad Sherif ; and Kazim Khan, Pira of Delhi, the master-carpenter ; Amanat Khan of Shiraz, the calligraphist, assisted by Qadre-Zaman ; Muhammad Khan and Rustum Khan ; Chiranjilal, as inlay worker, helped by Chote Lal, Manu Lal and Manohar ; Ala Muhammad, Shaker Muhammad, Bannuhar, Shah Mul and Zorawar for decoration work ; and lastly Ramlal of Kashmir for designing the gardens. The general supervision was entrusted to Mir Abdul Karim Mukramat Khan. The whole building is a monument of beauty. It is an artistic and architectural achievement which belongs not only to India but to the whole world. The whole structure is conceived in the Iranian style, with such modifications as were needed for achieving greater perfection, especially in the use of marble and other precious stones in the work of ornamentation. It is built on a platform, 95 metres either way ; in the centre is the great dome, rising 210 feet in height from the exterior, over the hall of the tomb. There are four other halls and pointed porches on the four sides. The hall containing the tomb is richly decorated. The whole building is surrounded with a beautifully laid out garden, terraces, pavilions, ponds and porches. The Moti Masjid (or Pearl Mosque) is another fine monument of Shah Jahan, built entirely of marble at Agra. The Idgah at Lahore, the fort and palace at Kabul, the palace in Kashmir, the buildings in Ajmer, Ahmedabad and Mukhlaspur, the forts at Agra, Delhi, etc., are other structures that belong to his reign. The next Emperor Aurangzeb, though blessed with a long reign, could not achieve the success of his

father in architectural domain. Among the reasons for this lack of effort in architecture are:—(1) Internal political troubles and the weakened state of public finance. Aurangzeb passed twenty-six years of his reign struggling against the Mah-rattas and the Muslim rulers of the Deccan and exhausting both his energy and wealth, though he failed to gain anything substantial; and (2) His rigidly orthodox view of Islam which prevented him from expending any part of the income of the State on the construction of public buildings other than mosques. He built a mosque at Lahore in imitation of the mosque at Delhi, which was completed in 1674. His daughter Princess Zinut-un-Nisa built a mosque at Delhi. The Emperor also added minarets to the mosque at Benares.

After Aurangzeb's death, political confusion and anarchy ruled in India. The Moghals lost their power and the new States that supplemented it had neither the internal peace required nor the cultured taste in them to induce to engage in the work of construction. The tomb of Safdar Jung, Nawab of Oudh, was built in 1756, during the reign of Alamgir II, in imitation of the mausoleum of Emperor Humayun, though vastly inferior to it in every respect. The buildings of the Nawab of Oudh and the Nizams of Hyderabad were built in a mixed style, a conglomeration of the old style and modern ideas. In 1765, Haidar Ali, a soldier of fortune, not only established himself in Mysore but also defied the power of the British in the Deccan. After an unusually active military career of seventeen years, he died in 1782. He was succeeded by Tippu Sultān, his son, who continued the warlike policy of his father but in the end lost his throne and life. A notable monument of their time in the Mysore State is the tomb of Hyder Ali, at Seringapatam, a square building with a verandah on four sides, resting on black stone, and the roof covered by a well-shaped dome; adjoining it is a mosque with five minarets. There is another mosque, also at Seringapatam close to the famous Hindu temple there, which has lofty minarets. A more interesting building in the same locality, with some paintings in it, is the Darya Doulat. The palace of Tippu Sultan is no longer in existence.

From what has been enumerated above, the broad inference follows that the architectural debt of Europe and India to Muslims is substantial. They borrowed much from Europe and India but they also improved a great deal what they borrowed. Europe borrowed the pointed arch, the use of the cusps, the bar-tracery in windows, and several other architectural innovations. The Muslim contribution to Indian architecture is to be seen in the use of bulbous domes, arches, calligraphy, geometrical patterns, wide arches, grandeur and simplicity in design, etc.



THE JAMIA MASJID, DELHI

MUSLIM ARCHITECTURE IN CHINA AND MALAY ARCHIPELAGO

In China and Malay Archipelago Muslim buildings are in the indigenous style. Muslims in these areas adopted not only the architecture but also the dress, language, customs and manners of the local inhabitants. Their mosques are not easily distinguishable from other local places of worship, except that there are no images in them and the prayer-niches in them face Mecca. Mosques at the seaports or on frontiers of Muslim countries in Central Asia or Chinese Turkestan form exceptions to this general rule. Thus, for instance, the mosque at Tsiuant-schen, built in 1009 A.D. and rebuilt in 1310 by Shirazi, consists of a hall and resembles a Muslim mosque in the West. The mosque at Canton has a minaret, nothing like it being found anywhere in the interior of China. Other mosques in China are generally timber constructions in the usual Chinese fashion. Muslim mosques in Java look like ordinary buildings except for the distinction of a secluded minaret.

CHAPTER IX

MISCELLANEOUS MUSLIM ARTS

Calligraphy—The Early Scripts—Celebrated Abbaside Calligraphists—Development of Later Scripts—Iranian Types—Notable Iranian Calligraphists—Calligraphy in India, China and Malay Archipelago—North Africa—*Pottery and Glass*—Spain—Egypt and Syria—Turkey—Iran and Central Asia—India—*Textile Fabrics, Carpets, etc.*—Carpets—Silk and Carpet Industry in India—*Metal Work and Jewellery*—*Figure Sculpture and Lattice*—*Painting and Drawing*—Subjects of Painting—The Leading Artists—Behzad's Paintings—Mirak's Paintings—Qasem Ali—Sultan Muhammad—Ustad Muhammad—Mir Syed Ali—Raza Abbasi—Mirza Ali—Muzaffer Ali—Muhammad Zaman—Last Stage of Art in Iran—India—Humayun's Interest in Painting—Akbar's Paintings—Jahangir's Extended Patronage—Shah Jahan and Dara Shukoh—Effect of Hindu-Muslim Painting—*Gardens*—*Hindu Contribution to Muslim Arts and Sciences*—Exports to Arabia and Iran—Emigration of and Immigration into of Scholars—Indian Works Translated into Arabic—Contact with Yogis and *Sanyasis*—Muslim Writers of the Moghal Period—Dara Shukoh's Works—Hindu Compositions in Iranian—Other Hindu Poets and Authors in Urdu.

THE Prophet and his early companions did not approve the representation of living creatures in any form, but the Umayyad Khalifs, with their capital at Damascus, in Syria, restricted this religious injunction to the mosque and other sacred places. Their palaces were, from early times, adorned with figures. A good example of this attitude of theirs is to be seen in the palace built by Walid I in 712 A.D. The fresco on the inner front wall of this castle built in the desert known as Qusair-ul-Amra, was painted with the figure of the king, probably the Khalif himself seated on his throne with attendants on either side. There were also painted scenes of hunting, fishing, bathing and figures of Roman and Iranian Emperors. The same principle was followed by Arab rulers in Spain, who ornamented their palaces with painting, representing human figures, both men and women. Even the Abbasides, the successors of the Umayyad, though more orthodox and pious in other respects, continued to decorate their palaces with Iranian silk carpet hangings on walls with pictures of kings, gardens, hunting scenes, etc. Thus the Muslim severity against pictorial ornamentation was relaxed from the very early period, though theologians and the orthodox classes continued to protest and to argue against the departure made. The rulers, however, could not introduce such decorations into the mosques and other public edifices. Muslim artists had therefore to devise a new plan by which they could introduce a substitute for them.

This they found in the geometric patterns they evolved. *Quranic* inscriptions, foliage designs and enamelled tiles of various colours followed this determination on their part. This innovation, in their hands, rapidly developed and became a fashion not only all over the Muslim world but is passed over to other countries as well in Europe. It is one of the most notable contributions of Islam in the domain of architectural decoration.

Though it is beyond the scope of this work to give a detailed description of the growth and development of certain of the domestic and cultural arts among Muslim nations of the East and the West, a brief sketch will be found included under the following heads: (1) Calligraphy; (2) Pottery and Glass; (3) Textile Fabrics, Carpets, etc.

Calligraphy

The earliest form of Muslim script is known as *Kufic*, which is supposed to have been derived from Anbar, or Hira, one a town and the other a tributary State of the Sassanian kings in Mesopotamia. Among the earliest Quraishid chiefs, who learnt this script, was Harb, son of Umayyad, the ancestor of the first three Umayyad Khalifs. Next to him were Abu Taleb, the uncle of the Prophet and father of the fourth Khalif, Ali; and Affan, the father of the third Khalif. The Prophet himself, though considered to be unacquainted with either reading or writing, used to encourage his followers in the art of learning, particularly in writing. The word *pen* is found mentioned in the following passages occurring in the *Quran*, supposed to be the first revelation:—

Read and your Lord is most honourable, who taught (to write) with pen. Taught man what he knew not.

I swear by *nun* (inkstand) and the pen and what it is written (Chapter LXVIII-I).

And every tree that is in the earth (if made into) pens and (not one) sea, but seven more seas (made into ink) to increase the supply, the words of God will never come to an end (Chapter XXXI-27).

THE EARLY SCRIPTS

Hence from the earliest times, Muslims had imbibed the idea of writing and beautifying their script. The first four Khalifs, including Hasan and his brother Husain, and a number of other companions of the Prophet, such as Moawiya and Yazid, the sons of Abu Sufyan; Abdulla, the son of Umar; Abdulla, the son of Abbas; Zaid, the son of Sabet; Marwan, the son of Hakam, were well known as possessing a good handwriting. The script adopted by the Quraish originally having been taken over from Mesopotamia, became known as

Kufic, and was adopted in Muslim countries all through the Umayyad and Abbaside periods. In course of time, some improvements were effected by the addition of diacritical marks to distinguish vowels and letters resembling each other. By the 7th century A.D., two distinct types of writing had come into existence. The one used on stone monuments and coins was angular in form ; while the other used for writing on paper was of the curved or round cursive type. The distinction later became more clear. The angular or original *kufic* continued to be used until the close of the Abbaside rule, but it had become so deteriorated that it was in practice known only to calligraphists. By that time the *Nask* or round script had become common.

The lithic monuments of Asia Minor contain the round script from as early as the 7th century Hijra. The system to adorn the final letters in inscriptions with arbesquelike ending, had become prevalent from the 3rd and 4th centuries Hijra. Among the better known calligraphists of the Umayyad period were the following :—(1) Qutba, the son of Ubaidulla ; (2) Khaled, the son of Hajjaj, who was the scribe of Khalif Walid ; (3) Salim, the scribe of Khalif Hisham ; and (4) Hassan Basri and many others, but the most well-known calligraphist of this period was Abdul Hamid, a Syrian convert to Islam, and the faithful secretary of Marwan, the last Umayyad Khalif. By this time Syria, Palestine, Egypt and the whole North Africa, including Spain in the West, and Mesopotamia, Iran and Central Asia in the East were included in the vast Muslim Empire. The subject nations of these countries, who were Non-Arabs and had embraced Islam, had adopted the Arabic language as the medium of their literary and scientific thought and the *kufic* characters as their script. Many fine buildings, such as mosques, palaces, *sarais*, etc., came to be built and following the example of past rulers, these had to be adorned with figures or other kinds of ornamentation. As places of worship, such as mosques and sacred shrines, could not be decorated with pictures, they had to be adorned in some other way. The use of passages from the *Quran* was selected for this purpose and soon became so common that there is hardly a mosque in the Islamic world which will be found without a fine inscription of incorporation of one or two passages from the *Quran* or reciting the names of God, or the name of the builder. Thus calligraphy became an important art, worthy of serious study. Calligraphists enjoyed a higher reputation and honour than painters, and most of them combined the study of painting with fine penmanship. The *kufi* script, with some modification, came to be developed in course of time into other types of handwriting, each having a distinct name. Rules were made for the length, breadth and

curves of letters. Iranian calligraphists who had developed, in the Pre-Islamic period, some notions of beautifying their sacred books, through the teaching of Mani, took a leading part in this laudable work. They became the promoters of the art of calligraphy and inventors of new types of writing. Ali, the son of Ubaida, is considered to have invented the type called *Rainani*.

CELEBRATED ABBASIDE CALLIGRAPHISTS

The following were among the most celebrated calligraphists of the Abbaside period :—

(1) Ishaq, the son of Hammad (d. 154 A.H.) and his brother Zohhak : (2) Ibrahim of Seistan and his brother Ishaq : (3) Ibrahim Ahwal, also of Seistan : (4) Fazl, the Iranian Wazir of Khalif Mamun ; (5) Ishaq, the son of Ibrahim : and (6) Abu Ali Muhammad, known as Ibn-e-Muqla of Baiza, in South Iran (885-940 A.D.) and his brother Hasan (881-950 A.D.), who are considered the most celebrated calligraphists of the Abbaside period. Ibn-e-Muqla invented or improved seven or eight types of handwriting, such as *raihan*, *sulus*, *naskh*, *tauqi*, *mohaqaq*, etc. Besides being the foremost of calligraphers in his time, he was well informed in Arabic literature. His fame spread as far as Mesopotamia and the Khalif there invited him to his court. Gradually he became the Vazir, but his end was as sad as that of his predecessors. Barmacides and the sons of Shal, who at first enjoyed glory and power, but finally lost everything including their lives. The Khalif ordered his hands to be cut, and not content with this cruel treatment, gave command for his execution in prison. (7) Ibn-e-Bawwab, a contemporary of the 25th Khalif of the Abbaside line named Al-Qader. (8) Abu-Abdulla Muhammad, the son of Ismail, known as Bukhari, whose great-grandfather Bardazyah, an Iranian Zoroastrian, had been converted to Islam, is known as Bukhari, the celebrated compiler of tradition, was also a calligraphist. (9) Abul Fazl of Khorassan (d. 518 A.H.) improved the type known as 'Riq'a'. (10) Abul Faraj, the son of Jauzi. (11) Abu Nasr Ismail Jauhari of Nishapur. (12) Abu Maali Nohas of Ispahan. (13) Ahamad, the son of Hasan of Seistan, the Wazir of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. (14) Abul Hasan Rawandi, a contemporary of Muta-vakkal, the tenth Abbaside Khalif. (15) Azad-ud-doula, a king of the Buvaihid dynasty who ruled in Central and Western Iran (338-72 A.H.). (16) Yaqut, the last great calligraphist of the Abbaside period, was a slave of Mostasam, the last Khalif. His devotion was so great to his profession that when Baghdad was captured by the Moghals and its inhabitants massacred, Yaqut took refuge in an old mosque, and found himself happy that he could write the most beautiful "Kaf"

(the letter K) since he had started the practice of calligraphy. His writings are still extant in Turkey and Egypt.

DEVELOPMENT OF LATER SCRIPTS

After the fall of Baghdad, the centre of Muslim art and civilization shifted to Egypt and India. At that time, both these countries were ruled by a succession of Emperors belonging to the Slave Dynasty. The *kufi* script had by then become so far deteriorated that it was substituted by other types of handwriting, particularly by that known as the *naskh*, specimens of which are still available in the inscriptions of the period. In the beginning of the 16th century, three great Muslim Empires came into existence, viz., Turkey in the West, Iran in Central Asia, and the Moghal Empire in India. Under the great rulers of the Usman, Safavi and the Moghal dynasties, learning, arts and architecture were encouraged, patronized and flourished everywhere in Muslim dominions. Constantinople, Ispahan, Herat, Samarqand, Lahore, Delhi, Agra and Deccan became centres of Muslim learning and arts. In Turkey, the following types of scripts were used :—*talik* : *naskh*, for copying the *Quran* and books in Arabic ; *riqa*, for official correspondence ; and *sulus*, for ornamentation.

The great Sultans, Salim, Sulaiman and Murad patronized learning and a number of Syrian, Egyptian, Spanish and Iranian artists and calligraphists found their way to the court of Sultans. Among these were :—Hamdulla (d. 1530) and Hafiz Usman (1699), two of the most celebrated calligraphists. Abdul Jabbar of Ispahan, who settled at Constantinople in the reign of Sultan Murad IV, copied at the request of his Prime Minister the *Shah Nama*. Mahdi Fikri of Shiraz went to Constantinople during the reign of Sultan Salim and copied several important works. Ibrahim Khan, who went to the court of the Sultan as Iranian ambassador, settled in Constantinople at the request of Sultan Murad and copied several valuable works.

IRANIAN TYPES

In Iran, which may be described as the cradle of calligraphy, the number of calligraphists is so great that a complete list of them is altogether beyond the scope of this work. The art of good handwriting was cherished in Iran as late as the end of the 19th century, and there are still a considerable number of men well known for their fine penmanship. The zenith of Iranian art and calligraphy, however, was reached during the rule of the Timurids and the Safavids. The *kufi* script had become obsolete with the fall of Baghdad and had been replaced by the *naskh* and afterwards by *nastaliq*. These types, particularly the *nastaliq*, came to be developed highly in Iran, the shapes of letters came to be formed probably under the

influence of the Pahlavi, the dominant pre-Islamic script of Iran, which continued to be used by Zoroastrian Iranians. The oldest known document in Iranian *talīq* is dated in 1011 A.D. This script, together with its sub-type *nastaliq*, became common since the Timurid rule. The other prevalent types in Iran and India were the following :—*Shikasta*, or broken, for private correspondence, which was difficult to read : *shafīā* introduced by Mirza Shafīā : *rahani* and *sulus*, which were used for decoration; *naskh* for copying the *Quran* or other works in Arabic.

NOTABLE IRANIAN CALLIGRAPHISTS

The most noted of the Iranian calligraphists were :—

(1) Ibrahim Mirza, a Safavi prince, noted for his learning, executed at the age of 24 in or about 984 A.H.

(2) Ibrahim Husaini, the son of Mir Imād

(3) Abu Turab, of Ispahan.

(4) Ibrahim Mirza, the son of the Emperor Shah Rukh, who was Governor of Shiraz. He has left a valuable record of his administration, taste in architecture and penmanship.

(5) Amir Khalil Hirati, a contemporary of Shah Abbas the Great.

(6) Shaik Ahmad Shurawardi, master in the *naskh* type, copied as many as 33 copies of the *Quran* during his life-time.

(7) Ahmad of Meshad.

(8) Ahmad Mirza, the best known calligraphist in the *naskh* type. He had earned 60,000 Tuman through his penmanship. His writing on the walls of the palace of Chehel Sutun is still extant.

(9) Baisunqur Mirza, the son of the Emperor Shah Rukh, was a highly accomplished prince. He cultivated considerable interest in the arts, particularly calligraphy, in which he was a master of the *sulus* type of writing. He died in 807 A.D.

(10) Badi-uz-zaman Mirza, the last Timurid ruler of Iran, was a fine calligraphist.

(11) Behzad, the greatest Muslim artist of Iran, was an expert calligraphist.

(12) Bahram Mirza, son of Shah Ismail, was a musician and had considerable good practice in calligraphy. He died in 893 A.H.

(13) Sultan Ali Meshadi, known as the King of Calligraphers, was a contemporary of Sultan Husain, the Timurid ruler of Iran. He has left a large number of inscriptions in various mosques, tombs and other buildings of Herat. He died at the age of 63.

(14) Salim, an artist and calligraphist of the Timurid period.

(15) Shah Tahmasp, the second Safavid king of Iran, possessed a fine handwriting. He was master in the *sulus* and *naskh* types of writing.

(16) Mir Imād-ul-Hasani, one of the most celebrated calligraphists and a master-hand in the *nastaliq* type, in which none could excel him, flourished during the reign of Shah Abbas. His writings were sold at very high prices. His writings are found in widely distant places like Iran, India, Turkey and Egypt.

(17) Mir Ali Tabrizi, who lived in the early Moghal period, was one of the more famous calligraphists of his time. He invented or improved *nastaliq* type.

(18) Abdul Majid of Tālāqān, a master in the *shukasta* type of writing, is ranked among the four greatest calligraphists of Iran.

(19) Ali Raza Abbasi, Court calligraphist and artist of Shah Abbas the Great. As an artist and calligraphist, he has few parallels in the history of Iran. He was a native of Tabriz, settled in Ispahan, and soon became the favourite of Shah Abbas, who appointed him the head of his Court artists and calligraphists. He has left many inscriptions, done by himself or by his pupils, in mosques and other Royal buildings of Ispahan.

(20) Abdur Razzak, the nephew of the famous Mir Imād.

(21) Abdul Momin, a great musician and a fine calligraphist. He died in 646 A.D.

(22) Muhammad Raza Imami. Some of the inscriptions in the Royal palaces and mosques at Ispahan were done by him.

(23) Mir Ali of Herat.

(24) Mirza Shafiā, the author of the type of writing known after him as *shafiā*. He was a native of Herat. His style became popular for purposes of private correspondence.

CALLIGRAPHY IN INDIA

The art of calligraphy in India, as elsewhere, is associated with painting and drawing. The best calligraphists of India were, in the majority of cases, either of Iranian or Central Asian extraction. The Timurid Emperors were great patrons of art and learning both in Iran and India. Abul Fazl refers to eight types of handwriting current in Akbar's time. The *nastaliq* type, however, became popular in India. Among the leading calligraphists at the Moghal Court were :—

(1) Muhammad Husain of Kashmir, known as Zarinqalam (possessor of a golden pen), was master in the *nastaliq* type of writing.

(2) Abdus Samad of Shiraz, an artist and calligraphist.

(3) Mir Hashem, a painter and calligraphist, who lived in the reign of Shah Jahan.

(4) Javahar-Raqam, a favourite of Emperor Aurangzeb. He was his librarian and calligraphist.

(5) Ali Ahmad of Delhi.

Besides Muslims, a few Hindus are also found among Indian calligraphists. Emperor Aurangzeb, though he did not encourage painting, was a patron of calligraphy. He and his sons wrote a fine hand and he maintained himself on the proceeds of the sale of the copies of *Quran* he prepared from his own hand.

CHINA AND MALAY ARCHIPELAGO

The art of calligraphy is very common in China, but the Muslims of that country have left very few records in the Arabic script, the language common to Muslims throughout the world. There is an inscription in the *naskhi* character at the old mosque at Canton dated in 1350. In the Malay Archipelago, the Muslim script reached through the Iranians and the Southern Arabians, who had settled there and converted the inhabitants to Islam. The script in use is *naskh* and similar to the type current in Southern Arabia.

NORTH AFRICA

The Muslim countries, though united in the use of a common alphabet, have local peculiarities. The script used in North Africa and Spain was called *Kairawan*, where a college had been established, and which had become the chief intellectual centre in the West. The script found on the coins of the Aghlabids, who ruled at Kairawan, was different from the one current in the East. It was stiff and angular. The script used at Cordova (Spain) again was slightly different from the Kairawan type, by the roundness of its letters. In 1213, Timbuktoo became the intellectual centre of Africa. A college was founded in it and it continued to be popular for a considerable time. Four types of writing were developed in Africa, which went by the following names :—(1) Tunisian, resembling the Eastern script ; (2) Algerian, in which the letters were pointed and angular ; (3) Fasi, in which the characters were round ; and (4) Sudani, thick and clumsy.

Pottery and Glass

Iran, Egypt and Syria were noted, from very ancient times, as centres for the making of wall-tiles in colours and design. The best extant specimen, dated about 2,500 years ago, are from the palace of King Darius at Susa, now in a museum at Paris. Fragments of the same kind have been discovered in Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia. During the Sassanian period of the Iranian history, this art flourished in Syria and Iran. It received a temporary check during the first few years of the Muslim conquest of these countries. But, as soon as the conquerors settled down to the task of quiet rule, they encouraged the industry and the local people revived it and

worked on a large scale. The art of Muslim pottery extended from Spain in the West to Central Asia and India in the East. For elucidating the subject, the pottery of the undermentioned countries will be briefly considered :—

SPAIN

The so-called *moresque* pottery was distinguished from the pottery of other Muslim countries by its design in which vine leaves, wild bryony and heraldic devices were employed. Among the early Muslim writers on this subject are Idrisi, the geographer; Ibn-e-Said (1244-86); Ibn-ul-Hatib (1313-74); and Ibn-e-Batuta (1350). The earliest specimens are dated in the 14th century. The centres of this industry were Malaga,⁹⁴ a part of the celebrated Muslim State of Granada, and Valencia.⁹⁵ Malaga received great encouragement under the Nasirid dynasty. In 1337, Ahmad, the son of Yahya, writes of its golden and glazed pottery. The tiles and decorations in the famous palace of Granada were made in Malaga. The golden pottery of Almeria and Murcia were also well known. Among the extant specimens are two vases of Alhambra, considered to be among the most beautiful ceramic products of the West, and a dish with an Arabic inscription on it. Malaga lost its industry after the conquest of that place by Ferdinand in 1487. The Muslim State of Valencia was also noted for its beautiful pottery all over Europe. The industry at Manis was an offshoot of Malaga. Drug pots and dishes, plates of all sizes, vases and other earthenware were made with Byzantine decorations or square *kufic* inscriptions, with the *Āfia* formula, meaning *prosperity*, a substitute for the sacred name *Allah*. In Arabic inscriptions, foliage, armoury, etc., were common. The colour in general was blue, ruby, violet, greenish or yellow. Christians, though they hated the Muslim religion, appreciated their arts. It was remarked by a Cardinal that "they (Muslims) lack our faith, but we lack their craftsmanship".

EGYPT AND SYRIA

Egypt and Syria were two countries which were noted like Iran and Mesopotamia for their glassware. Specimens of lustered pottery in North Africa, dated as early as the 10th century A.D., are extant. Fostat was built by Amir, son of As,

⁹⁴ Malaga: An important Spanish seaport on the Mediterranean, 65° north-east of Gibraltar. The Muslim castle here was built circa 13th century, on the site of a Phoenician stronghold; Malaga of the Romans; it was an important city under the Muslim rule, down to 1487, when it was captured by Ferdinand and Isabella.

⁹⁵ Valencia: Another seaport of Spain, on the Mediterranean; 200 miles south-west of Barcelona, by rail; famous for its university; Valencia tiles are still famous; taken by the Muslims in 715 A.D.; Suchet captured it in 1812.

the Conqueror of Egypt in 640 A.D. Kairawan in North Africa soon became another important centre of trade and learning in North Africa. In Syria, Racca, near Aleppo,⁹⁶ became a great centre for the ceramic arts. The excavations carried out here recently have thrown light not only on the pottery of Syria but also of Egypt and Iran. The other Syrian centre was Damascus, which has given its name to Damascus-ware in Europe. The so-called Damascus-ware consist of different kinds of pottery manufactured in the East and sold at high prices in the West. They exhibit the mixed influence of Syria, Iran and other Eastern countries. The ground is generally white, with brilliant colours, ornamented with floral or conventional designs. The Syrian manufactured glass bottles, vases, beakers,⁹⁷ etc., are found ornamented with coloured enamel and gold. These are considered to have been made by Syrian craftsmen as well as by Mesopotamian and Iranian settlers in Syria during the terrible invasion of these countries by the Moghals. Specimens of Damascus-ware are found in the British Museum and the Palace of Louvre in Paris. Syrian glass was much appreciated and found a ready market in the West. Among other things, there are beakers with the figure of Mary, Christ, St. Peter and St. Paul. Traces of Chinese influence from the 14th to the 16th centuries are not restricted to Iran, but extend to Syria, Egypt and other Muslim countries in the West. The earlier enamelled wares contain human figures, but in the later ones geometrical and floral designs predominate. Among the extant specimens of Egyptian pottery are a large vase painted in luster and found at Fostat (near Cairo), dated about the 11th century; an enamelled bottle with an inscription, bearing the name of a nobleman, under the rule of the Slave dynasty in Egypt; and an enamelled bowl in green, blue and red. The Egyptian wares were noted for their rich turquoise, blue and yellow glazes. They knew that by adding lead oxide to a glaze, it can be used on vessels made of clay.

TURKEY

Turkish pottery was thought to come originally from Iran, but afterwards it was proved to be the genuine work of Asia

⁹⁶ Aleppo: A town in North Syria; stands in a fruitful valley watered by the Kuweik; capital of a province; its fruit gardens are celebrated for their excellent plantations of pistachios; the city has numberless cupolas and monuments, clean, well-paved streets, and stately houses, all these making it one of the most beautiful cities in the East; till the discovery of the sea-route to India, it was a principal emporium of trade between Europe and Asia; an earthquake in 1882 devastated it greatly; it is still the principal emporium of the inland commerce of Northern Syria; the Jews here are a very wealthy community.

⁹⁷ Large drinking cups or glasses.

Minor and the islands in the Greek Sea, such as Rhodes, etc. Its rise was under the Seljukid kings and they reached their highest development during the 16th and 17th centuries, when Western, Central and Southern Asia enjoyed peace and prosperity under the powerful and art-loving Emperors of Turkey, Iran and India. Turkish pottery, which was the work of local people who were subjects of the great Sultans, possessed a white body painted with strong, brilliant colours—blue, turquoise, green or red—outlined with black and other colours and glazed with an alkaline deep glaze. In some cases, instead of white, bright red or some other colour was given to the body. Turkish pottery was distinguished from the Iranian by its design and colouring, although in some cases the Iranian arabesque and floral scroll were the same as in the Turkish. For instance, among flowers, the tulip, corn flower, lily, etc., imported from and known in Europe, were a Turkish peculiarity. Other Turkish designs were ships but rarely human figures. Glazed decorated tiles were used for covering walls in place of carpets which was common in Iran. Specimens of Turkish dishes, jugs, flower-holders, mosque lamps, etc., are numerous in Europe and Turkey. The tiles were manufactured at Nicæa, Kutaia, Damitoka, Lindus, Syria and several other places in Asia Minor. Turkish pottery deteriorated simultaneously with that of Iran from about the 18th century. Turkish bottles are decorated with the figures of birds and beasts on white or green ground. In Damascus, panels with remarkable natural lustre and beauty, floral forms, such as tulips, roses, etc., were painted. Turkish pottery, particularly those of Damascus and Asia Minor, were influenced by Iranian designs and in their turn have influenced European pottery. Constantinople, Brusa and several important cities of Turkey were the centres of trade and manufacture of pottery.

IRAN AND CENTRAL ASIA

Iran and Central Asia were great centres of Islamic art and learning. Iranian pottery was the most valued in Muslim countries. It influenced both the East and the West, and itself has been influenced by Chinese craftsmanship. Iran became the home for glazed tiles, with the fall of the Babylonian and Assyrian Empires, whom the Achæmenians of Iran (558-330 B.C.) succeeded as world rulers. The earliest specimens are dated between B.C. 560 and 480. The centre of pottery in ancient times must have been in the south and even outside of Iran proper—in Mesopotamia—which became the seat of Iranian rule for a long period of over one thousand years. Iranian and Central Asian pottery were not inferior to that of China; they even surpassed China in their ceramic forms. The potters did not receive any regular training outside of their homes and

their craft was carried on in accordance with family tradition and common sense. The designs were noted for their delicacy, tenderness, harmony of colours and proportion. The post-Islamic history of Iranian pottery may be divided into three main periods, viz., first, the Khilafat period, when the Arabs ruled in Iran; secondly, the period covered by the rule of the Samanids and the Seljukids; and thirdly, the period covered by the rule of the Safavids. Specimens of the first period are very few and show clear traces of Sassanian influence. In fact, the Arab Khilafat did not see any change in Iranian industry, the old Sassanian methods being continued. During the second period, the Khilafat declined and several semi-independent and independent Iranian dynasties came into being. The Samanid rulers of Transoxiana and East Iran were great patrons of learning and arts. The very few specimens of painting and other works of art of that period that have survived into our own times, show traces of Chinese influence, though it is not certain to what extent Iranians had set up intercourse with China in those days. The Seljukids, who followed Samanid and Ghaznavi rulers and established a great Empire, were also art-loving monarchs. Rei, not far away from the present capital of Iran, and Zanjan, were the two great centres of pottery. A dish, dated in the 12th century, is decorated with human figures in the dancing posture. The figures bear some resemblance to the Chinese features. Fragments of about the same date found in Central Asia, however, are distinguished by Iranian figures, in the absence of human or animal figures. In Iran, along with the glazed and painted, unglazed earthenware were also manufactured. During the Seljukid rule, that is, during the 11th and 12th centuries, beautiful earthenware with a white creamy body were made, specimens of which have been discovered. Decorative engravings are found admirably done in different colours—purple, green, blue and amber yellow. Rei remained the centre of pottery and lustred wares, till it was captured and destroyed by the Moghals. The earliest specimen found at Rei, dated in 1217, is a star-shaped tile ornamented with spotted hares. Another vase dated in 1231, and few tiles (with star and cross) from Verāmin dated in 1262, have also been discovered. The double-headed eagle, which was the badge of the Seljukid rulers of Iran, afterwards became a blazon of the Holy Roman Empire. Human figures, animals, hunting scenes, etc., are the chief characteristics of Iranian decoration. In some cases, foliage also have been found adopted. After the destruction of Rei, Sultanābād,⁹⁸ a city in west Iran, and Verāmin became centres

⁹⁸ Sultanābād : A town in the west of Iranian-Iraq, and capital of the province, with a famous carpet manufacturing industry.

for pottery. Specimens of jugs, jars, vases, as usual with human figures and animals and *kufic* characters with coverings of glazed tiles coloured in dark or turquoise blue, were common. The figures are painted in black outline. The establishment of the Moghal rule which began with the wholesale massacre of human beings and the destruction of cities, opened to the Iranians and Central Asiatics the way to the Chinese Empire. The new settlers became common subjects with the Chinese Moghal rulers whose Empire extended from the Pacific Ocean covering the whole of the Chinese Empire, Siberia, Central Asia, Iran and Russia up to Hungary in the West. By the mutual intercourse between China and Iran and Iran with China, Iranian arts revived, but this time more under Chinese than under Western influence. In some cases the figures of dragons, lotus flowers and Chinese physiognomical features are found.

Moghal rule was followed by the rule of their kinsmen, the Timurids, who were responsible for the future fuller development of art and industry during the Safavid rule, which is considered the golden period of arts in Iran. During the 16th century Iranian craftsmen were considered the best in the domain of decorative designs and colour, and for possessing a sense for forms appropriate to clay. Iranian wares were shaped from different mixtures decorated by human and animal figures, plants, such as the cypress, etc., conventional borders and Arabic inscriptions. Drawing was in outline with brown and black. Chinese influence continued during this period also, but the human features gradually became more Iranian and less Mongolian. Iranian pottery reached its zenith during the reign of Shah Abbas the Great (1587-1629), who had a passion for encouraging trade and industry in Iran. He had invited or encouraged a number of merchants and artists, both from Europe and China. These foreigners became teachers as regards their own designs and pupils in learning what new designs they could find in Iran. It is not surprising therefore we find Chinese porcelain of this period painted at King-La-Chen, with blue decoration in the Iranian style. The finest work in Iranian pottery belongs to the Seljukid and Timurid periods (11th to 14th centuries) though its greatest development took place between the 15th and 17th centuries. Owing to the similarity of designs and workmanship it is difficult to definitely distinguish between the products of Syria, Iran and Egypt. All more or less follow the same design, but the richness of colour and harmony and human figurine with hunting scenes might be considered as Iranian peculiarities. The remains of earthenware discovered in Rei and Egypt in many cases are in deep and light green and turquoise glazes containing lead and copper. Bowls, dishes and vases are ornamented with geometrical patterns or arabesque. Iranian porcelain was made by mixing

glass and pipe-clay, covered with soft lead glaze. It was manufactured in the form of bowls, saucers, dishes and other vessels coloured in delicate green or Iranian blue ground, in some cases decorated with lustre patterns. The decoration was affected with a colour produced by re-heating the finished glazed pieces at a low temperature. Among the early specimens of Iranian lustre are the tiles which decorated the mosques and the walls of public buildings. Besides the figures of men and animals, among which the hare and the deer are common, figures of women mounted or on foot, conventional foliage and arabesque have been discovered. The designs are mostly on the lustrated ground, relieved by curves, dots and small scrolls. The art of pottery was the pride of Iran since the 5th century B.C. or even earlier and its manufacture continued with great success during the Parthian and Sassanian periods of rule. The beautiful figures on arches and the colours on the tiles discovered at Susa show the remarkable workmanship of the Iranians in giving a metallic glint or lustrous sheen to the tiles manufactured by them. A few jars and bowls found from the Ash-hills at Urumiah⁹⁹ (North-West Iran) and the fragments found in Gilan and Talish are considered to be much older than the Achaemenian rule. In the *Avesta*, pottery is, among the few arts, mentioned. Among the Parthian remains discovered at Warka is a slipper coffin made of green glazed ware and decorated with human figurine. Sassanian sculpture at Taq-Bustam contains beautiful flower patterns, which must also be set down to the Iranians. Among the ruins of ancient *Atesh-kadah* (fire temples), near Ispahan, fragments of jars, bricks and earthenware vessels of the Sassanian period have been discovered, containing decorative figures and markings. The philosopher-poet Umar-e-Khayyam who frequently draws his illustrations from the life-work of a potter shows how common the art of pottery had become in his time. The manufacture of glass was also an ancient art in Iran, though in this industry the progress achieved was not impressively great. It has been mentioned in the *Avesta* (*Vendidad*, VIII-85) as *Yamopacika*. Specimens of glass made in ancient days have been discovered. Glass vials were found in the Warka ruins, while the glass portions of the gold-enamelled cup of Khusroe II, known as Parviz, are valuable as evidence of the flourishing condition of that industry. Glass vases, bottles, jars and urns of a bluish

⁹⁹ Urumiah : More properly *Oormee* ; a town in the province of Azerbaijan, 10 miles west of the lake of Urumiah, and S.-W. of the Caspian Sea. It is said to be Zoroaster's birthplace, and the seat of a Nestorian Bishop. The lake (4,500 feet above the sea) measures 90 miles by 25 ; contains numerous islands ; has no outlet, but many feeders, some 80 to 150 miles long ; is intensely salt ; and is only 12 to 40 feet deep.

colour of different periods have been found in different parts of Iran. Despite what we can infer from these remains, Iran cannot claim a high place in glass manufacture. Syria was another centre for glass manufacture. The colour of Iranian glass is in some cases bluish-green, brownish-yellow, purple and white. Bottles are made in various shapes, the most common being with twisted necks, and round or square bodies. Glass work to-day in Iran compares rather poorly with the improvements so evident in the West.

INDIA

Glazed tiles found in India had their origin in Iran and Central Asia. There is evidence to believe from the excavations of the Kanishkan period that this connection between India and Iran is much older even. This does not, however, mean that the arts were not practised in India prior to the advent of the Muslims into it. During the 10th and 11th centuries, the country round Khorasan (or East Iran), extending as far as Ghazni in the East, became the centre of the Samanid, Ghaznavid and finally the Seljukid power. Learning and arts were encouraged. The influence of Khorasan extended in the east as far as Samarqand and in the west to Baghdad. During the Ghaznavid rule glazed tiles became most probably a fashion in Ghazni. Though at first it was used by Muslim governors and nobles in the Punjab, during the period of the Timurid Emperors, their larger use in Indian buildings became common. Tiles of this kind made in India were, however, inferior to those made in Iran from the points of view of beauty and colour. Among the earliest specimens found are tiles of the key pattern in white and dark blue ground, found in the tomb of Baha-ul-Haq at Multan (1264-86). The tomb of Rukn-ud-din, the grandson of Baha-ul-Haq, also contains glazed tiles with panels of white ground. The Tantipani and Lotan mosques in Gaur, Bengal (1475 and 1480), are also decorated with glazed tiles. So is the palace of Rāja Mān Singh at Gwalior. Its outside wall is covered with the green painted tiles. These tiles were called Kāshi, from Kāshan, a city to the south of Teheran. They are found in the mosaic form on the tombs of Sher Shah and Humayun. They continued to be used by Emperor Akbar and his first three successors. The tile pictures inlaid in the walls of the fort at Lahore are among the most remarkable of tile works extant in the world. These are inlaid to a length of about 497 yards and a height of 17 yards, representing the polo game, elephant fights and other sporting scenes. The mosque of Lahore, built by Nazir Ali Khan, contains the most beautiful type of Kāshi tiles, still in good condition. The Chini-ka-Rauza in Agra, built during the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb, was also covered in

Kāshi tiles of blue, green, orange and other colours. The use of Kāshi tiles continued in India till the end of the 18th century, when the adoption of modern European styles of building caused a decline in its use. There were several places in India, noted for the manufacture of glazed tiles, such as Multan, etc. Glazed earthenware and tiles made in the Punjab, belonging to the 17th century and possessing human figures and hunting scenes, show traces of Iranian influence. The elephant, humped bulls and Indian floral designs are peculiar to India. The tile decoration in the Dagbir mosque and in the Mirza Jan Beg mosque, in Sindh (1509), are coloured in deep blue and pale turquoise blue on a white ground. They resemble those used in Multan.

TEXTILE FABRICS, CARPETS, ETC.

During the height of Islamic power, Muslim traders and craftsmen were, without distinction of creed or nationality, scattered through the different parts of Europe, Africa and Asia, from Spain in the West to China and the Pacific Islands in the East. Christians profited by partnership with Muslims as traders on land and overseas, and both were willing to pour their wealth of workmanship and experience into Europe. Muslim trade was under the control of the rulers and depended upon them for its protection and development. There was no organized system for collecting funds or joint trade or forming independent trading companies so common in modern Europe. Trade primarily depended on the strength and favour of the rulers. The textile products of Asia Minor, Syria, Iran and Central Asia were in great demand in Europe, where these articles, particularly silks and carpets, were greatly appreciated and purchased by nobles, kings and the clergy. A number of Europeanized names for the Eastern products are witness to this fact, such as *muslin* (from Musul in North Mesopotamia); *damask* (from Damascus); *baldachini* (from Baghdad); *cotton* (from Arabic Qutn); *fustian* (from Fustat, in Egypt); *taffeta* (from the Iranian word *Tafta*); *tabis* (from *At-tabic*, name of a silk manufacturing family in Baghdad), etc. The import of silk from the East to Europe was so extensive that Western workmen and traders thought it worthwhile to manufacture and compete with the Eastern exporters. Baghdad was one of the centres of silk industry, but after its fall, the way to China was opened, and a colony of Iranian and Central Asiatic Muslims was formed in China. Among those who emigrated to China were statesmen, military leaders, theologians, traders, and craftsmen. The last of these joined the silk weavers of China and between them produced the best quality of silk known to the East, a quality that was highly appreciated in Western countries. Iran was noted for its carpets and textiles from early times, dating back to the Achæmenian dynasty (B.C. 558-330). According to the Greek writer on the tomb

of Cyrus the Great,¹⁰⁰ the finest carpets were in use in Iran. From 120 A.D. the silk trade between China and Europe fell into the hands of the Iranians. The Romans, who were the rivals of the Iranians, tried to find a direct route for trading with the East through the help of the King of Abyssinia, who professed the Christian religion. Having proved not quite successful in this attempt, Emperor Justinian despatched two Iranian Christian monks to China. They succeeded in learning all about silk rearing and manufacture of silk, and returned to Rome to disseminate what they had learnt. Once again they were sent to China. This time they took home a quantity of eggs concealed in the hollow of their bamboo sticks. During the Sassanian period, trade rivalry was keen between Iran and the Roman Empire. Iranians had silk looms at Madāyan, situated to the south of modern Baghdad, Tabriz and other places in Iran. The Romans also had centres at Damascus and other places in Syria. When these cities were captured by the Arabs, the silk industry continued to flourish under their rule at Baghdad, Alexandria, Aleppo, Damascus and Tabriz. Afterwards, Sicily also became an important place for Muslim silk trade. Iran being well situated as a highway between the occidental and oriental countries, and sea voyages being considered dangerous and risky, the route through Iran continued to remain the caravan route from Egypt and Syria, carrying goods to India and China, and among the articles of trade thus carried on, silk was the most important. The Iranians showed a cultivated taste in textile designing. Birds, trees, mythological animals and the like continued to be introduced as decoration during the rule of Muslim Arabs as well. There are specimens of Sassanian silk in many of the European museums and churches. The ground colour in some cases is found to be plain green, said to be the Royal Sassanian colour, and adopted later by the Sayyeds (descendants of the Prophet through Fatima his daughter). The Iranians, after their conversion to Islam, retained some of their old customs. Among these was the use of the pictorial art, which continued to be followed and made use of at every turn possible and in every possible place except in mosques and shrines. The history of Post-Islamic textile art may be divided into the following periods:—Under the Arab Khilafat in West Asia, North Africa and Spain; trade and industry reached its zenith during the Abbaside rule in Iran; in Africa during the Fatemid rule; and in Spain during the Umayyads and other Arab dynasties. The

¹⁰⁰ Cyrus the Great (or the Elder) was the founder of the Iranian Empire (B.C. 560-329); became master of all Western Asia; a man of great energy and generosity; left the nations he subjected and rendered tributary, free in the observances and the maintenance of their institutions.

earliest specimen of silk known is in the palace at Louvre in Paris. It was woven in the 10th century in a city of the Khorasan Province. Its design clearly shows traces of Sassanian style. There is also another piece of silk, dated in the 11th century, containing animal figures, and several pieces discovered in the ruins of Rei (near Teheran), dated between the 11th and the 12th centuries, when the Seljukids ruled over Iran. These show a slight change in design, being an improvement on the older one. The Mongol invasion under Chengiz, though a great calamity to the culture of Islam in one respect, it at least offered as compensation by opening up the way to China. As already stated, a number of Muslims from Iran and Central Asia went over to China and settled in that country. The Timurid princes, who were successors of the Chengiz dynasty in Iran, were great patrons of arts and industries. Under their rule, the industry in the East revived. The old designs were given up and new patterns, under Chinese influence, became the fashion of the day. The Safavids followed the policy of Timurids but their contemporary rulers in India surpassed them in patronising arts. A variety of silks and velvets were manufactured in Iran and exported to the West. The centres of weaving the industry were Yazd, Kāshān (where velvets were made), Rasht and Ispahan. All these cities are still noted for the manufacture of cotton, woollen and silk goods. The designs were the same as before, with changes in dresses and in the features of men and women, which became more Iranian and less Chinese. The common figures for ornamentation were scenes taken from court and hunting scenes, gardens with *cypress trees and flowers such as the tulip, rose, iris, hyacinth*, etc. Among the animals, the *gazelle, hare, leopard and parrot* were common. The head dress was the same as worn during the reign of Shah Tahmasp and Shah Abbas the Great. The romantic stories of Khusroe II, his queen Shirin and his rival lover Farhād, Majnun and Laila, were also illustrated from the romantic poetry of Nizami. Colours were various and the use of the metal thread was the fashion. In embroidery, Muslims in Syria, Iran and India had made considerable advance. The Iranian type in embroidery was marked by elaborate geometrical patterns. The other articles for which this period is noted were curtains, bath mats with floral designs in coloured silks exported to India and Europe, and printed cotton known as *Qalam-ka* (the work of the pen) which was introduced by Iran into different parts of India, also, embroidered women's trousering known as *Naqsha*, with floral patterns.

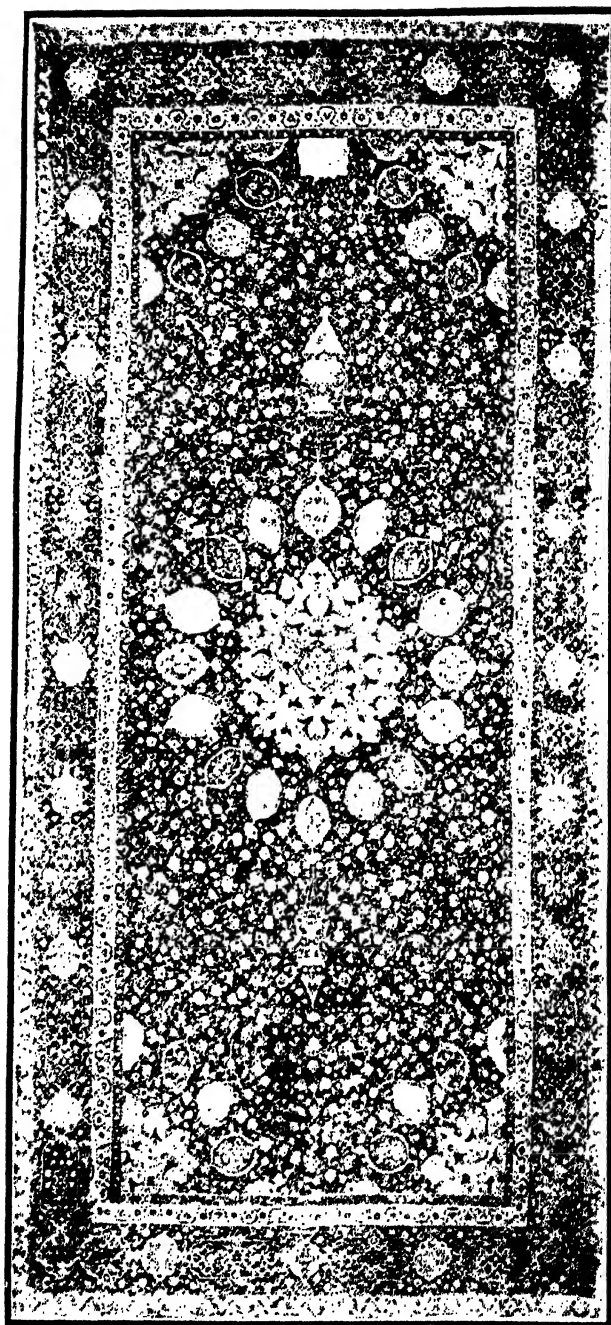
CARPETS

The exact nature of the Pre-Islamic Iranian carpet is not known in any detail. The industry in Iran is as old as the

time when the *Avesta* was composed. According to Herodotus and other Greek writers, Iran was famous for the production of articles of luxury, in which the carpet was included. The garden carpet of the Sassanian King Khusroe I, woven in about the 6th century A.D., (which was plundered with the treasure of Sassanian kings and brought to Medina by Arab conquerors), was considered a masterpiece of its kind. The fineness of the Iranian carpet was well known in the Roman Empire. The chief characteristics of Iranian carpets was the perfection of the harmony of colours, design and workmanship. During the Khilafat of the Abbasides, the carpet industry was revived and patronized by the Khalifs, who, following the Iranian custom, used to adorn their palaces, floors and walls with carpets. In shape, there was a great variety, from a tiny piece of 1½ square foot to a length and breadth of several yards. Oblong was in general the shape, but square and rectangular shapes were also in general use. The colours were rich and deep in tone. Blue or crimson ground was preferred. Yellow-reds, white, green and brown were few. The material used was wool and cotton but silk carpets with gold and silver thread were woven to special orders received from the nobility. The design was generally based upon imaginary floral motives, geometrical patterns, figures of men, of animals, birds, gardens, trees, flower beds, paths, ponds, hunting scenes, pictures of legendary heroes, kings, nobles, ladies and other objects which appealed to the human imagination. The two ends of a carpet were made up of borders. Some contained a form of the vase in the centre. These were called *vase carpets*. The centres of the Iranian carpet industry were Ispahan (noted for its animal design), *Joshagan*, of the vase type, Kirmanshah, Qum, Fera-han, Kurdistan, Kirman, Herat and Khorasan. Baluchi carpets are rough but strong. They are exported to India. Carpets in modern Iran (as in ancient days) are used not only for covering the bare ground but also as decoration hanging on the walls. The present Shah, Raza Pahlavi, is a great patron of the carpet industry and his Government are trying to preserve the integrity and prestige of Iranian carpets. Soft, white and coloured felts for mats, head dress, cloaks and saddle are made in Iran, Central Asia and Turkey. The word *nemata* (*Vend.*, III-1) is in modern Iranian *Namad* (felt). It is made everywhere in Iran, particularly at Hamadan, Ispahan and Yazd. Shawls, richly embroidered with elaborate designs, are made at Kirman and other places in Iran. Carpets made in Asia Minor (*Usak*), Syria, Afghanistan and Central Asia and North-West India are of the more orthodox type, having geometric patterns and angular forms or some other symbols, excluding figures.



LINEN PRAYER CARPET—FLORAL PATTERN



CUT FILE PERSIAN CARPET (Very Fine Pattern)

(Known as the Holy Carpet at Ardabil Mosque)

SILK AND CARPET INDUSTRY IN INDIA

Muslims though they did not introduce the manufacture of silk into India, influenced its ornamentation. For instance, the *Kimkhab* of Ahmedabad and Benares possess a mixture of Indo-Muslim designs. As the Arab rulers of Spain invited and introduced colonies of Iranians and Western Asiatics, including, perhaps, Indian craftsmen to help them in their architecture, the Muslim rulers of India, specially the Timurids, encouraged Central Asiatic and Iranian workmen to assist them in carrying out various works of art, industry and architecture. The principal centres of the silk industry in India, worked both by Muslim and Hindu workmen, were many. Amritsar and Multan, for instance, imported raw silk from Khorasan and Bokhara and manufactured silk fabrics of very fine quality. The other places were Bhawalpore, noted for its Damasked silk¹⁰¹; Peshawar, Kashmir, where all kinds of silk goods were manufactured; and Murshidabad, Benares, etc., whose fabrics are still famous all over India and outside of it. At present, fine silk goods, though less in demand than the imported varieties from Europe and China, are manufactured both in the North and South of India. Raw silk was until recently imported into South India from Bokhara, Khorasan and Basra, but now Chinese and Japanese competition has succeeded in killing the import trade in Central Asiatic and Mesopotamian raw material. The history of the Indian carpet industry is traced back to Iranian origin. The Moghal Emperors were responsible for giving encouragement to it in Northern India. The designs and even the weavers were either Iranian or Central Asiatics, but in India, owing to climatic conditions, this industry did not develop to its perfection. Several centres for carpets were established and worked both by Hindus and Muslims, such as in Kashmir, Punjab, Sindh and Agra in the U.P., Mirzapur, Jubbulpur, Malabar, etc. The Indian damascened work or art of encrusting one metal on another, such as gold and silver on iron, steel or bronze, took its name from Damascus, where it was done to a high perfection. In India, it is called *Kuft* (hammering) work by Muslims. It is in vogue in various parts of India, specially at Bidar (H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions) and hence it is named *Bidri* work. The celebrated Chintz of Masulipatam possess designs from life and flowers. Mixed silk-cotton goods, known as *mushroe* (lawful) and *sufi* (Sufistic) made in India, show traces of Muslim origin. They were made to the special order of the Muslim orthodox, who could not use pure silk,

¹⁰¹ This kind of silk takes its name after Damascus; it signifies a fabric of various materials, of silk and linen especially, ornamented with raised figures of flowers, etc., hence *pin* colour, like that of the damask rose.

being forbidden by tradition from the days of the Prophet. Indian silk was also exported to foreign countries. According to the French traveller Tavernier, Kasim Bazar silk, like that of Iran, was yellow, but they bleached it with a lye made from the ashes of the plantain tree. The most prosperous period of the Indian industry during Muslim rule was during the reign of the first six great Moghal Emperors. In Iran and Turkey, the industry flourished during the reigns of the wise and powerful kings of the Safavid and the Ottoman Sultans.

METAL WORK AND JEWELLERY

The history of Muslim arts in metal work may be divided into two divisions, viz., Pre-Moghal and Post-Moghal. In the Pre-Moghal period, Greek, Byzantine and Sassanian influences are predominant, though in the reign of the Seljukids and even the Samanids, the Chinese types of figures seem also to have crept into Central Asian and Iranian art. The Post-Moghal period is noted for Chinese influence in everything, for example, in the features of men and women, dress, landscape, etc. By the establishment of the Turkish power in the West, the Safavid in the East and the Timurid in India, features of the genuine native type became predominant.

The Muslims of Spain were noted for the manufacture of fine swords and iron keys. A wooden casket in the Cathedral at Geneva contains silver gilded carvings made for the Khalif Hakim (961-76 A.D.) by one Badr of Cordova. The Fatemid Khalifs of Egypt were noted for hoarding large quantities of iron, golden and silver utensils, such as inkstands, chess-men, parasol-handles, vases, golden trees with buds made of gold and ornamented with jewels, etc. Nasir Khusroe, the Iranian philosopher and poet, gives a description of the furniture of the Fatemid palace in his work entitled *Safar Nama*. With regard to the throne, he writes that its beauty as a work of art was beyond description. Specimens of early copper utensils are extant in sufficient numbers to enable us to gauge the merits of their makers. Among these is a large griffin (in Compo Santo at Pisa). Its neck and back are engraved, the back showing a covering decorated with round spots; its border containing *kufic* inscriptions; while on its legs, we have engravings of lions and falcons. It is a beautiful specimen of Muslim art. A brass ewer (now in the British Museum) contains carvings of geometric patterns, flowers, and figures of men and women in various poses, for example, a king holding his court, a person hunting, riding on horse, drinking wine, or playing on musical instruments. Sassanian influence in the matter of figures and Chinese in features are predominant. An inscription at the lower end of its neck gives the date 600 A.H.

or 1232 A.D. The ewer was made at Mosul (in north Mesopotamia) which had a copper mine in its vicinity and was known for its copper vessels. A writing case (also in the British Museum), dated in the 13th century, is inlaid with gold and silver and decorated by the 12 signs of zodiac and the seven planets with a human-faced sun in the centre. Other metal works include candle-sticks, dishes, mortars, celestial globes, astronomical instruments, *Quran* boxes and astrolabes made in Muslim countries and exported to Europe. Among the early-made astrolabes is the one made by Ahmad, the son of Ibrahim of Ispahan, and Mahmud in 984 A.D., now at Oxford. The earliest specimens of Iranian metal work are the silver dishes made during the rule of the Sassanian dynasty. These are decorated with hunting scenes and the winged dragon, with borders of leafy scrolls or joined hearts. In some, the ground is plain, containing an animal figure in the centre. The ewers are decorated in the same manner with, in some cases, what seem Grecian figures and, in others with what resemble Chinese figures. King Khusroe II of Iran, in the relief at Taq-e-Bastam, near Kermanshah, is wearing a robe with the figure of a winged dragon, which must be what appears in the Sassanian Coat-of-Arms. The story current among Iranians is that the serpent (or winged dragon) guards the hidden treasure. This explanation may have some reference to the Sassanian Coat-of-Arms or badge, in common use all over the East. Bronze ewers of the Sassanian period are also found in different parts of Europe and Western Asia. During the early days of Islam, the Sassanian style persisted and therefore metal utensils of the early Islamic period cannot be easily distinguished from those of an earlier period. But the shape undergoes gradual change. Ewers of the 10th century A.D. possess handles on their bodies and not at the top as in the Sassanian period. Sometimes they are made in the form of animals. Ewers and candle-sticks were ornamented by figures of birds or beasts round the rim or the body. Bronze vessels of the 12th century (Seljukid period) were engraved with arabesque and animal figures and *kufic* inscriptions in all parts of Iran, from Hamadan in the West upto Samarqand in the East. The inlaying work was done on copper, silver and gold. Gilding was added to heighten the contrast between the surface and the decorated portion. The vessels made in the Seljukid period are noted for the beauty of their designs and form. The human figures on some vessels seem to wear Arabian costumes, with turban, girded with *shawls*, while the language used in the inscriptions is Arabic, though the makers were Iranians. All this shows the extent of Arab influence during the early days of the Abbaside Khilafat. As artists and craftsmen used to travel to distant countries under Muslim rule to

seek their fortunes, there was constant interchange of such men from one country to another. The majority of such adventurers belonged to Spain in the West and to Iran, including Central Asia in the East. Hence it is difficult to ascertain the nationality of unknown artists entirely from what they have left behind them. During early Moghal rule, activity in metal work ceased. Perhaps it was due to the migration of a large number of workmen who, to save themselves from the massacre of the Moghals, left for India and Egypt. But the rule of the Timurids in Iran helped towards the return and resettlement of a few of these, especially those who could afford to do so. Arts and industries revived, there was activity in all directions with a change in the form and style of the decorations employed. The figures throughout the Timurid period and the beginning of the Safavid rule are distinctly Chinese in features and dress, graceful with long, flowing robes, small eyes and mouth, slender feminine bodies, and a new head dress. Even the landscape is Chinese. The only unchanged subject is the exhibition of the court and the hunting scenes and the illustrations taken from the romantic poem of Nizami and the *Shah Nama* of Firdausi. The Arab influence is not to be seen even in the inscriptions, Iranian being substituted for Arabic and *Naskh* or *Nastaliq* handwriting for the *kufic*. By the firm establishment of the Safavids, the Chinese features and dress were gradually changed into indigenous Iranian. The same process repeated itself in India, where pure Iranian designs were given up and a mixture of the Indo-Iranian was adopted. This change is seen in carpet and metal work as well as in painting. The steel inlay in Iran consisted of inscriptions inlaid in gold or delicate arabesque. The Indian metal work reached a high degree of development before the Muslim conquest; hence the Muslim contribution to this art was not considerable, except to the extent that the new designs were appreciated by Muslim rulers and noblemen from the West. The so-called Damascened work or the art of encrusting one metal on another by hammering, which has taken its name from Damascus, might be said to be a western introduction into India. In Damascened work, gold or silver wire was encrusted on the surface of iron, steel or bronze. This art was also practised in Spain, Egypt and Iran. In India it was called *Kuft*, which means 'hammered' in Iranian. This was, as noted above, made in several places in India, particularly at Bidar, in the Nizam's Dominions, and hence in Deccan it is called *Bidri* work. Jewellery is a sign of Royal grandeur in the East. Almost all sovereigns of the early times in Iran and India had a passion for hoarding, preserving and using jewels. The simplicity of the first few Arab Khalifs prevented this habit, but the establishment of indigenous dynasties all over Iran and Central Asia

revived the old custom, which reached to its zenith in the 16th and 19th centuries. Among the Moghal rulers of India, Humayun and Akbar collected a large number of jewels. The last-named possessed about forty million pounds worth of jewels and Jahangir possessed half a maund of unset diamonds, 12 maunds of pearls, 2 maunds of rubies, 5 maunds of emeralds and one maund of jade. Shah Jahan had even much larger quantities of these, while the pious Aurangzeb did not prove an exception to this rule. A large quantity of the jewels thus hoarded was carried off from Muhammad Shah by Nadir Shah, King of Iran. The Turkish Sultans, though they did not use jewels so lavishly as the Moghal Emperors, possessed considerable quantities of precious stones. The chief benefit derived by the hoarding of jewellery or precious stones was that it gave an impetus to the cutting and setting of stones and harmonizing them in different colours and covering them into Royal ornaments. In this particular industry, Iran and India became leading countries. According to Tavernier, the French traveller in India, there were several diamond mines worked under the Moghals and the Muslim rulers of Deccan. Among these were Raolkonda Mines, about 120 miles from Golkonda, within the Karnatak, and under the rule of the Kings of Bijapur. Others were situated at Kollur, Sambalpur, etc. There were diamond cutters who worked on steel wheels. The polish given by them, according to Tavernier, was not so perfect as it was achieved in Europe at the time. Foreign visitors were permitted into mines and treated with courtesy. A royalty of two per cent. was paid to the government by those who worked the mines. An Iranian turquoise mine was situated near Nishapur in Khorasan. There were also mines of the same stone in Farghana and Khujend. Emeralds were obtained from Egypt and pearls from the Persian Gulf. The famous *Kuh-e-Nur* diamond was found in the Kollur Mine in the present Krishna District, Madras Presidency, about the year 1656, and presented by Mir Jumla to Shah Jahan. It was carried off by Nadir Shah, and after his death, it was presented by his grandson Shah Rukh to Ahmad Shah Abdali, whose descendant Shah Shuja had to surrender it to Ranjit Singh of Punjab, whose grandson in turn had to give it away to the British victors of the Punjab.

FIGURE SCULPTURE AND LATTICE

The contribution of Muslims to the work of sculpture, compared with their other art work is strikingly limited. A few animal figures cut in stone or made in bronze or other metals are found in the palace of Alhambra in Spain and among the ruins of Egypt and Syria. Indian and Iranian Aryans, after embracing Islam, achieved little in the domain

of sculpture. The oldest identified specimen of Iranian work in sculpture, excluding the bronze figures found in Susa and the stone lion at Hamadan, is the bas-relief figure of Cyrus the Great, considered by some writers as that of Cyrus the Younger, in which case it would be of a date later than the work at Persepolis. The Achæmenian and Sassanian periods are rich with sculpture, and so is India in her Pre-Islamic period. Since the extension of Muslim rule into it, Iran has produced nothing in this line, excepting the feeble attempt made by Fateh Ali Shah (1798-1835) and his successors, who have left a few monuments in imitation of what has come down from the time of the Sassanian kings. In India, Emperor Akbar and his son Jahangir made feeble though bold attempts in patronizing the making of statues of certain kings and figures of animals such as elephants, etc., in stone. Muslim contribution to lattice or pierced stone screen, which was already known to Indian workmen, is considerable. Numerous geometrical patterns were invented and worked up in a manner at once beautiful and attractive to the sight. The best specimens of such work are to be seen in the semi-circular windows of the Sidi Sayyed mosque at Ahmadabad (1500 A.D.) cut in Gujarat marble stone. The verandah of the tomb of Salim Chisti (Fatehpur Sikri) and the railing round the cenotaph in the Tajmahal are other examples of a not unworthy kind. The lattice work is now both common and popular.

PAINTING AND DRAWING

Painting among the nations that embraced Islam, such as Spanish, Egyptian, Syrian, Iranian, Chinese and Indian, has had a glorious past. With most of them, art and architecture were parts of religion. The Arab Khalifs encouraged architecture and perfected it, but could help little in the matter of the development of painting and sculpture. Pre-Islamic Arabia had very little of art, particularly Hejaz. Their great temple at Mecca had many idols; but there were only one or two places in it—on the inner walls—decorated with the likeness of Abraham, their great ancestor. These, too, were erased by the order of the Prophet. The Umayyads and Abbasides in the East and the Khalifs of Spain in the West caused the walls of their palaces to be decorated with floral designs, and even with the paintings of human figures. But even they could not encourage the art, for, it being against the spirit and doctrine of Islam, at least as interpreted by Muslim theologians, they found it hard to actively encourage it. The only specimens which survived his period is a manuscript of Hariri's¹⁰² tales.

¹⁰² Hariri : An Arab philologist and poet of the 11th century ; born at Basra ; celebrated far and wide as the author of *Makameat*, a collection of tales in verse, the central figure in which is one

dated in 1237 A.D., in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris, in which, besides animal representations, plants and vegetation in conventional forms are drawn. The revival of painting in Iran took place with the renaissance of Iranian literature. The Samanian dynasty were Iranians and therefore encouraged indigenous literature. Their dominion extended to Chinese Turkestan, which was the centre of Manichæism.¹⁰³ Mani, the founder of this religion, was, according to Iranian tradition, a famous painter. This supposition may or may not be true, but his followers used to adorn their sacred writings with paintings, specimens of which have been discovered at Turfan, in Chinese Turkestan, by Professor Von Le Coq. These are dated about the 8th century A.D., a hundred or fifty years before the establishment of Samanid dynasty. The great Iranian epic *Shah Nama*¹⁰⁴ was composed towards the end of Samanid rule and it must have been richly illustrated by pictures of heroes and legendary kings. Such paintings were extended to works on fiction and romance under the rule of the Seljukids, though under protest and even the open opposition of the orthodox classes.

The following were the subjects of paintings :—

(1) *Quran* and other important books with handsome frontispiece and borders of pages adorned with floral and arabesque designs in gold and colours.

(2) Works on history, such as *Shah Nama*, adorned with portraits of legendary kings, heroes, hunting and battle scenes, killing of dragons, illustrations from the sacred stories illustrating the life of the Prophet and the heroic deeds of Ali, the fourth Khalif.

(3) Works of fiction, such as the five romantic poems of Nizami or that of Jami.

Abu Seid, a clever and amusing production, and evincing a unique mastery of Arabic.

¹⁰³ Manichæism : The creed which ascribes the created universe to two antagonistic principles, the one essentially good—God, spirit, light; the other essentially evil—the Devil, matter, darkness; and this name is applied to every system founded on the like dualism. Mani, the founder of it, appears to have derived his system in great part from Zoroaster.

¹⁰⁴ *Shah Nama* : By Firdusi, or Firdausi, the pseudonym of Abu'l Kasim Mansur, the great poet of Iran; born near Tus in Khorasan; flourished in the 10th century A.D. (b. according to some in 935 A.D. or 941 A.D. according to others and died in 1020 A.D.); spent thirty years in writing the *Shah Nama*, a national epic but having been cheated out of the reward promised by Sultan Muhammad, he gave vent to bitter satire against his Royal master and fled from the court; for some time, he led a wandering life till, at length, he returned to his birthplace where he died; complete translations of his great poem are now available in French and English.

(4) Paintings, illustrating scenes in battlefields, mosques, mountains, picnics, etc.

(5) Pictures of beasts, birds and other animals, such as horses, deer, camel, hare, antelope, wild asses, etc.

(6) Portraits of the reigning king, nobles in robes of variegated colours, and notabilities.

(7) Gardens, waterfalls, illustrations from the *Old* and the *New Testaments*. The ascent of the Prophet to heaven, etc.

Considerable skill was shown in the drawing of delicate flowing lines ; in seeing harmony of colours by skilful strokes of the brush ; in translating the complex branchings and richness of flower plants, fantastic rocks, blossoming shrubs, decorated thrones, fountains, streams, ponds ; in showing the contrast of the ground colour with the colour given to the subjects of painting ; in the introduction of fabulous creatures, angels, arabesque designs and generally in the expression of life itself. Central Asia, including Iran, India and Turkey, became the chief centres for Muslim art. Chinese Muslims developed neither individual artistic distinction nor innovation. They followed the same style of painting as their non-Muslim brethren. The leading artists of Islam were Iranians. Though the Mongols, who invaded Iran under Chengiz and became notorious as the great enemies of mankind, possessed many faults, they have to be remembered from the point of view of art. They were doubtless a set of barbarous folk who killed men and women, plundered cities and destroyed all vestiges of civilization. They, however, proved themselves great friends of art ; they also opened the way to Iranians to China. The revival of arts and industries took place during the reign of Timur and his descendants, and developed to perfection in the 16th and 17th centuries under the national rule of the Safavids and the Timurids in India. The Timurids made India their second home, and the impetus which they gave to Indian arts and architecture is the best monument of their rule. The Iranian strength in painting is its power of assimilation and imitation of different non-Iranian influences, and combining them into one homogeneous style, making each piece a distinctly Iranian production, much like what one finds at Persepolis or among the relics of the Parthians and Sassanians in different parts of Iran. Iranian artists were influenced both from the East and the West. For instance, during the rule of Achæmenian, Parthian and Sassanian kings, when the capital of the Empire was in Mesopotamia, Western influence was predominant. When, however, the centre shifted towards the East under the Samanids, the Ghaznevids, the Seljukids and the Moghals, the Eastern style in all things became prominent. Again, under the Safavids and the Qajar kings, the West gained the upper hand. Thus, the political conditions of the

country contributed largely towards the cultural development of the people. Unlike Egyptians and Indians, Iranians made their religion more and more abstract and placed the Deity beyond the approach of human knowledge. Their kings were respected and obeyed but were considered, at the same time, as ordinary human beings, and not gods or in any way related to the gods. They influenced Muslim art in Spain and India, and themselves have been influenced by the Greeks, Romans and Chinese. The Iranian blue in the domain of textiles was so well known that it was referred to as "Pers"¹⁰⁵ in Europe. Their great art of fine handwriting was developed to such an extent that a good calligraphist was considered a more perfect artist than a painter. Under the Seljukids, Chinese influence became common. In arts, it is apparent in the specimens of illustration to be seen in the MS. that has come down to us containing the *Fables of Bidpay* in an album now at Constantinople, dated the 12th century.¹⁰⁶ The fragments of a history entitled *Jama-ut-tawarikh* by Rashid-ud-din, the Iranian minister, to one of the Moghal rulers of Iran, now in the Royal Asiatic Society at London and the Edinburgh University Library, written at Tabriz, is dated in 1396 A.D. and contains numerous paintings. There is also a manuscript in the British Museum, entitled the *Story of Hurvâi and Humâyun* by Khvaju of Kirman, dated in 1396, with painted

¹⁰⁵ *Pers*: short for Persia; the name *Persia*, which denotes the country inhabited in antiquity as *Persis*, the modern Fars. Custom has extended the name to the whole Iranian plateau. The whole country was in ancient times designated *Ariana* (Zend. *Ariyana*) "the land of the Aryans"—the original of the Middle-Persian *Iran*, and the modern Iran. This name has been restored to the country by a recent order of the present Shah.

¹⁰⁶ The *Fables of Bidpay* were originally translated from the Sanskrit into Pahlavi; then into Arabic; and finally into classical Iranian: the Pahlavi translation was made by an Iranian physician named Barzoi, by command of the Sassanian king Khusroe Anushirvan (531-79 A.D.). The Syriac one from it was made about 570 A.D., and was called *Kalilag* and *Damnag*. The Arabic translation from Pahlavi, called *Kalilah* and *Dimnah*, or the "*Fables of Pilpay*", was made in the 8th century A.D. by an Iranian convert to Islam, who died about 760 A.D. In this translation, a wicked king is represented to be reclaimed by a Brahmin philosopher named *Bidbah*, another form of *Vidyapati*, or "Master of Sciences". From this word is derived the modern *Bidpai*, or *Pilpay*, the name given to the tales, though it is not a proper name at all. The Arabic version is important as it exercised great influence over mediæval Europe. There are versions of it in Syriac (1000 A.D.); Greek (1180); Iranian (1130); recast later in the same language under the title of *Anvar-i-Suhaili*, or the *Lights of Canopus* (1494); old Spanish (1251); the Hebrew (1250); Latin, by Folio of Capua, from the Hebrew version (1270); German from the Latin (1481); Italian, from the German (1552); and the English, from the Italian, by Sir Thomas North (1570). The last of these was separated from

illustrations. Chinese influence reached its zenith in the 13th and 14th centuries, and gradually gave way to the genuine indigenous features in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries. European influence became apparent from the 18th century. The greatest Muslim artists flourished during the 15th and 16th centuries. They were particularly masters in painting human beings, animals, etc. Their skill is largely visible in the richness of decoration they indulged in, in the details they worked out and in the harmony of colours they evolved, in illustrating plants and flowers detached from each other with their particular features and beauty and in the representation of mountains, clouds, rocks, sky and birds. The distinction between distant and close objects was, however, not observed; nor was particular attention given to light and shade, so common a feature in the work of modern European artists. Iran, India and Turkey are the three countries which represented the best artistic activity of this period.

THE LEADING ARTISTS

First among the leading artists was Kamal-ud-din-Behzad, born in the middle of the 15th century, just before the birth of the celebrated Italian painter Raphael¹⁰⁷ (1483-1520). The exact dates of his birth and death are not known. He began his career as artist under the last Timurid Shah of Iran and died at Tabriz, full of age and honours, at the end of the reign of Shah Ismail, if not in the beginning of Shah Tahmasp's reign. Next to Mani, he is considered by Iranians as the greatest of Iranian artists, ancient or modern. He was known for his delicacy of line, brilliancy and harmony of colours and expression of life. He could retain the brightness of colours and make his picture appear most beautiful to the eyes. His human and animal expressions of life are perfect. They have scarcely been imitated by other painters. His designs are original and

the Indian by five intervening translations and a thousand years of time. The story of this migration of Indian fables has been termed "the most romantic chapter in the literary history of the world". See *Sanskrit Literature*, by A. A. Macdonell, page 417.

¹⁰⁷ Raphael, Santi (1483-1520): Was a celebrated painter, sculptor and architect. born at Urbino; son of a painter: studied under Perugino for several years; visited Florence in 1504 and lived there till 1508; invited to Rome by Pope Julius II, where he lived the rest of his life and founded a school, several members of which became eminent artists; one of the greatest artists, his works being numerous and varied, including frescoes, cartoons, madonnas, portraits, easel pictures, drawings, etc., besides sculpture and architectural designs, and all within the brief period of 37 years; he had nearly finished "The Transfiguration", when he died of fever. He was what might be called a learned artist, his works being the fruits of the study of the masters that preceded him.

attractive, perfect in appropriateness of colours and dramatic expressiveness. His best illustrations are from Nizami's¹⁰⁸ famous romantic poetry. He was appointed Director of the Public Library at Tabriz, which appointment he retained till his death. His style was followed by a number of great artists, who became celebrated painters of Iranian miniatures. Iranian art is romantic, illustrating as it does personages, plants, and flowers in perfect shape and colour. Severity is, however, lacking in them. Unlike Europe and India, whose art is chiefly based on religious motifs, Iranian artists follow their predecessors in taking up scenes full of love and passion, adventure, warfare, hunting, or enjoyment. They are not concerned with abstract ideas, nor are they deep observers of Nature. Hence, pure landscape is absent in Iranian art. There is even a lack of illustration from mystic poetry, in which Iranian poets held the foremost rank in Western Asia. They endeavoured most in perfecting the means of expression, and following an accepted formula which had come to them from their predecessors, and these they made to reach the most perfect stage. There is elegance and refinement but no depth. Iranian painters and poets depended on the favour of emperors, kings, and nobles for appreciation of their talents and therefore if they could not find satisfactory encouragement at one court, they used to look to another for such appreciation. This was characteristic of Iranian poets, whom we find at one time in India and at another at Constantinople and even in the Far West.

¹⁰⁸ Nizami : 1141 A.D.-1203 A.D.: Also called Nizam-ud-din, or Nizami of Ganja, in Arran, now Elizavettpol, where he spent almost all his days. Devoted himself to a stern ascetic life; fervently loved solitude and meditation, of which there are numerous traces in his writings. He was rescued from his monkish idleness by his inborn genius, which claimed him partly to poetry and partly to the legitimate enjoyments of life and the appreciation of the beauties of nature of his works. *Makhzanul Asrar* is mainly devoted to philosophic meditations in which Sufism is predominant, though there is evidence of his love of epic poetry in it. His first epic masterpiece was *Khosru and Shirin*, which depicts the love of Shah Khosran Parviz to princess Shirin of Armenia. For wonderful delineation of character and brilliant painting of human affections, especially of the joys and sorrows of a loving and beloved heart, he has not been excelled in the whole range of Iranian literature except perhaps by Firdusi and Fakhr-ud-din Asad Jorjāni. In *Laila and Majnun*, we have a wonderful rendering of the famous Bedouin love-story. His *Iskandarnāma* (the *Book of Alexander*), is also well known, especially his reason of the frequent Sufic allegories with which it is interspersed. His last romantic poem *Haft Paikar* (The *Seven Beauties*) comprises of seven tales narrated by the seven favourite wives of the Sassanian King Bapramgār. The fourth of these stories was adopted by Schiller for the German stage. He also completed a *Diwan* (of *Kasidas* and *ghazals*) of which a few copies have come to us.

BEHZAD'S PAINTINGS

Among the supposed paintings of Behzad are the following:—

(1) A garden scene.—Carpets are spread. Men play on various musical instruments; there is drinking of wine, and the roasting of meat.

(2) A picnic scene.—Some men and women holding up wine bottles and drinking wine; representation of beautiful flower trees; there are ladies among them, one holding a hawk on her hand, and others rose flowers; the walls of the buildings shown are decorated with inscriptions at the top edge and with a flower design in the centre.

(3) Paradise.—Angels (or men with wings) dancing, playing on musical instruments, sitting on the branches of trees, rocks, etc.

(4) King Yima (Jam-Shed).—Holding *darbar* and teaching the various crafts to his subjects. A representation from the *Shah Nama*.

(5) A sick lady lying on bed.—An attender is holding a spoon of medicine near her mouth; another attender is standing, and some others are sitting, the ground being covered with flower plants.

(6) A young painter painting a picture.—His features are Iranian. The seal of the painter in the corner of picture does not signify the name of Behzad.

(7) Camels fighting.

(8) A scene from the camp of Timur.—Timur is sitting under a canopy. In the front, there is a cistern with ducks swimming in it. There are wine bottles, the floor being covered with enamelled bricks; at the back are cypress and other trees.

(9) The ascent of the Prophet.—This is supposed to have been drawn by Behzad; others ascribe it to Mirak, or Sultan Muhammad. It is one of the most glorious paintings of Muslim art. The Prophet rides on a human-faced animal. He is passed beyond the moon. The sky is coloured in deep blue. The moon is far away, much below the Prophet. Angels, with expanded beautiful wings and heavenly-coloured garments, surround the Prophet from all sides. Some carry incense or bear heavenly presents in their hands. The archangel Gabriel is in the front guiding and pointing the way to the higher regions. The whole picture is incomparable for its beauty and grace. The features and garments of the angels and the colour and form of the clouds bear traces of the influence of the Chinese style, but in other respects it is a genuine Iranian representation.

MIRAK'S PAINTINGS

Mirak was a pupil of Behzad, a native of Ispahan and as a painter second only to Behzad. He began his career at the end of the 15th century in Herat, which he is said to have designed. He adorned its public buildings also by his paintings. He was besides a calligraphist and an ivory carver. He really belongs to the early class of Safavid school of painting, following as he does the style of the Timurid period. His designs are dignified and figures have a compact stateliness. Among his paintings are his illustrations from Nizami's famous poems, such as :—

(1) King Noshirvan, with his famous Vazir named Buzerg-mehr, listening to the owls on the ruined palace. The dress is of the Moghals, but the features are more Iranian in character than Moghal. The king rides on a horse while his minister rides on a mule. Harmony and colour are beautiful.

(2) The return of Shahpur, messenger and artist of Khusroe II, from Shirin, the Princess of Armenia. The King, with rings in his ears, is sitting on a throne and Shahpur delivers the message from Shirin. Courtiers are sitting on the ground. The background is a mountain covered with detached flower plants. Music is being played; wine and fruits are served to the King and the courtiers. The features are Iranian.

(3) King Khusroe enthroned.

(4) King Khusroe and his queen Shirin listening, at night, to stories told by Shirin's maids as narrated by Nizami.

QASEM ALI

Qasem Ali, a pupil of Behzad, worked at Herat and was the author of some beautiful miniatures in Nizami's *Masnavi*.

SULTAN MUHAMMAD

Sultan Muhammad was painter, designer of carpets, book-binder, inventor of certain kinds of clocks and expert in porcelain manufacture. He was the chief illuminator to the Shah, but seeking fortune, made a journey to Constantinople, where he was well received by Sultan Sulaiman (d. 1555) who gave him a studio and granted a pension. He specialized in outdoor scenes, picnics, pleasure parties. His portraits are graceful and natural, both coloured and uncoloured, the resemblance being exact. Among his illustrations from Nizami are :—

(1) The scene of Shirin bathing in a pond while Khusroe arrives there and unintentionally sees her. Her famous horse "Shabdiz" is coloured in dark, and bears a decorated saddle. The features are Turko-Iranian.

(2) King Bahram shooting a lion on the back of a wild ass. A lady is playing on a musical instrument. The ground

is rocky. Deer, leopard and lions are being hunted by other officers of the King. A bear is throwing a big stone from the top of the rock. The sky is coloured in gold.

USTAD MUHAMMAD

Ustad Muhammad flourished in the latter part of the 16th century. He is noted for his harmonious lines in drawings.

MIR SYED ALI

Mir Syed Ali was both a poet and a painter. He was invited by Humayun to Kabul and was commissioned to illustrate the romance of Amir Humza, the uncle of the Prophet. His father was also a painter. He studied painting under Behzad at Tabriz. He is considered to be the founder of Moghal school of art in India. Among his illustrations from Nizami are :—

The scene in which Majnun, the celebrated desert lover, is brought in chains by a beggar woman before the tent of his beloved Laila. The sky is blue, ground golden and rocky. There are few trees, but several black and white lentils. A lady is filling water in her vessel. A flock of sheep. The whole scene is a good illustration of simple desert life.

RAZA ABBASI

Raza Abbasi was a contemporary of Shah Abbas the Great. He chose single subjects for illustrating his talents, portraits of Darvishes, of fair ladies and beautiful youths, love and picnic scenes. He founded a new style in exhibiting the appearance of life. Hardly any details of his life are known. He started his career in the beginning of the 17th century. His portrait was painted by his pupil Moin Musavvir. He appears in it as an old man with a wrinkled forehead, with spectacles on, possessing a trimmed beard and clipped moustache, and carrying a knife in his girdle.

MIRZA ALI

Mirza Ali was known as a designer of arabesque ornaments to books. He was a painter resident at Tabriz. He was a master in figure designing and colouring. Among his paintings are :—

(1) The celebrated musician and poet named Barbad playing music before his patron King Khusroe II. The King is on his throne. Fruits are being presented to him by a servant. Barbad is playing music and a boy in red garments is assisting him by playing on another musical instrument. A man is carrying the presents from the King for handing the same over to the poet-musician. The whole scene is splendidly painted and beautifully arranged.



AVICENNA LECTURING ON ANATOMY TO HIS STUDENTS

*(From a 16th century manuscript of Mansur's Anatomy
composed in Persia about 1400 A.D. in
Dr. Max Meyerhof's Collection)*

(2) Queen Shirin is sitting on the throne, and Shahpur, the artist and manager of King Khusrô, is showing her the King's portrait.

MUZAFFER ALI

Muzaffer Ali, a young painter of this period, died before accomplishing any notable work. His illustration from Nizami, representing King Bahram hunting the wild ass is simple but dignified. The sky is coloured in light blue, with an yellowish golden ground. There is only one big tree, with a few detached flower plants. A lady is seen on a horse, playing music. The King is pursuing a wild ass.

MUHAMMAD ZAMAN

Muhammad Zaman was a court painter to Shah Abbas II. He was sent by the King to Rome, where he studied Iranian painting and embraced Christianity. While returning to Iran, he visited India also. His paintings show traces of the European style, introducing as they do cast shadows, changes of garment, etc. Features are more Aryan and European than Mongolian or Chinese.

Among the other paintings of this period are:—Scene from the polo game; hunting and desert scene; illustrations from various stories; landscapes; animals, such as the camel; fighting; mountains with bears, monkeys, hares, birds, shrubs, dogs pursuing deer, squirrels, etc., etc.

Among the 14th and 15th centuries portraits are:—Noah¹⁰⁹ and his family in the ark (1306); Rustam, the legendary hero of the *Shah Nama*, shoots his brother Shughad (1306); Avicenna lecturing on anatomy, a large number of students listening to his lecture, the features being genuine Iranian (14th century);¹¹⁰ Alexander building the wall against Gog and Magog;¹¹¹ the

¹⁰⁹ Noah: The patriarch of scripture antiquity, who, by the command of God, constructed an ark for the preservation of the human race and the dry land animals during the prevalence of the deluge that would otherwise have swept all these forms of life away.

¹¹⁰ Avicenna: An illustrious Iranian physician, surnamed the 'Prince of Physicians', a man of immense learning and extensive practice in his art (980-1037 A.D.).

¹¹¹ Alexander the Great (B.C. 356-324): Two years after his accession, crossed the Hellespont followed by 30,000 foot and 5,000 horse soldiers. He conquered Darius at Granicus (334 B.C.) and at Issus (333 B.C.); crossed the Euphrates and the Tigris and routed the Iranians at Arbela. Died in his 32nd year at Babylon. He is said to have slept every night with his Homer and his sword under his pillow, and the inspiring idea of his life, all unconsciously to him, is defined to have been the right of Greek intelligence to override and rule the merely glittering barbarity of the East! Aristotle was his tutor.

boat and the tower from the *Bustan* of Sadi (1426);¹¹² the Giraffe and its Keeper ; reception of Prince Humai at the court of China ; and Spring season,—scene of garden. young men and maidens dancing, walking under flower trees, and drinking wine, ladies being represented as wearing Moghal garments but not possessing any ornaments on their ears, hands or necks.

LAST STAGE OF ART IN IRAN

The 18th century was the last stage of Muslim art in Iran. King Fatah Ali, the second Shah of the Qajar dynasty (1796-1834), caused numerous portraits of himself and his courtiers to be painted. The style is Irano-European. Features are genuine Iranian and so is the dress. Among the works of this period are paintings of lovers ; a young man with a maiden ; a man writing or reading a book ; while another man is holding a long pipe and smoking. In the work of this period dancing girls are found introduced.

INDIA

Like Iran, Pre-Islamic India had a glorious past in the arts painting and sculpture, which cannot be discussed here. Muslim-Indian art seems to have come into being soon after the establishment of the Slave dynasty of kings at Delhi. The earliest Muslim painting known in India shows traces of East Iranian influence. Unlike, however, the custom of Iranian artists, the features here shown are either Indian or Iranian, and not Chinese. For instance, there is a picture of a music party at the court of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq, painted by Shahpur, an Iranian artist of Khorasan. The king is seated on the throne, wearing a helmet-like head-dress. The same is worn by some women also. There are girls dancing and singing and playing on musical instruments, such as the North Indian *Vina*, the *Sitar* and the flute. One is holding a cup of wine to the king and the other is carrying a bottle of wine. Two are standing behind the throne, one holding a cup and the bottle of wine and the other the "Pan-dan". The dress and features, even of

¹¹² Sadi : A celebrated Iranian poet, born of Shiraz in 1184 A.D.; of noble lineage but poor ; lived for 107 years ; bred up in the Muslim faith ; made pilgrimages to Mecca no fewer than fifteen times ; spent years in travel ; fell into the hands of the Crusaders ; was ransomed by a merchant of Aleppo, who thought him worth ransoming at a cost ; retired to a hermitage near Shiraz, where he died in 1291 A.D. and was buried ; his works, both in prose and verse, are numerous, but the most celebrated is the *Gulistan* (The Rose-Gardens), a collection of moral tales interlarded with philosophical reflections and maxims of wisdom, which have made his name famous all over both the East and the West. It has been translated into English. The *Bustan*, referred to in the text, is another work of Sadi, which has been translated into English.

the king, are more Indian than Iranian. The artist who painted this piece should have lived for a long time in India to paint his picture in this manner.

HUMAYUN'S INTEREST IN PAINTING

When the Emperor Humayun took refuge in Iran, and passed one or two years in that country, he was charmed to see a large number of beautiful paintings and to meet their authors. The Shah himself was an expert artist. On his return, Humayun invited the painter Mir Sayyed Ali to his court at Kabul and commissioned him to illustrate the romance of Amir Hamzah.

AKBAR'S PATRONAGE

His son Akbar and his grandson Jahangir were great patrons of art and therefore a number of painters from Central Asia, Iran and Turkey and even Europe and China found their way to their court and were generously rewarded by them. The Hindu artists imitated in some respects their style, but they were not influenced by the Iranians in their portrayal of religious emotions, mythological stories, or in their sculpture. On the other hand, the Hindus influenced Muslim artists from the West in changing their Chinese and Mongolian features into Aryan and Indian. Muslim activity was, as in Iran and Turkey, restricted to painting human and animal portraits, scenes from the desert, mountains, jungles, gardens, rocks, waterfalls, streams, love scenes, harem life, court life, individual nobles, *jakirs*, different kinds of animals and birds, etc. In all these, the Iranian style was imitated with the required local modifications. The religious and imaginative side was left untouched and continued to be the particular field of non-Muslims. Thus the origin of Muslim painting during the Moghal period was a combination of the Iranian with the indigenous Indian. The Rajput school of art was more genuinely Indian than the Moghal which was partially foreign in character. Though both these schools may be termed Indian, the former more exclusively pictured scenes from the Indian classics, domestic subjects, mythology, legends and religious conceptions; while the latter (i.e., the Moghal) imitated the Iranian artists. Among the early Muslim painters of the Moghal period were Mir Sayyed Ali, already mentioned, and Khaja Abdus Samad of Shiraz, who was the director of the Imperial mint. These may be considered as the founders of the Moghal school in Northern India. In the meanwhile, many other painters, poets and calligraphists arrived in India from the West, seeking wealth and fame. They were highly rewarded by Akbar and his talented son Jahangir. Abdus Samad, assisted by a number of indigenous artists, also took part in the work of Palace decoration.

He possessed a most beautiful handwriting. The other Muslim artists of Akbar's court were Farrukh Beg, Zal, Khusroe Quli, Jamshid, Miskin and a large number of Hindus and Indian Muslims. The Emperor took a personal interest in the work of painting. Pictures were presented to him and after examining, he used to make presents and order promotions. Everything was under his direct personal supervision. Those whose work was appreciated by the Emperor were granted *manasabs* and rank. Their salaries were fixed as in the case of other officers of the State, according to the grade of their learning or knowledge of the art they practised. There was a school of art in which artists of all types were found, such as experts in the work of decoration, gilders, calligraphists, line-drawers, book-binders, pagers, etc. Artistic brushes and papers were imported from Iran. Miniature painting of Iran was imitated. Among other subjects of painting, besides what has been mentioned above, we have of this period book illuminations and illustrations from the following works:—*Razm Nama*, which cost the Emperor about £ 40,000; *Babar Nama*, Nizami, the *Ramayana*; the *Akbar Nama* (illustrated by Farrukh Beg); *Nala-Damayanti* of Faizi; the *Darab Nama*, etc. Studies from nature and heavy colouring were the chief characteristic features of Akbar's painters. The blue of *lapis lazuli* and the red colour of the coral were used by them. Portraiture was the peculiarity of the Moghal period, in which Hindu artists proved themselves more than a match to the Iranian painters. Among the Hindu pupils of Khaja Abdus Asamad was Daswanth, who painted figures on walls. Other Hindu artists of Akbar's court were:—Tara, Ram, Mahesh, Jagan, Haribans, Madhu, Kesu, Lal, Mukurd and Khemakaran. In illustrating books, the pictures were separately mounted.

JAHANGIR'S EXTENDED PATRONAGE

The Emperor Jahangir not only followed the policy of his father in the encouragement he extended to arts but even surpassed him in the patronage he gave to painting. Himself a keen observer of the beauties of nature and a critic of painting, he took a personal delight in the work of artists. He loved country life, gardens, natural scenery, and was fond of rearing various kinds of pet animals and birds. He journeyed to Kashmir thirteen times in the 22 years covered by his reign. Miniature painting under Akbar's patronage was fully developed in his time. Among the notable painters of his court were:—Aga Raza, an Iranian of Herat, and his son Abul Hasan, who was appointed the chief court painter; Muhammad Nader of Samarqand; Muhammad Murad; Ustad Mansur, the chief animal painter; Bishan Das; Manohar; Goverdhan; Sharif Khan; Mir Muhammad Husain; Bhagvati; Anup;

Chatar ; Muhammad Fakhrulla Khan ; and several others. Rare birds and animals, received from outside India, were drawn by the command of the Emperor. Direct study from nature, which was the characteristic of Akbar's painters, was continued and developed during the reign of his son.

SHAH JAHAN AND DARA SHUKOH

The Emperor Shah Jahan paid more attention to the construction of fine buildings and works of architectural merit in which he developed great personal interest, and encouraged artists more for decorating his fine buildings, rather than for the sake of art itself. Accordingly, we note a reduction in the number of portrait painters during his reign. Some of his court painters were among those who had served his father. Prince Dara Shukoh, unlike his father, was a student of philosophy and he particularly admired Indian thought. He was also a patron of arts, and has left a valuable album of paintings. The Emperor Aurangzeb, though orthodox in other respects, permitted his personal portraits to be drawn including portraits of the hunts he engaged in, scenes from his travels, his military movements when commanding the army, the seizing of the forts in the Deccan, etc. After his death, Moghal painting declined, largely owing to the disintegration of the Empire.

EFFECTS OF HINDU-MUSLIM PAINTING

Hindu-Muslim painting has done much service to Indian History and Sociology inasmuch as it has secured representations of historical events and social aspects, such as the habits, customs, manners (sartorial and other), family (including *Zenana*) life, during the four centuries beginning from the 15th up to the end of the 18th century. After the decline of Moghal power, among the newly established Muslim states, Lucknow, Hyderabad and Rampur became the centres of Muslim culture, but none of them could reach the high dignity of the Moghals. In Mysore, Tippu Sultan extended some encouragement and caused the walls of his palace to be painted with scenes from the battles he fought. With the development of the photographic art, painting has practically disappeared, not only in India, but in Iran and Turkey as well. Muslim painting has undoubtedly influenced European art. Iranian, Turkish and Indian miniature paintings of the 16th and 17th centuries were carried to Europe and imitated by European artists, among whom the artist Rembrandt¹¹³ may be mentioned.

¹¹³ Rembrandt (or Van Rejn): A celebrated Dutch historical and portrait painter as well as etcher (1608-69); born at Leyden, where he began to practise as an etcher; removed in 1630 to Amster-

At first, the influence was as between the East and the West, mutual, though finally the West surpassed the East not only in painting but in all other departments of cultural arts. Outline drawing was a peculiar feature of Asiatic artists. The lines were drawn by brush made out of the hairs of the squirrel's tail. At first a sketch was made in Indian red without using gum, and when it became dry, colour was used. The painter used to observe the object of his painting and keep it in his memory and refresh it, if needed, by a second and third observation. An artist depended upon his sight as a musician trusted his ears. Portraits of ladies were sometimes drawn by looking at their reflection in water, a mirror or by direct observation. Among the Moghal court painters, we find the names of ladies also, some of whom were of high birth. Muslim rulers of India encouraged Indian art from the very beginning of their rule, as early as the time of Mahmud of Ghazni, who carried over five thousand Indian craftsmen, among whom there must have been painters also, to help in the work of constructing and decorating his palaces and other buildings at Ghazni. Jahangir treated his court painters as his personal friends. Indian art fell off after Shah Jahan and nearly disappeared after the development of the photographic art. The encouragement given to-day to Indian artists is not of the stable kind. But with patronage of the kind artists and musicians of the 16th and 17th centuries, there is every likelihood of even the present Muslim generation in Iran, Egypt, Turkey and India making once again valuable contributions to the development of the cultural arts of the world. Moghal Emperors identified themselves with their Hindu subjects and what they received from them was returned to them in the cultural development of the country, in which Hindus and Muslims co-operated with each other. Iranian miniature painting started in Central Asia and reached its fullest development first in Iran itself and later in India, where it retained not only its beauty and grace but also introduced a new outlook in the painting of Indian landscapes and the splendours of the Moghal *durbars*. The Indian artist excelled in painting isolated animals, birds, human beings, in exhibiting contrast between light and shade, and sunshine and darkness and in the treatment of the lines which were not only most delicate but also clear and firm, and in the perfect representation of plants. Among his favourite subjects were portraits of Emperors, nobles, *durbar* scenes, and ladies. He excelled in producing exact likenesses of the objects of his picture. Natural scenery was a background to him to

dam, where he lived for the rest of his life ; he lost his fortune, after the death of his wife and sank into poverty and obscurity. He was a master of all that pertains to colouring and the distribution of light and shade.



BABAR'S GARDEN—IRANIAN STYLE.

make the picture look more beautiful to the eyes. The best work of Indian artists has been transferred in large numbers to England by officers serving in India and now are mostly to be seen in the British Museum, the India Office Library, other public libraries and among private collections, more or less well known.

GARDENS

There are frequent allusions to paradise in the *Quran*. For example, we have the following passage :—"Allah rewards them with paradise in which (people) will recline on couches (wearing) silk garments, neither shall they know of sun nor piercing cold. Its shade shall close over them, and (the twigs of trees) will be low with fruits hanging down, and vessels of silver and goblets like flagons shall be borne round among them ; and they shall be given to drink of the cups tempered with ginger from the softly flowing fountain. Youths will go round among them (so beautiful) that when you look at them, you would consider them as scattered pearls." And in another chapter we read :—"Reclining on couches, face to face, blooming youths go round about them with goblets and ewers and cups of flowing wine, their brows ache not from it, not parts the sense." Though this description should be taken in a figurative sense, the metaphorical language took the real form, when the Umayyads made their capital at Damascus and the Abbasides established themselves at Baghdad ; and similarly the capital cities of Spain and North Africa were turned into paradises by their Muslim rulers. Agriculture and gardening were encouraged all over the vast Muslim Empire. The Iranians and Spanish Muslims were noted for their love of gardening. So were the Timurids in India, whose gardening proved a great contribution to Indian arts. Firuz Shah Tughlaq had planned twelve hundred gardens around Delhi. Gardens were generally made on sloping grounds with platforms and water flowing in artificial channels forming into successive falls, a scene common in Iran and other mountainous countries in Western and Central Asia. Babar, the first Moghal Emperor, had a great passion for gardens. He planted several of them in the Iranian style, with artificial channels and waterfalls, with a series of terraces on sloping gardens, as may be seen even now in Iran and Central Asia. The gardens were generally made in a square or rectangular shape, divided into a number of squares, open on two or four sides by gateways. The paths were made higher than the flower beds. In the main square, fruit and flower trees were planted, each square containing one kind of fruit or variety of flowers. Sometimes, several flower trees were mixed up in one square. Akbar made many improvements by combining the Indian with the Iranian

style, of which the best specimen is the Shalimar garden in Kashmir. Another Shalimar garden was founded by the Emperor Shah Jahan at Lahore, where one Ali Mardan Khan, Iranian Ex-Governor of Qandahar, had brought a canal from the river Ravi. The garden was on the side of a canal, divided into three terraces, the first being 330 by 330 yards, and the second 330 by 96 yards and the third same as the first. There were beautiful buildings, baths, etc. The garden was planted with fruit and flower trees, including the much praised cypress and *chenar* trees. There were a number of fountains throwing water, some as high as five yards. The garden cost rupees six lakhs. The garden at the Taj Mahal was laid out on the same plan as the Char Bagh with a marble tank. The nobles followed the Emperors and in this respect laid out large numbers of gardens in their own Jagirs. Babar and his successors laid out several gardens in Kabul Agra and other large cities. Kabul possessed two gardens named *Bagh-e-Kalān* and *Bagh-e-wafā*; the Rām-Bagh at Agra, which contained reservoirs, baths, and private imperial pavilions, is a well-known one. The Zohra Bagh was, it would seem, watered by sixty wells. There were many other gardens laid out by nobles with reservoirs, fountains, and fruit and flower plants. Jahangir and Shah Jahan appreciated Indian tastes and their gardens fully bear out this peculiarity on their part. Jahangir laid out gardens at Fatehpur-Sikri, Sikandarah, Udaipur and in Kashmir. His garden at Kashmir was named *Nāzim Bagh*. The Iranian pattern of flower carpets was adopted in flower-beds, worked out in brick and carved with fine polished plaster. The favourite trees of the Moghals were the cypress, plane-tree, evergreen, fir, rose, tulip, violet, narcissus, orange, lemon, peach, pomegranate, mango, apple, etc. The tomb of Itamad-ud-doulah also had about it a fine garden. The Empress Nur-Jahan laid out the Shah-Dara garden at Lahore, which possessed a series of raised fountains, tanks and artificial channels. The Shalimar garden of Delhi was built by Izzut-un-nisa Begum, a wife of Shah Jahan. Other Royal gardens of the reign of Shah Jahan were Anguri Bagh at Agra, Talkatoorah at Delhi, and the Vazir Bagh laid out by Prince Dara Shukoh. During the reign of Aurangzeb, his daughter Zib-un-nisa laid out a garden named *Char Burji Bagh*, containing beds of flowers with a row of small fountains. Fidai Khan laid out another at Panch Pura. The majority of tombs and shrines, such as the one we find at Seringpatam, where Tippu Sultan and his father are buried, possessed gardens. The nobles of Lucknow followed the example of the Moghal Emperors and beautified their capital with a number of well-laid-out gardens. The garden system of the Moghal Emperors was imitated by Hindu Rajas and in a modified form by the British.

HINDU CONTRIBUTION TO MUSLIM ARTS AND SCIENCES

Muslim Culture has been influenced by the Hindus at various points. Some of these have been mentioned elsewhere in this work. The others are the following :—

(1) Through commerce, which existed from time immemorial between India and West Asia.

(2) Through Muslim scholars, who visited India to study the Indian languages and philosophy.

(3) Through Hindu scholars, travellers and captives, who, during the rule of the Umayyads and the Abbasides, came into contact with Muslims.

(4) Through direct contact with Muslims when India was ruled by Arabs, Turks and Moghals.

The first of the above-mentioned connections existed long before the appearance of Islam, when the Arabs of South and South-East Arabia and the Iranians through the Iranian Gulf and the Arabian Sea had regular intercourse with Western India. The following were the chief ports for the Indo-West-Asian trade :—

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) Ublah | — near modern Basrah. |
| (2) Syraf | — in the Iranian Gulf. |
| (3) Qays | — in the Iranian Gulf. |
| (4) Daibul | — Sindh. |
| (5) Thana | — near Bombay, noted for the manufacture of its cloth. |
| (6) Khambayat | — noted for its shoes. |
| (7) Sanbarah | } — both in Gujarat. |
| (8) Jeymur | |
| (9) Several ports on the Malabar coast. | |

EXPORTS TO ARABIA AND IRAN

Among Indian products, the following were exported to Arabia and Persia :—

Cardamom, sandalwood, clove, pepper, nutmeg, vitriol, deck, myrobalan, muslin, chintz, plantain, cocoanut, drugs, camphor, ginger, musk, etc. The last three have retained their Indian origin in the Iranian and Arabic languages and have been mentioned in the *Quran* as *kafur* (Indian, *kapur*), *zanzabil* (Indian, *zanzabira*), and musk (Indian, *muskha*).

EMIGRATION OF, AND IMMIGRATION INTO, OF SCHOLARS

During the Umayyad rule, Sindh was conquered by Arabs and annexed to the Muslim Empire. A large number of Indians, both men and women, found their way to Damascus, the capital of the Muslim Empire, as either captives or voluntary visitors. Some of these settled themselves in Syria, Mecca, Medina, Kufa and Basrah. During the Abbaside rule, the capi-

tal was transferred from Damascus to Baghdad, which became the great centre for Muslim learning. Scholars from distant countries were invited to it. Among them, the following were Hindus :—

(1) Manka (Manikya or Manick), a noted physician and philosopher. He was well acquainted with the Iranian and Sanskrit languages. He translated into Iranian the books on poison written by Shanuk, another Hindu scholar. His first visit to Mesopotamia was during the reign of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, the famous Khalif. Learning the fame of the Khalif, he paid a visit to Baghdad and soon made himself popular and respected in learned society. He cured the Khalif from a disease, which could not be successfully treated by the local physicians.

(2) Saleh, the son of Bahlah, a great scholar in the Ayurvedic system of medicine. He became noted when he cured Prince Ibrahim, cousin of the Khalif, who was thought to be dead by other physicians and was about to be buried. Saleh prevented the burial and treated and cured the apparent dead body. Afterwards, he embraced Islam and lived and died a favourite at the court.

(3) Dhan, an Indian physician employed in the Barmakiah hospital of Baghdad. His son became the chief physician of the same hospital and translated a number of books from Sanskrit into Arabic.

(4) Shanuk (Chanakya), a physician and philosopher. He was the author of the following works translated into Iranian and Arabic :—

(a) A book on poisons in five discourses. This book was translated and commented on by several scholars such as Manka, Ibn Hatim, Balkhi (who wrote a commentary on it at the command of Yahya, son of Khalid) and lastly by Abbas, son of Saeed Jauhari.

(b) On astrology and astronomy.

(c) On morals, entitled *Mūntahul-jawahar*.

(d) On veterinary science.

(5) Kan-kah (or Kankiraya), a physician and astronomer, who was the author of the following works, which were translated into Arabic :—

(a) *Un-namudar fi A'mar*, a book on age.

(b) *Israr-ul-mawalid*, or the secret of nativities.

(c) *Qirānātul-kabir* and *Qirānātul-saghir* or the great and small cycles of the year.

(d) *Ihdasul-Alem vad-daur-e-fil-Qiran*, or the beginning of the world and revolution in conjunction.

(e) *Kanash*, a book on medicine.

(f) A book on **mesmerism**.

Hindu scholars were divided into :—

(a) Those who could not write Arabic and therefore had to be assisted by Muslim translators, and (b) Those who had studied Arabic and themselves did the work of translation. Jaudar (Yodhara or Godhara), a Hindu scholar, wrote a work named *Mawalid-ul-kabir*, or Great Nativities.

Nahak or Nayak, Bazrigar, Filbaifil, Sindbad, Bhakkar or Bhaskaracharya (the astrologer), Jahari, Raja, Saher, Ankar, Araikal, Zankal, Jabbar and many others were Hindu scholars and authors of works on different branches of philosophy and medicine. Though their names are quite Arabicised, most of these must have been natives of the Punjab and Sindh. Muhammad Zakariyya Razi, a famous Iranian author, in his great work entitled *al-Harī* has mentioned the medical work of Sirak (or Charak), which was for the first time translated from Sanskrit into the Iranian and the translation was commented upon in Arabic by Abdulla, son of Ali.

INDIAN WORKS TRANSLATED INTO ARABIC

Among the more important Indian works translated into Arabic are:—

(1) *Surya Siddhanta* : (Arabic, *Sind-hind*) on astronomy, was popular among Muslim scholars and through them, it reached Spain and thence found its way to the interior of Europe. It was divided into four chapters.

(2) *Khanda Khodyaka* : another work on astronomy.

(3) *Charak* (*Charaka-Samhita*): Was translated first into Pahlavi and re-translated into Arabic by Abdulla, son of Ali. Charaka was a moralist, philosopher and the court physician to King Kanishka. The work *Charaka-Samhita* consists of eight parts, covering the whole field of medical science known in those days.

(4) *Sandhashan* (or the Essence of Success): This work was translated by the son of Pandit 'Dhan' into Arabic.

(5) *Nidān* :—An important Indian work on pathology, which remained an authentic work to all later authors on the subject, treating of diagnosis and the treatment of all diseases known at that time.

(6) *Panchatantra* and *Hitōpadēsha* :—These works were re-translated from Pahlavi into Arabic by Ibn-e-muquffa.

There are a large number of other Hindu works whose Indian titles are not known; for example, a work on drugs and herbs translated by Pandit Manka into Arabic. A book on the physiological effect of Indian medicines. There is another on female diseases, whose original author was an Indian woman. Two books on medicine by Pandit Navkashnal are also known. A book on pregnancy and female diseases; also a short treatise on drugs and herbs; and another on intoxicants. Another work is on the causes of various known diseases and

their treatment. It gives the names of drugs and herbs. The author of it was one Raja Kurash. On beverages, we have a work by Pandit Itri. Another book named *Satya* by Pandit Saobarma is also known. A book on palmistry and also one on omens are also well known. A work entitled *Saropa Vidya* (Arabic: *Ophidia*) by Pandit Rai, treats of the poisons of snakes. There is another work dealing with the same subject. A work on food and poisons, translated into Iranian and re-translated into Arabic by order of Khaled-ul-Barmaki is well known. *Nafir* was the Arabic title of a book on music translated from the Sanskrit. Portions from the *Mahabharata* were translated by Saleh, son of Shoaib.

Pandit Bajhar or Bhakkar translated a number of Sanskrit works on politics, and the art of war and diplomacy into Arabic. There were also Indian works on swords and their use; theories of State; Indian languages and rhetoric, besides many others, all of which have been translated into Arabic. *Triya charitra* (or *Wiles of Women*) by Raja Kosh and *Budhasatva* (which in Arabic became *Buzasef*) were two popular books among Muslims.

While the majority of Greek works were translated or re-translated from the Syriac and Pahlavi into Arabic by Syrian Christians, works in Sanskrit were translated direct from the said language or re-translated from Pahlavi by Indian and Iranian scholars. The Abbaside Khalifs on the one hand invited Hindu scholars to their capital and on the other hand despatched Muslim students to India for carrying on research work. Among those who thus joined for research work were:—

(1) Abu-mansur al-muvaffaq.

(2) Muhammad, son of Ismail Tanukhi (9th century A.D.), a scholar in astronomy and astrology, who visited India and collected much information on these subjects. The invasion of India by the Arabs and then by Sultan Mahmud and the occupation of Sindh and the Punjab by Muslims brought the two great Eastern civilisations into close and direct contact. The work of amalgamation soon started and embraced all aspects of life. Hindus and Muslims influenced each other, and thus created a new culture, which began to develop during the rule of the Slave, Khilji, Tughlaq and Lodhi dynasties and eventually attained perfection under the Moghals. The process may still be continued and enabled to help the development of New India. The need for Hindus and Muhammadans learning each other's languages seems great, if the future of this country is to be assured.

The name of Susruta was known to Muslims in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. as that of a great physician. The works of Susruta and Charaka were translated into Iranian and Arabic as early as 800 A.D. During the Middle Ages, down to the

17th century, Arabian medicine remained the final authority for European physicians and through Arabic works, the Indian medical writers also became known to the West. Besides the *Surya-Siddhanta*, other Indian works on astronomy and astrology came to be translated into Pahlavi and re-translated into Arabic by scholars of Junde-Shahpur during the reign of Mansur, and most probably the more famous Hindu writers on that subject, such as Varahamihira, Srishena, Aryabhata, Brahmagupta and others were known to Muslim scholars. The cupola of the earth was named "Arin", which is considered a corrupted form of *Ujjayini*, noted for its observatory. With the conquest of Sindh and the Punjab, particularly after the repeated invasions of Sultan Mahmud, Muslims came into direct and close contact with the Indians. Under Sikandar Shah, for the first time, Hindus began to study Iranian. This study of Iranian continued for long and attained perfection during the rule of the Moghals, when Iranian was on the high road to become the *lingua franca* of India. Among the more famous Muslim scholars in Indian literature and philosophy are Abu Raihan al-Biruni, who studied Sanskrit and the vernaculars spoken in the Punjab. Biruni soon made himself known to Hindu learned men, who gave him the honourable title of *Vidya-sagar* (or Ocean of Learning). His books contain valuable information on Indian Philosophy, History, customs, etc. The Indian works so far translated into Arabic were on medicine, astronomy, astrology, music, mathematics, fiction, moral stories and ethics. Under the Muslim rulers of India from the time of Biruni, philosophy, mythology, history, religion and other subjects came also to be included. Amir Khusroe, the famous poet, who lived under the Slave, Khilji and Tughlaq dynasties, was one of the best students of Indian music. He knew Hindi as spoken in his time so well that he could compose verses. Among the Slave rulers, Ghias-ud-din Balbun and Nasar-ud-din Mahmud were great patrons of learning. Firuz Shah found a large collection of Sanskrit books in Nagarkot and ordered some of them to be translated into Iranian. The Lodhi kings had Indianised themselves by adopting the Indian language and customs. The Moghals followed the Lodhis, particularly Akbar and his descendants. Emperor Akbar married a Rajput princess and his son Jahangir was half-Rajput in his disposition. He, in his turn, also married a Rajput princess and his son, Shah Jahan, was even a greater Rajput than a Moghal. Thus a Turko-Indian dynasty was established in India. Pandits were asked to recite or read the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana* and other legendary stories of India to the Emperors and princes. When the Muslim story narrators found that their royal masters were too much absorbed in Hindu fiction, they too wrote or narrated similar stories, in which the heroes were

Muslims. Some of them, such as Amir Hamza (uncle of the Prophet) was a historical person but the deeds attributed to him are imaginary. These stories have been published in huge volumes. They contain the heroic deeds of Muslim princes and generals possessing extraordinary strength. They are represented as defeating any number of men, *jinnies* and *Ifrits* living in Mount Qaf. They are spoken of as subjugating fairies and marrying them ; as fighting against infidels and always defeating them, breaking their idols and destroying all monuments of idolatry and magic. Even magicians, who could perform wonders, are defeated and killed by Muslim heroes. One can detect in these works a great mixture of ancient Indo-Iranian mythology. The spirit of the age is well represented. The stories narrated to the Moghal princes of Delhi and the Nawabs of Lucknow indicate the extent of the degeneracy of Muslim aristocracy during the 18th and 19th centuries. Such are the voluminous and apparently absurd works entitled *Bustan-e-khiyal* and *Amir Humza*, whose absurdities reach their climax in eleven volumes of *Talism-e-Hosh ruba*.

CONTACT WITH YOGIS AND SANYASIS

Yōgis and *Sanyāsīs* along with *fakirs* and *pirs* were held in respect and enjoyed private conversation with the Moghal Emperors, ministers and nobles. Prince Dara Shukoh, son of Shah Jahan, was a confidant of these and was sure of gaining his throne because his "Guru" named "Sarmad" had predicted that he would succeed. Unfortunately Dara Shukoh was defeated and slain by his brother Aurangzeb, who took revenge on Sarmad by causing him to be executed.

MUSLIM WRITERS OF THE MOGHAL PERIOD

Among the more celebrated writers of the Moghal period are the following :—

(1) Abul Fazl—minister of Akbar, whose knowledge of Sanskrit and Indian philosophy was deep and his work *Ain-e-Akbari* gives valuable information on Indian customs and history.

(2) Faizi—elder brother of Abul Fazl, was a Sanskrit scholar.

(3) Naqib Khan—who, assisted by Hindu Pandits, translated the *Mahabharata* into Iranian.

(4) Badayuni (Abdul Qadir)—joined Naqib Khan in the work of translating Sanskrit works into Iranian.

(5) Haji Muhammad Sultan.

(6) Mulla Shiri—translated the *Mahabharata* and named it *Razm Nama* ; and

(7) Girdhar Das—translated the *Ramayana* (for the second time) in 1626.

DARA SHUKOH'S WORKS

Prince Dara Shukoh was an enthusiastic student of Hindu philosophy. In 1657, assisted by a Pandit, he completed a translation of the *Upanishads* and named it *Sir-ul-Israr* or *Sir-ul-Akbar*, which means, *Secret of the Secrets* or the *Great Secret*. He also caused the translation of the *Bhagavad-Gita* and the *Yōga Vāsista*. His other works are :—

- (1) Dialogue between him and an ascetic named Baba Lal Das ;
- (2) *Safinatul-ouliya* ;
- (3) *Majma-ul-Bahrain*, a comparative study of Vedāntism and Sufism, completed in 1654.

HINDU COMPOSITIONS IN IRANIAN

While Muslims were engaged in the study of the Sanskrit language and the great works to be found in it, Hindus also seriously took to the study of the Iranian language, which they continued even after the fall of the Moghals and the rise of British dominion in India. Among Hindu poets who have composed poems in the Iranian are the following :—

- (1) Zauqi Ram Hasrat—has left two *Divans* (books of poems) in Iranian.
- (2) Munshi Har Gopal (died in 1285 A.D.)—has left four *Divans* ; he also wrote a work in imitation of Sadi's famous work, the *Gulistan*.
- (3) Raja Ratan Singh—has left a *Divan* and wrote a history entitled *Sultan-ut-Tawarikh*.
- (4) Saheb Ram (died 1225 A.H.)—was a student of the celebrated Muhammad Ali Hazin. Has left a *Divan*.
- (5) Munshi Ram Das—besides a *Divan* of poetry, has left a number of prose works, translated from the Sanskrit into Iranian.
- (6) Daya Shankar Kaul—his pen-name was Nasim (1811-43). He was a Kashmiri Pandit and a pupil of Atish ; he is chiefly known for his celebrated poem entitled *Gulzar-e-Nasim*. It is considered the second best poem in romantic poetry existing to-day in Urdu.

Among writers on history are :—

- (1) Kalyan Singh—author of *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* ;
- (2) Sada Sukh—author of *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* ;
- (3) Sahan Lal—author of *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* ;
- (4) Bahadur Singh—author of *Yadegar-e-Bahaduri* ;
- (5) Rai Kirpa Ram—author of *Gulzar-e-Kishmiri* ;
- (6) Banvali Das (1060 A.H.)—author of *Rajavali*, an ancient history of Hindus ;
- (7) Bhagavant Das—author of *Shah Jahan Nama*, or history of Moghal rule up to the reign of Shah Jahan ;

(8) Munshi Hari Man (1078 A.H.)—author of *Gawahar Nama* ;

(9) Bandra ban Das—author of *Lubb-ut-Tawarikh*, a history of India in 10 chapters ;

(10) Iswar Das (1109 A.H.)—author of *Futuhāt-e-Alamgiri* ;

(11) Kāmraj (1131 A.H.)—author of *Azam-ul-Harb* ;

(12) Jag Jawar Das of Gujarat (1120 A.H.)—author of *Muntakh-ut-Tawarikh* ; and

(13) Bhim Sen (1120 A.H.)—author of *Dil-kusha*, which gives biographies of Aurangzeb and his son Shah Alam. Munshi Chandra Bhan Brahman's Iranian verses were included by Saib, the great Iranian poet, in his book of selected verses. Among Hindu translators of Sanskrit works, Mitra Das was a contemporary of Shah Jahan. Bharamul translated the Hindi work, *Sinhasan Battisi* ; and Guru Har Das (1036 A.H.), the *Ramayana*, which was also translated by Chandra Bhan (1097 A.H.) ; and Debi Das. Amar Singh translated *Amar Parkash* ; Raja Kiran (1100) wrote *Kushayash-Nama* and Brahman Hisari *Tohfatul-Hikayat*. Both these works come under the head of fiction. Dharam Narayan wrote *Badaya-ul-Funun* (arithmetic) ; Hari Sukh Rai, *Zubdatul-Qawanin* (grammar) ; and Kanjhi, *Khazinatul-ulum*, a book on mathematics.

The following authors wrote on literature and other miscellaneous subjects :—

1. Har Kiran—who wrote a work entitled *Insha-e-Har Kiran* (1031 A.H.) ;

2. Chandra Bhan Brahman—who wrote the *Chahar Chaman* ;

3. Munshi Sobhan Rai (1110)—who wrote the *Khulasatul-makātib* ;

4. Madhu Ram—who wrote the *Insha-e-madhu Ram* ;

5. Roop Narayan (1121)—who wrote the *Sish-jahat* ;

6. Lal Chand (Mubarakzadah)—who wrote the *Nigar Nama* ; and

7. Odhē Raj (1110 A.H.)—who wrote the *Haft Unjamun*.

OTHER HINDU POETS AND AUTHORS IN URDU

The number of Hindu poets and authors in Urdu is so great that it is impossible to mention them here, as it indeed falls beyond the scope of this work. Some have been already mentioned, the others are :—Biraj Narayan Chakbast (died 1928) ; Swami Ram Tirtha (died 1908) ; Lala Bank Dayal (1851) ; Pandit Raj Nath (1842) ; Munshi Piare-Lal (Poet) ; Raja Narayan (Poet) ; Devarka Parshad (Poet) ; Premchand, poet and writer of several important and popular novels ; Pandit Narayan Parshad (dramatist) ; Biraj Mohan Dattatiriya ; Tilak Chand ;

and Iqbal Varma. Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, the great patriot, was, and the Rt.-Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur, the well known political leader, is well acquainted both with Urdu and Iranian. Thus, while Muslims were influenced by Hindu culture, Hindu culture has been influenced by Muslim civilization. All the Indian vernaculars, including current Sanskrit itself contain borrowed Iranian, Arabic and Turkish words. Points of view in Hindu philosophy and religion and even the Hindu outlook on life have been largely modified by Hindus coming into direct contact with Muslims. The process of assimilation as between Hindus and Muslims is still going on and in course of time promises to produce a culture which, perhaps, will provide the ultimate solution for many a difficult problem now looming so large, and sometimes so inconvenient, in the public eye.

CHAPTER X

HISTORY OF MUSLIM PHILOSOPHY

Nature of Muslim Philosophy—Pre-Islamic Iranian Philosophy and Religion—Zarathushtra and His Philosophy—Mithraism, Buddhism and Christianity—Arsaka, the Expounder of the Zervanic Theory—Bardesanes—Mani and His Philosophy—Manichæism and the *Quran*—Mazdak—Greek Philosophy—The Early Thinkers—The Sophists—Socrates—Plato—His Metaphysics: The Doctrine of Ideas—His Ethics—Muslim Writers on Plato—Aristotle—His Ethics and Politics—His Theory of Education—His Political Ideals—His Ideas on Arts and Sciences—His Works as Known to Muslims—Neo-Platonism—Plotinus—The Intelligence and the Intelligible World—The Soul—Man, Immortality, Descent and Ascent, Emancipation—Ethics—Beauty and Vision—The Alexandrian School—Rise of Christianity in the East—Syria and Iran as Centres of Learning—Translation of Philosophical Works—First Muslim Thinkers—Al-Kindi—Ahamad Sarkhas—Abu Nasar Muhammad of Fārāb—His Philosophy—His Logic—His Metaphysics—Human Being and His Psychological Aspect—Fārābī as an Expounder of Sufism—Fārābī's Politics—Fārābī's Influence on European Logic—Ibn-e-Maske-waih—His Ethics—His Philosophy—Motion, Mover and Movable—Ibn-e-Sina (Avicenna)—His Works—His Logic—His Psychology—His Metaphysics—Being—First Cause—The Theory of Love—Soul—His Conception of Physics—His Pupils—The Encyclopædists of the Akhwan-us-Safa—Ethics—The Golden Age of Muslim Philosophy—Abu Bakr Ibn-e-Bajja—Suhrawardī—Iranian Fravashi or Platonic Ideas—Soul—Virtue and Vice—Elements—Zoug—Ethics—Ibn-ur-Rushd (Averroes)—His Philosophy—The Intellect and the Soul—His Psychology—Divine Knowledge—Quranic Teaching—Other Writers in Philosophy—Later Muslim Philosophy—Muslim Ethics—Ibn-e-Muqaffa—Nasir-ud-din Tusi and Dawwani—Dawwani's System of Politics—Hussain Wāez—Philosophy After the Fall of Muslims in Spain—Mulla Abdur Razzack Lahiji—Sadr-ud-din Shirāzi—Decline of Muslim Philosophy—Muslim Philosophy in the XIX Century—Haji Mulla Hadi Subzāwari—His Philosophical Views—His Psychology—Mirza Abdul Hassan Jilwah—Sir Muhammad Iqbal—His Basic Philosophical Idea—His Theory of the Preserving Self.

NATURE OF MUSLIM PHILOSOPHY

Muslim philosophy is a blend of Western and Eastern thoughts under the dominating influence of Islamic doctrine. The blending is such that Muslim philosophy develops on its own lines, independently of those whom it imitates. Nevertheless, for a correct understanding of its principles and doctrines, a brief

study of Greek philosophy and Pre-Islamic thought in Iran and Syria is necessary. Greek philosophy was a revolt from dogmatic dicta, whereas Muslim philosophers endeavoured to reconcile religion with philosophy. Muslim religion rests on the teaching of the *Quran*, the traditions of the Prophet and fixed canons as expounded by early Muslim theologians, and Muslim philosophy has, at all times, gone hand in hand with religion. Unlike Hindu thinkers, Muslim philosophers did not, with few exceptions, take a pessimistic view of existence; with them, there is no doctrine of re-birth and no theory suggesting the extinction of conscious personal existence. The majority of Muslim philosophers are either Iranian or Spanish, and North African.

PRE-ISLAMIC IRANIAN PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

Iranian Pre-Islamic philosophical, scholastic and theological views reappeared mixed up with Greek philosophy and played a most important part in the moulding and development of Muslim philosophy. Buddhism and Indian Vedāntism have also been indirectly introduced but they mostly affected Muslim mysticism.

ZARATHUSTHRA AND HIS PHILOSOPHY

The earliest Iranian philosopher and religious teacher was Zarathusthra,¹ who flourished about 1000 or 1200 B.C. His name had already become mythical during the rule of the Achæmenian kings (550-330 B.C.). Several Zarathusthras have been mentioned by Greek writers. The latest was a contemporary of Alexander the Great. Zoroastrian teaching, as expounded in the *Gāthās*, is based upon "Being" as *mainyu* or spirit. There are two *mainyus*, constructive and destructive.

¹ *Zarathusthra*: Also known as *Zoroaster* or *Zerdusht*; the founder or reformer of the religion of the Parsis; though certainly a historical personage, nothing whatever certain is known of him, except that his family name was Spitama, that he was born in Bactria, or Media, and that he flourished, according to some, about 800 B.C., and, according to others, about 1100 B.C. Some hold that he was a monotheist, though later the Manichæan doctrine of dualism became associated with his name, as Zoroastrianism, and that the institution of fire-worship, though attributed to him, was probably not taught by him. These views, however, have not won general acceptance. Though in later Avestan literature, he appears in a mythical garb, in the *Gāthās*, which are perhaps the earliest parts, he is represented in such a simple way as to suggest a real person. Mr. L. H. Mills thinks he "was probably only the last visible link in a far extended chain". Legendary accounts speak of his being born by the side of a river, and being in danger of his life, was rescued by Ahuramazda, who revealed his laws to him. His teachings are found in parts of the *Avesta*. His system appears to be dualistic, being based on the doctrine of a conflict between the powers of light, represented by Ormuzd and his angels (the

Matter has no independent existence. It is the creation of Ahura, the Supreme Being, who is perfect, eternal, unchangeable, the Creator of heaven, the shaper of the universe. When manifested, he is known in his two aspects—one is permanent, constructive, light, life and good; the other transitory, destructive, dark, death and evil. These are manifested everywhere in the universe. Matter is a receptacle of these two aspects. Ahura is assisted by the following:—

(1) *Vohu-manah* (Skt. *Vasu-Manas*), which means the best mind or the universal intelligence.

(2) *Asa* (in the Achæmenian dialect *arta* and in Skt. *ṛta*), the life energy or the universal soul.

(3) *Ksathra Vairya*, the divine power or the universal will whose receptacle is *ārmaiti* (Skt. *Armati*), the primal matter which takes the form of the universe.

To these are added the twin *haurvatat* (Skt. *Sarvatati*), the boundless space, and *Amartat* (Skt. *Amartati*), the endless time or immortality. A human being is the microcosm of universal existence. In him, all the six abovementioned divine attributes, viz., intelligence, soul, will, matter, space and time are formed. Therefore, what the universal mind does as a whole, man must do as an individual. The human soul is a creation of Ahura, and a human being possessing his will is responsible for his action. He is made up of soul, will and matter. His will has the power of either spiritualizing or materializing itself. Death is a new life, the consciousness of the soul as to its true nature. The Zarathusthrian ethics is based upon this conception. Man is placed between matter and spirit, good and evil, morality and immorality, darkness and light. He must choose one of the two. If he chooses virtue, he must not only act good, but speak and think good. He must keep clean to the greatest possible extent the four elements of fire, air, water and earth. He must live full of hope, courage and boldness; be obedient to the laws of nature, and king and country; cheerful, contented, philanthropic and under discipline; with self-respect and self-control; prudent, modest, adventurous, conscientious, honest, tolerant and generous; sweet and submissive to elders; and kind and genial to equals and subordinates. Such, in brief, was the moral code of the earliest Iranian thinker.

Amshashpend), and the powers of darkness, represented by Ahri-man or Ahura-mazda, and his demons (or *Devas*). Fire, as being the means of purification, is symbolical of Ormuzd. Victory over the powers can only be achieved by means of veracity, purity, ritual exactitude, and the active pursuit of agriculture. The modern literature bearing on Zoroaster's religion is growing. See J. Darmsteter, *Ormuzd et Ahriman* (1876); *Le Zenda Vesta* (1892); Reinach, *Orpheus* (1910); J. M. Robertson, *Pagan Christs* (1911); J. H. Moulton, *The Treasure of the Maji* (1917).

MITHRAISM, BUDDHISM AND CHRISTIANITY

After the fall of the Achæmenian dynasty and the establishment of the half-Iranian Seleucidæ and Parthians,² the Greek intellectual influence became predominant. Greek philosophy and literature were studied in Iran by high and low, though in religion the Zarathusthrian doctrine remained a rival religion to the West, and in the form of Mithraism,³ it even exerted influence on the whole of Roman Europe and North Africa. Along with Greek philosophy, Buddhism penetrated all over East Iran, viz., modern Afghānistān, Bukhārā and Khurāsān. A number of Iranians in the East adopted Buddhism and worked for its spread in China. In the West (i.e., the Roman Empire), Mithraism was subdued by Christianity, which made some progress in Iran also.

ARSAKA, THE EXPOUNDER OF THE ZARVĀNIC THEORY

Towards the end of the Parthian and the beginning of Sassanian rule, a great religious ferment set in in Western and

² *Parthia*: An ancient country corresponding to North-east Iran; was inhabited by a people of nomad Iranians who set up an independent kingdom in 250 B.C. In 53 and 36 B.C., they defeated the Romans under Cassius in Mesopotamia, and conquered Syria and Palestine; also defeated Mark Antony in Armenia. They also exorted a tribute of 50 million denarii from Emperor Macrinus in 218 A.D. Ctesiphon was their capital. The Euphrates lay between them and Rome. They were overthrown by Ardashir in 224 A.D. The Parthians were famous horse-archers, shooting in retreat their arrows backwards, often with deadly effect, on a pursuing enemy.

³ *Mithraism*: The cult of the worshippers of Mithra, a God common to the Iranians and Hindus. Mithra became the God of all the Oriental Nations, after the time of Alexander the Great. By about the first half of the 1st century B.C., the religion of Mithra had become general in the Roman provinces in the West and in a century in all Roman Empire. Much has been written on it by European writers and none has gone into it with greater insight than J. G. Frazer. "The immense popularity," he says, "of his (Mithra's) worship is attested by the monuments illustrative of it, which have been found scattered in profusion all over the Roman Empire. In respect both of doctrines and of rites, the cult of Mithra appears to have presented many points of resemblance, not only to the religion of the Mother of the Gods, but also to Christianity. The similarity struck the Christian doctors themselves and was explained by them as a work of the devil, who sought to seduce the souls of men from the true faith by a false and insidious imitation of it. . . . However that may be, there can be no doubt that the Mithraic religion proved a formidable rival to Christianity, combining as it did a solemn ritual with aspirations after moral purity and a hope of immortality. Indeed, the issue of the conflict between the two faiths appears for a time to have hung in the balance. An instructive relic of the long struggle is preserved in our festival of Christmas, which the church seems to have borrowed directly from its heathen rival." Vide J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, IV (1907).



MITHRAS

The God of all Oriental Nations after the time of
Alexander the Great

Central Asia, and several schools of scholasticism came to be founded. Among the thinkers of this period, there was one Arsaka or Arask, who is said to have been the expounder of the Zarvānic theory. The word *Zarvan* (eternal time) is mentioned in the *Avesta*, but no importance is attached to it. The time theory is also mentioned in the *Svētusvatara Upanishad* (VI. 1) in the following lines :—

"Svabhāvum ēkē kavayō vadanti kālam

Tathānyē parimuhyamānāḥ |

i.e., some wise men deluded, speak of nature, and others of time (as the cause of everything).

Also in the *Bhagavad-Gītā* (XI. 32) the following line occurs :—

Kālo ssmi lokakshayakṛit pra vridhho

Lokānsamā hartumiha pravṛttah ||

i.e., Time am I, laying desolate the world, made manifest on earth to slay mankind.

In Iran, the time theory was made so predominant that with the Zarvānist, Zarvān superseded even Ahura, who, together with Angramainyu, became its offshoot. It was the ultimate cause of everything in existence. Its other aspects were *thwāsa* (space) and *kfeta* (light). In Zarvānic theology, *thwāsa* and *Vāyu* (wind) have a high place and were worshipped together with Zarvān. The twelve signs of the Zodiac were assigned to space : as in Mithraism,⁴ much importance was given to planets which were believed to control human destiny by their celestial movements. Zarvānism was a philosophical conception, as well as a religion, of which, as in Mithraism, symbolism, mythology and astrological speculation were the chief features. It prevailed all over Iran and might have influenced India and Syria. Some of the great Zoroastrian theologians of the Sassanid period were Zarvānists. It is doubtful whether it existed as an independent religion. It finally died on the revival of orthodox Zoroastrianism and the spread of Maniism,⁵ though the idea of time as an important factor

⁴ *Ibid.* See Footnote 3 above.

⁵ *Maniism* : Mani, the founder of the sect (b. 215 A.D.), appears to have borrowed his system in great part from Zoroaster. His teachings are referred to in the text lower down. They ascribe the created universe to two antagonistic principles, the one essentially good—God, spirit and light ; the other essentially evil—the evil spirit, matter, darkness. Mani was partly influenced by the Gnostics. He called himself "leader", "ambassador" and "paraclete". His religion was one of physical redemption, and admits the worship of no personal redeemer. His religion spread abroad, influenced Christianity and even succeeded in capturing Augustine. Mani wrote six works in Syriac and a *Holy Gospel*, the latter in opposition to the *New Testament*. See Russell, *Religious Thought and Heresy in the Middle Ages* (1918).

in the universe existed even in Arabia at the advent of Islam, as it is thus mentioned in the *Quran* :—

"I swear by the time, most surely man is in loss except those who believe and do good and persuade others to take up the truth and have patience."

And they say : "There is nothing but the present life in this world : we live and die and nothing destroys us but *time*."—(Ch. XLV-24).

BARDESANES

Among the more important religious reformers and thinkers of this period was Ibn Daisan or Bardesanes,⁶ who is said to have descended from a Partian clan. His father migrated to Edessa, where Bardesanes was born in 154 A.D. He was brought up in Syria, and knew the Syriac language well. At the age of 25, he embraced Christianity and received baptism, apparently from an Iranian Bishop named Hystaspes. He died at the age of 65, in 222 A.D. He derived his theology partly from Christianity and partly from Zoroastrianism, and maintained the existence of the dual principles of light and darkness. His hymns are supposed to be the best pieces of poetry in the Syriac language. He described the origin of the world by a process of emanation from the Supreme Being, whom he calls "the father of living". It is through destiny that intelligence descends into the soul and soul into the body. Evil cannot be created by God. A human being has freedom of will but his body is subject to nature and his mundane affairs such as death, disease, etc., are under the influence of destiny. Hence will, nature and destiny constitute the life of man. He denied resurrection. As a Christian, he believed that Christ was not born of Mary but through Mary.

MANI AND HIS PHILOSOPHY

Mani was another great Iranian thinker of this period. His father was a member of a respectable family, resident in Nishapur, who went over to Hamadan and finally settled in a village close to Ctesiphon, the capital of the Sassanian Empire, where Mani was born in 215 A.D. He received a sound education under his father. He studied Greek literature and philosophy, music, painting, astrology and medicine. At the age of

⁶ *Bardesanes* (154-222 A.D.): An Iranian, born at Edessa in Mesopotamia. It is said that he was the tutor of Clement of Alexandria. He was the last of the Gnostics, but developed a system of his own. He tried to explain the origin of evil by assuming two supreme principles, the one good, the other evil, which are co-equal. He asserted that the body of Christ was not real, but celestial, and he would not accept the doctrine of the resurrection of the body. His hymns are well known. Vide A. Hilgenfeld, *Bardesanes* (1864). See also lower down in the text,

about 25, he declared himself a reformer. As to his philosophical views, he did not agree with the Zarvānist, who believed both matter (darkness) and spirit (light) to be creations of Zarvān; neither did he accept the Zoroastrian teaching, which placed Ahuramazda above everything. He further did not agree with the Avestan teaching that worldly life in its essence is the work of Ahuramazda. He conceived matter not as a receptacle (as in Zoroastrianism) of the spirit, but as an absorber of the spirit. In Zoroastrian teaching, matter has no real existence. It is receptive of good and bad forces, which continue to fight each other, till one is subdued by the other. The human soul manifested as "Will" through the light of intelligence, has to side with one of these and accordingly forms its future destiny. But Mani makes matter the opponent of spirit, with a true independent existence. He says that the visible world is the result of the mixture of darkness with a portion of light; that light and darkness are two separate elements, one above and the other below. Their union is forced and unnatural and separation is necessary. Matter is blind, devoid of intelligence and will. Its activity is formed by mixing with the spirit. It must revert finally into the dark pit, and the soul must try to release itself from material bondage. The world is not the creation of God but of the devil and material life in its essence is evil. Mani called the Supreme Being "Father of the Kingdom of Light". He is pure in his nature, eternal and wise. He is the truth, ever existent, glorious in his power and conscious of his self. According to Mani's cosmogony, matter (darkness) thrusts itself into the realm of spirit (light). The Father of the Kingdom of Light, to repel its encroachments, successively called the following into being : *First Descent*.—He, the Supreme Being, emanated as mother of the life, who, in turn, produced the primal man; *Second Descent*.—(1) A friend of life (*narasaf* or *nairyo Sanha*); (2) as *bān* (builder); and (3) as *Mitvra*. The *Third Descent* was in the form of visible light. As the mother of life, or the universal intelligence, is an emanation of the Father of Light, she must be the same with the Father in essence. The mother in turn produces the primal man or the Universal Soul, who is reflected in all individual souls. The primal man was appointed to the difficult task of subduing matter (darkness). He was preceded by an angel named Nahashbat, bearing a crown of victory, but he was vanquished in the struggle and lost a portion of light, which was absorbed or became mixed with darkness and formed into the universe. Thus, matter or darkness, in consequence of its contact with light, became tame and active. On the other hand, light was deluded and confused. The aim of the Father of Light in surrendering a small portion of light was to stop further progress of darkness into his realm and

to gradually release the imprisoned light. The aim of worldly life is to rescue the imprisoned soul from matter. Hence, body, though a prison for the spirit, is the source through which spirit finds its way to freedom. The soul (light portion) must be distilled by renunciation of material jugglery (pleasures) and, after its purification from matter, will be taken up through the sun and moon to the realm of light. A human being, in his essence, is an image of higher existence. He is the instrument of the Father of Light, through whom the Father draws the imprisoned light. He is a miniature world, a mirror of all powers of the heaven and earth. In him, the soul is the light and the body is the darkness. When all souls are released of their bodies, the world will come to an end.

- Mani's ethics is based on renunciation of all the worldly enjoyments, by avoiding idolatry, falsehood, greed, murder, want of charity, magic, hypocrisy, etc. As among the Buddhists, his followers are divided into the elect and the lay. The elect or the renouncers of the world's pleasures, were the select few. The other class was named "hearers" (Buddhist, *śrāvakas*). The elect had to abstain from marriage, wine, all animal food and live a wandering life and to remain content with one day's food and one year's cloth. They could not trade or cultivate, nor even prepare their own food, which had to be provided by the "hearers" and even that each day for that day's sustenance. Man or woman could become an elect.
- The "hearers" lived ordinary lives but they too were recommended to be vegetarian in their diet. Besides this, corresponding to the three Indian qualities of *sattva*, *rājasa* and *āmasa*, there was, according to Mani, a third class of sinners. They were men of darkness and ignorance. Matter was called "the dark" or "hyle", the Arabic *hayūla*, originally a Greek word, meaning an eternal but unspiritual element. Among the great thinkers and the reformers who preceded him, Mani has mentioned the names of Plato, Zarathushtra, Hermes, Buddha and Jesus with great respect. He has explained the fall of man as the voluntary entanglement of good with the evil to release the captive light. His Jesus is not the one crucified by the Roman Governor Pilate, but a revealed and visible light, which is life and salvation to humanity, through his sacrifice and suffering. In other words, he is the life energy and nature, causing man's activity through food. Hence, the meaning of the last supper, cup and wine was interpreted to mean the hidden life energy flowing into human beings through vegetation and other foods. It was considered a blasphemy, if one thought that God has created both bad and good, or the Demon of darkness and primal man were both creations of the one God or that sun and moon are dead, and rise and set mechanically. Mani's conception of spirit as light to be distilled and released gra-

dually from matter cannot be reconciled with a belief in resurrection. There must be birth and re-birth in some form, which is called *Zādmurd* in Manichæan writing, and means "birth-death", till the whole imprisoned light in the body is released. It may be released, as in the case of a few of the "elects", sooner than in that of the "hearers", but we do not know exactly whether the forms of birth and re-births were the same as in the Indian system, or the Manichæans had some peculiar theory of their own. Mani expounded a theory of evolution as given in the following lines, taken from one of the Manichæan hymn books named *Mahrnamag* (Book of the Mahr or Mitra), which I copy from Mr. W. Jackson's article published in the *Journal of the J. A. O. Society* for September 1925 :—"A⁷ *franapt ahēm urvar*, I proceed from plant". This idea was taken up by the Sufis, as we find it in the following famous verses of Jalal-ud-din Rumi :—"I was dead in inorganic things and took growth into that of plants and died in plant and reached to the stage of animal life and when dead in animal, I live as human being ; then why should I be afraid of death and consider that by dying I may be lost."⁷

Maniism spread in the West as far as Europe and Africa and in the East to China, India and Tibet. It influenced Christianity and Islam. When the Muslim Arabs conquered Iran, they made no distinction between Manichæans and Zoroastrians. Therefore, Arab rule was a temporary relief to Manichæans from Zoroastrian persecution. But, in course of time, it became known that the Manichæan community is a secret body dangerous to the cause of Islam and a severe persecution was started by the Khalif and his successors. Nevertheless, their number was not much reduced till the invasion of the Mongols, when they were finally extirpated both from Iran and Central Asia.

MANICHÆISM AND THE QURAN

There are some ideas parallel to Manichæism appearing in the *Quran*, among which are :—

- (1) The parable of the two trees, one relating to the life of God and the other to Death and Darkness filling the whole space.
- (2) That the Jews did not crucify Jesus but crucified some other man by mistake.
- (3) The grades of men classified according to spiritual attainment or material tendency are three, both in the *Quran* and the Manichæan doctrine.

⁷ Cf. Shakespeare :—

Imperial Cæsar, dead and turned to clay,
Might stop a hole to keep the wind away.

Hamlet, Act V. 1.

Islam, Judaism and Christianity make *Satan* the tempter of Adam and Eve and the result is the Fall and sin of Adam. Mani, however, takes quite a different view. He says it was Jesus who revealed the secret of death and the misery of material human existence by making man taste the fruit of knowledge. According to Mani, primal man and the mother of the living are manifestations of the divine energy. They are not eternal. He refuted the system of Bardesanes and argued against his theory that the human soul is purified in this body ; according to Mani, it was really imprisoned and lost its purity. Mani holds that matter prevents the soul from attaining salvation. Mani's writings are of two kinds, philosophical and theological. His theology is a collection of rather crude myth and parables, but, for a careful observer, there is in it an undercurrent of deep philosophy and reasoning.

MAZDAK

Another Iranian thinker of this period was Zaradusht, the son of Khurragān, a native of Nisa and a successor of Mani. His views were expounded by a follower of his school, named Mazdak, a native of Tabriz, or according to some writers of South Iran. Mazdak, like Mani, was highly learned. He became a Zoroastrian high priest while yet a young man. His as well as his master's philosophy is a modification of Manichæism. Mani had agreed that the universe is formed by the entanglement of the spirit in matter and that matter is the cause of such mixture. Now, the point open for discussion was the possibility of such mixture. Mazdak maintained that since matter possessed neither intelligence nor will, it could not be aggressive. Therefore spirit must have descended into matter. But the spiritual aspect of man is weak and revolting to matter. Therefore the union of spirit which makes matter intelligent and active is matter's encroachment, but accidental and not intentional, as depicted by Mani. He has emphasised this point and thus founded a separate school of thought. Further, he asserts that the imprisoned spirit in matter has the attribute of intelligence and will. Therefore it must realize its unnatural state and strive to release itself and join its original source. According to Mazdak, the world is composed of three elements, viz., fire, water and earth. That being which is produced of harmonious and pure combination of the elements is good and that which is polluted and is produced from unequal combination is bad. God, the Supreme Being, is possessed of the attribute of the power of discernment, memory, intelligence and contentment, and these his four powers, direct the affairs of the world, through seven sub-powers, and are responsible for the formation of the universe. Under these sub-powers, there are twelve qualities permeating all animate things. Through

these qualities, man attains the seven higher powers and gaining them turns towards the four highest divine attributes and finally attains emancipation. The ethics of Mazdak, like that of Mani, is based on the renunciation of all worldly possession. He prohibited the eating of flesh, killing of harmless animals, war and bloodshed.

The Mazdakites were persecuted by King Khusrue I and his successors, and once again by the Muslim Khalifs but the teaching of Mazdak remained alive, and appeared in a much modified form in the Ismailiyya and Khurramiyya movements. Mazdak announced his teaching in about 487 A.D. and was beheaded in 528-29 A.D. at the age of 68.

GREEK PHILOSOPHY

During the semi-historical age when Egypt, Babylon and other Eastern countries formed centres of civilisation and learning, Grecian scholars travelled to those countries and acquired knowledge and in turn themselves became the torchbearers of culture and illuminated the East with their art, architecture and philosophy. History repeated itself in the scholastic period of Europe, when once again Europeans sought culture and refinement from the East, but soon surpassed their masters.

THE EARLY THINKERS

Among the earliest Greek philosophers was Thales of Miletus,⁸ who lived probably in the early 6th century B.C., and therefore a contemporary of the Median kings of Iran, and not far removed from the age of Gautama Buddha. Thales had studied astronomy and perhaps other branches of science also in Babylon. It is not certain whether he was a pure Greek or an outsider domiciled in Greece. He has been reckoned so great a philosopher as to be counted as one of the seven sages of ancient Greece. He stands at the head of the philosophical school, and usually spoken of as the father of philosophy in general as the first to seek and find within Nature an explanation of Nature. "The principle of all things," he says, "is water": "all comes from water, and to water all returns". His countryman and successor Anaximander, born about 610 B.C., improved upon Thales by saying that the primitive substance is some-

⁸ *Thales of Miletus*: Lived about the close of the 7th century B.C.; a philosopher of the physical school. Miletus from which he took his name was the foremost Iranian city of ancient Asia Minor, at the mouth of the Meander; was the mother of many colonies; was the port from which vessels traded to all the Mediterranean countries and to the Atlantic; its carpets and cloth were famed; its first greatness passed away when Darius stormed it in 494 B.C.; it was finally destroyed by the Turks; amongst its famous sons were Thales, the philosopher, and Cadmus, the historian.

thing indeterminate and eternal, infinite in space and time, that the earth is not flat resting on water but is suspended in space. Anaximanes, the third philosopher of the Milesian school, fixed air as the first principle of things. Air, according to him, is the elementary substance, by becoming cool or warm, dense, liquid or dry changes its forms. It was about this time that West Asia Minor was invaded and annexed by Cyrus the Great⁹ to his vast Empire. Thus the Iranians came into direct contact with the Greeks and remained so till the rise of the Roman Empire. The centre of Greek philosophy for some time was transferred from Miletus to Ephesus. In the meanwhile, Pythagoras, who was born at Samos, flourished about the middle of the 6th century B.C. and founded his famous school of thought at Croton in Magna Græcia.¹⁰ He is considered to have travelled far in the east and to have derived his knowledge in theology, geometry and arithmetic from eastern sources. He is even reported to have been taken captive by Cambyses I in Egypt, who, it is said, took him to Syria, from whence he found his way to Babylon. But Cambyses, before reaching Babylon, died in Syria. Pythagoras is chiefly noted for his theory of numbers, which he and his followers had accepted as the elements of all things. Odd numbers were considered superior in quality to even numbers and number four (4) was considered to be the most perfect. In his conception of the dualistic nature of the universe, the teaching of Pythagoras is somewhat similar to the doctrine of Zoroaster. In other respects, he comes close to Hindu philosophy. For instance, he believed that not only animate creatures but also everything in this universe possesses a soul, and that every soul passes from one body to another according to its perfect or imperfect state. Music and astronomy were considered by him as sister sciences. His successors, and among them Socrates, Plato and

⁹ *Cyrus the Great*: Also called Cyrus the Elder, the founder of the Iranian Empire (560-29 B.C.); overthrew his grandfather Astyages, king of the Medes; subdued Cræsus, king of Lydia; conquered Babylon; and finished by becoming master of all Western Asia; a man of great energy and generosity; he left the nations he subjugated and rendered tributary free in the discharge of their institutions; historians have remarked that this policy was actuated by political motives. Xenophon's work, *The Cyropædia*, is an idealistic account of the education of this great king.

¹⁰ *Pythagoras* (540-500 B.C.): Travelled extensively and settled at Croton, in Magna Græcia, where he founded a fraternity, the members of which bound themselves in closest ties of friendship to purity of life and to achieve co-operation in disseminating and encouraging a kindred spirit in the community around them, the final of it being the establishment of a model social organization. He left no writings behind him, and we know of his philosophy chiefly from the philosophy of his disciples. The fundamental thought of this philosophy was that "of proportion and harmony,

Aristotle, were influenced by his or by the teaching of his followers. He is considered to be the father of early European science, religion and ethics. His name was held in high veneration by Muslim writers. Heraclitus, the greatest philosopher of the Ephesian school, fixed fire as the primary substance. He believed in a continuous motion or constant flux in the universe such as Buddha taught, the continuous chain of "Change". Like Zoroaster, Heraclitus admitted the dualistic nature of the physical world, but asserted that the apparent opposites are really the two aspects of the same truth. His ethical ideal also, like that of Zoroaster, is based on struggle and conflict. Parmenides, the great philosopher of the Eleatic school, on the other hand, denied motion and change and said that "being" is uniform, unchangeable and motionless. Thus the perpetual flux of Heraclitus became the unchangeable reality with Parmenides, who named the two apparent principles which cause diversity in the world fire and earth, or heat and cold. His pupil Empedocles, of Agrigentum in Sicily, advanced the theory that man before taking the human form has to pass through various stages of vegetable and animal life, which theory we find in Rumi's *Masnavi* also. Empedocles abstained from eating meat and considered animal life to be sacred. He did not, like Heraclitus, believe in strife alone, but conceived the universe as made up of two moving forces, the uniting one of love, and the disuniting one of strife. Leucippus originated and Democritus¹¹ elaborated the theory of atoms, which was common to Greek and Indian philosophers, and later taken up by Muslims also. In India, the Jains, *Vaisesikas* and the followers of the *Nyaya* system together with the Northern Buddhists believed

and this idea is to them as well the principle of practical life, as the supreme law of the universe". According to Schwegler, it was a kind of "arithmetical mysticism, and the leading thought was that law, order and agreement obtain in the affairs of Nature, and that these relations are capable of being expressed in number and in measure". The whole tendency of the Pythagoreans, in a practical aspect, was ascetic, and aimed only at a rigid castigation of the moral principle in order thereby to ensure the emancipation of the soul from its mortal prison-house and its transmigration into a nobler form. It is this doctrine that is so prominently associated with the Pythagorean philosophy which has led certain authorities to suggest that Pythagoras owed it to the Hindus, Cambyses, who took him captive, was King of Iran (d. 54 B.C.): succeeded his father Cyrus the Great; subdued Egypt; ended his life in dissipation and vindictive acts of cruelty.

¹¹ *Leucippus and Democritus*: Both these belonged to the 6th century B.C. Only fragments of Democritus's writings have come down to our times, though they appear to have been well known in the time of Cicero, who compares them for splendour and music of eloquence to Plato's. He has been called the "Laughing Philosopher" from, it is alleged, his habit of laughing at the follies of mankind (Born 460 B.C.).

in the atomic theory. The Greek atomists thought that Being or non-being, a thing or nothing (in Arabic—*Shai* or *la-shai*) are the other names for extension and void or existence and non-existence. Existence as such consists of an unlimited number of invisible atoms placed in the infinite void. They are eternal and indestructible and therefore have no beginning for existence. They cannot be divided nor are they perceptible. They are of various sizes, all consisting of the same substance. Their different combinations are the cause of various forms and qualities. By their combinations, things come into existence, and they pass out of existence by their separation. Their combinations and separation cause motion which needs an empty space. Therefore, space and motion are necessary to each other and are real. Each substance has a peculiar atom for its formation. For instance, fire is made of the smallest round atoms, black colour of smooth atoms, white of rough, sour taste of small angular, sweet taste of large round atoms, and so forth. Even the soul is not anything beyond atoms. It is made up of fire atoms which work as thought in brain, as courage in heart, and as desire or passion in the liver. Sensation is caused when images leave an object and strike the sense organs. Size and weight are connected with bodies or forms. Thus the significance of Pythagorean numbers was given to continuous flux by Heraclitus, 'rest' by Parmenides, motion and atom by Democritus. According to Parmenides, motion and change are illusions of the senses, the real being unchangeable and motionless. This resembles the Vēdāntic and Sufistic theories concerning the one Supreme Reality. Anaxagoras, who was born about 500 B.C., recognised the sun and the moon, which were worshipped as Gods by the Greeks, the former a red-hot mass of stone and the latter an earthly body and the *Nous*, or reason, was explained by him, as the cause of order in the confused universe. He considered matter as unchangeable in quality and quantity. According to Diogenes of Appollonia, *Nous* was the element air, which he considered the only intelligent cause in nature.

THE SOPHISTS

The Sophists were a class of Grecian learned men seeking knowledge and learning for wealth and social development. They started reasoning by representing the object to be argued in different lights and from different points of view, sometimes by contradicting a fact and at other times by affirming an idea. Their chief instrument was the power of speech and cross-examination as to an object. With them like or dislike, pleasure or pain were the means of distinguishing between right and wrong. Each man must use his own judgment and what he thinks the best he should do. There is no standard for virtue



SOCRATES

or morals. Religion is the outcome of men claiming extraordinary heavenly powers for themselves. Law and justice are means to entrap the weak class. Traditions have no basis and true knowledge of objects is not possible. There is some resemblance between them and some Muslim scholastics. Their aim was not so much to know the truth as to gain their point in argument and earn livelihood by teaching. There were exceptions to this, as among them we find moralists and political and social reformers and deep thinkers also. In fact, the great moralist Socrates followed their method of argument not to silence his opponent, but to reach the true knowledge of an object or idea under discussion. He perfected this system of studying an object. Ibn-e-Hazm, the Spanish Muslim writer, says, that the Sophists are those who consider knowledge either as non-existent or relative. Among the noted Sophists were Protagoras of Abdera, Prodicus, Gorgias and Hippias of Ellis. The subjects of their studies were grammar, eloquence of speech or rhetoric, etc. They considered that the truth for one is not necessarily the truth for another. What one thinks good and true for himself, is for him alone. Man is the measure of all things. Among the Sophists, Hippias advocated the idea that men of higher intellect, virtue and wisdom in all parts of the world have common features and tendencies and therefore must be classed as one particular body or a separate state by themselves. Like Darius the Great, he valued truth as a high virtue and thought that an element of truth or right is found in the laws of all nations, which must be counted as the basis of their culture. According to Gorgias, in each age and society a particular type of virtue exists which is suitable to that age and society.

SOCRATES

The Sophist system ends or takes a new appearance by the rise of Socrates, the great moralist and the most respected philosopher of Greece, who flourished at the zenith of Achæminian power in Iran. He never wrote anything but his sayings were preserved by his disciples. He was born in 469 B.C. He was prosecuted on the charge of not recognising the gods acknowledged by the State and changing the ideas of young Greeks by his eloquence and power of argument. He was sentenced to death and with great courage and peace of mind drank a cup of hemlock and died in 399 B.C. at the age of seventy years. Thus, one of the greatest of Greek wisdom-seekers and if we believe in all that has been said about him, a self-sacrificing, just, honourable man, obedient to the laws of his country, a model of manly character, the most virtuous philosopher in the ancient world, whose parallel one can find only in Jesus and Buddha, died a victim of ignorance and tyranny. His

method of reasoning was an improvement over the Sophist system. While the Sophistic point of view was often taken to prove a statement put forward, Socrates agreed provisionally with the object of coming to a right conclusion. With him, knowledge was virtue. He wanted to know what is just and what is unjust, and what is true and what is not true, by putting cross questions and by inductive reasoning. Like Aristotle, he was not a strict logician but his arguments and conclusions were logical. He was interested more in knowing humanity and the object of human existence. His chief subject of study was ethics. He desired not only to do good but to value the beauty of goodness. With him, virtue was knowledge and vice ignorance. Therefore he combined knowledge with virtuous action. He was brave and bold in the battle-field, sincere and true in friendship, patriotic and obedient to the country and its laws. For him, his conscience was the right measure of judging good and evil and distinguishing between the real and the unreal. Like Zoroaster, he loved virtue and fought against ignorance, and believed individual happiness to be bound up with human happiness.

PLATO

Plato, whose true name was Aristocles, was the son of Ariston, a nobleman. He is known as *Aflatun* among Muslim writers. He was a pupil of Socrates. Among Western philosophers, he is the most respected in the East. He was born of a respectable family in 429 B.C. and died at the age of about 81. His first teacher in philosophy was Cratylus. He met Socrates at the age of twenty and remained under his training for eight years. When Socrates died, he left Athens and for some time travelled in Megara, Cyrene, and Egypt, and Magna Græcia. He returned to Athens, but after eight years, again left for Italy and Sicily and finally came to Athens and passed the remaining years of his life in teaching philosophy and mathematics. He was an ethical and speculative philosopher, a poet and a mystic and an idealist. His aim was human improvement and he was a lover of truth. He was a great mathematician, a beautiful writer and a deep thinker. He endeavoured to harmonise various concepts of past and contemporary thinkers with a great many additions of his own, which he has expressed in language which is dramatic in character and dialectic in form. The chief speakers in his philosophical dialogues are his teacher Socrates, the elder thinker Parmenides, and a number of other wise men of Greece, real and imaginary. Included among these are Hippocrates, Protagoras, Gorgias, Polus, Euthydemus and the like, who speak and agree on problems of metaphysics, logic, ethics and politics. In some cases, their discussion ends in a logical conclusion and in others the point at issue is left undecided.



PLATO

To teaching and writing, Plato devoted fifty years of his lifetime. The number of his genuine works is not less than 35 *Dialogues*, besides thirteen *Letters*, and a collection of *Definitions*. Of his works, besides the *Republic* (*Kitaba*), the following *Dialogues* were known through translations made into Arabic by Muslim scholars: *The Laws*; *Timæus*, whose Arabic translation is considered by some to be not of the original but of a commentary on it by Galen; according to Muslim writers, it is a work on physical nature, while in truth it is a work on metaphysics; *Sophist*; *Phædo*, which is quoted by Masudi and Albiruni; *Apology*; *Gorgias*; *Protagoras*; *Cleitophre*; *Phædrus*; *Cratylus*;¹² *Charmides*; *Theætetes*; *Laches*; *Euthydemus*; *Euthyphro*; *Parmenides*; *Meno*; *Menezinus*, etc.

Plato's name was so great in the East that a number of other works bearing on different subjects are associated with his name, such as alchemy, physiognomy, magical force or numerical signs, etc. The object must have been to make these subjects weighty and authentic by ascribing their authorship to the great philosopher. Such was also the case with some traditions of the Prophet and certain of the sayings of his companions and Sufi saints, because the narrator thought by ascribing certain maxims and wise sayings to holy persons, he would be making them more authentic and better appreciated by his audience. In some cases, Plato is confused with Plotinus and ideas of the one have been assigned to the other. Among the personages in the dialogues, two unauthentic names of Hipparchus and Meno have been included.

HIS METAPHYSICS—THE DOCTRINE OF IDEAS

Plato's philosophy is poetic, mystical and idealistic. The doctrine of *ideas* is explained by him in various dialogues from different points of view, apparently dropping at one time one view and adopting another, though to a deep observer there is really no confusion as to the conclusion. In some dialogues, *ideas* are explained as archetype or sensible objects, somewhat resembling the *Fravashis* of the Avestan doctrine. In other places, they are conceived as separate from their manifested aspects but imminent and again in other places, they are separate but not imminent. They are eternal realities of which objects of the sense are imperfect copies. They are thus classified:—1. Biological—such as the idea of man, animal, etc.; 2. Elemental; 3. Logical—similarity and dissimilarity; rest and motion, unity and multiplicity; 4. Material; 5. Ethical—the beautiful, the good, the just.

¹² This dialogue deals on the connection between language and thought.

The essence of these in their non-sensuous state is unchangeable and is distinguished from the manifested form. They are self-existent and eternal. The objects may be many, but the ideas of each class are one. Therefore, each concept has its various infinite aspects. In other words, Platonic ideas are universal in a class of particulars, or single qualities appearing in various forms in concrete things. They are ends of various concepts and in turn ending into the single idea of good (*Republic*), the final course of all being knowledge and perfection. Thus, they resemble the Iranian *Asha* or *Aria*, to which great importance is attached by Zoroaster, and the celebrated *mantra* of *Ashem Vohu Vahishtem* (praising the same) has to be repeated several times every day by all Zoroastrians. The *Idea* of the good is co-eternal with divine reason. It is the *Idea* of all *ideas* unmoved but moves all things and all things move towards it. It manifests itself in all ideas. In other words, all particulars are derived from their universal and universals from the single idea of the Good, which should be sought and known.

Idea is pure and imperishable, but things are transitory and between being and not being, knowledge and ignorance. They are partly derived from idea and partly from a certain principle which is ever changing, non-existent, and unknown. This Platonic principle is the so-called matter. It is formless but is the basis of all the changing forms of phenomena. It is also space. Ideas are patterns and things copies, but patterns are separate from copies. The intermediary link between pattern and copy, the unmoved and the Heraclitian ever-changing matter, is the soul which is the source of movement and life. It is also the cause of manifestation of reason in the universe. It stands midway between ideas and the corporeal world and unites both. It resembles the Iranian *Mithra*, and is incorporeal and ever the same, like Ideas. But as the sun spreads its light through the world and moves it by the force of its own original motion, it creates regularity, harmony, knowledge and reason by its own rationality and knowledge. The human soul in its nature resembles the soul of this universe, from which it springs. It is of simple and immaterial nature. Like the world soul, by power of self-movement it is the cause of motion in the body. It is connected with the idea of life having neither beginning nor end. It is descended from a higher world, and after death, if in pure condition, returns to its origin, but if impure it passes into other states till purified and made fit to join in its true whole.

HIS ETHICS

Virtue must be appreciated for its goodness and sought through education. One-sided exaggeration is not virtue. He

reduces virtue to wisdom, courage, self-control, and justice, and these again are reduced into knowledge or insight, which tends to assimilation into the divine nature. In his politics, his constitution is first based on the aristocratic and absolute rule of a few philosophers with democratic elements. Society is divided as in ancient Iran into three classes or castes, viz., learned men, warriors, and agriculturists including artisans. The caste system both in Iran and Plato's State was not so rigid as it is at present in India. The three castes were compared to the three parts of the soul, which is divided as reason in the brain, as courage in the heart, and as desire in the lower body. The two higher classes had to receive education from the State. Early training was given in music and gymnastics but in Iran the youths were trained in speaking the truth, riding the horse and shooting the arrow. Private property was allowed but, to a limited extent as fixed by law. Marriage was allowed, while domestic life was supervised by the State and boys as well as girls were educated in a common school. Relations with foreigners were controlled and limited by the State. Plato's deity is identical with the idea of the good. Divine worship is one with virtue and knowledge. The "Ideas" for him are eternal gods, and the cosmos and stars are also visible gods. The earth is an orb surrounded by a much greater and complete orb of heaven. The stars are fixed in sphere by the revolution of which they move in a spherical or round movement. When all of them return to their original position, one world year of ten thousand human years is completed. The stars are rational creatures.

MUSLIM WRITERS ON PLATO

Among Muslim philosophers, Al-Kindi wrote small treatises on Plato's theory of numbers as described in the *Republic* and on intelligence; while Fārābī wrote on intentions (*aghrāz*) the laws (*jawame*) and also a brief review of Plato's and Aristotle's philosophy. Abu Bakr Rāzi wrote a commentary on *Timæus* and Plato's metaphysics. Ibn-ur-Rushd (*Averroes*) wrote a commentary on the *Republic*, and Ali, son of Rizivan, wrote on the views of Plato and Aristotle concerning the immortality of the soul. Among other Muslim writers who have mentioned Plato in their works are:—Ibn-Ali Usaiba, Ibne-Kifti, An-Nadim and the Turkish biographer Haji Khalifa. Ibn-Kifti's sources are from Diogenes of Lærtius and from Diodorus Siculus. Plato is called the sage and *Shaikh* (chief) of Greek philosophers. The Muslim school of philosophy known as Ishraqi is considered to be related to Plato's doctrines. Plato's teaching is studied by Muslims in the light of Neo-Platonism. He is more respected than actually followed. His idea of good has been made identical by the Sufis with the

supreme beauty of God. The authors of *Ekhwan-us-safa* borrowed the theory of numbers and identified the four numbers to the following four, composing the existence:—God to the unit number, intellect to number two, the soul to number three and matter to number four. The idea of the world of intelligence was interpreted as corresponding to the Quranic world of the command and the senses to the Quranic world of creation. Plato's *Ideas* were taken as similar to the Muslim *ayan-e-Sabeta*, the *Intelligible* to *maqul* and *Example* to *mithal*. Some considered the *Ideas* as pure intelligence and the world as a reflection of the same. Masudi quotes Plato's theory of the soul causing motion of the body. Plato's description of love, number, relation of soul and body, the worlds of intelligence and corporeal things, etc., have been interpreted, as already remarked, in the light of Neo-Platonic teaching. In brief, Plato's influence on Muslim writers is largely indirect. He is followed more closely by mystics than by philosophers. He might have been known to contemporary Iranian learned men of the Achæmenian period.

ARISTOTLE

Aristotle, son of Nicomachus, was born at Stagria in Thrace, in 384 B.C. In his 17th year, he became a pupil of Plato and remained in Plato's academy studying and teaching for twenty years. When Plato died and was succeeded by his nephew, Aristotle left the academy and went to Hermias, chief of Atarmeus, with whom he remained for three years, and then moved to Mitylane. In 343 B.C., he became, at the request of Philip, King of Macedonia, tutor to Alexander the Great, then only 13 years old. On Alexander's expedition into Asia, he returned to Athens and founded his school where he passed twelve years. When Alexander died in 323 B.C., the anti-Macedonian party in Athens became strong and Aristotle as teacher of Alexander was in danger of losing his life. He therefore left Athens and departed to his native place near Chalcis, in Eubœa, where he died in 322 B.C., at the age of 62. While at Athens, he taught in the Lyceum, where it was his habit to walk up and down as he thought, from which circumstance his school got the name of Peripatetic. In Arabic, his followers are accordingly called *Mashshāeen* (of those who walk). He is described as *Moallum-e-avvul* (or the first teacher) and to Muslims is chiefly known as logician and grammarian. His name and works were known to the learned men of the East, having been translated into Aramaic (Syrian), the *lingua franca* of West Asia and Pahlavi, the State language of Iran. Like the writings of Plato, his works reached the hands of Eastern scholars through the commentaries by Porphyry and other writers of the Roman period. The Syriac version of



ARISTOTLE

(*From Herculaneum probably belongs to 4th century B.C.*)

Aristotle's logic by Paul, the Iranian, who was a contemporary and a favourite of Khusroe Anushirwan, King of Iran, shows that the translation was made through Neo-Platonic works. It was rather a translation of a translation. The Arabic grammar is held to have been influenced by Aristotle's Hermeneutic in its doctrines of the three parts of speech, viz., *Ism* (noun), *Fel* (verb) and *Harf* (letters). If this opinion be correct, then Aristotle's work must have reached Arabia even during the lifetime of the Prophet and known to some of his companions, because according to the traditions, it was Ali, the fourth Khalif, who explained to one Abu asud Doeli, the three fundamental principles of grammar, viz., *Ism*, *Fel* and *Harf*. The said Abu asud Doeli is considered to be the first known Arab grammarian.

Aristotle was encyclopædic in his learning. An original thinker and a great scholar, circumstances helped in making his pupil a world-conqueror. His pupil, in his turn, supplied his teacher with all material required for research in the natural sciences. Unlike Plato, who was a beautiful prose-writer, Aristotle was technical and dry. His chief achievement was in Logic, Ethics, Politics and Metaphysics, which he systematized and made into a science. In Astronomy, however, his theories proved misleading to the future generation. A comprehensive account of his philosophy is beyond the scope of this work, but a brief account, throwing light on its influence in the development of Muslim philosophy, is all that will be attempted here.

Aristotle's writings represent his lectures to his pupils. They may be set down under the following heads :—

1. Metaphysics (Aristotle's *First Philosophy*).
2. Physics (including *Astronomy*, etc.).
3. Logic.
4. Ethics and Politics.
5. Arts or Science of Production.

In what he calls *First Philosophy*, Aristotle discusses the first principles of the following problems :—

1. The Supreme Being, the first cause, the unmoved mover of the universe.
2. Nature and the world.
3. Form and matter.
4. The individual and the universal.
5. Active and passive intelligence.
6. Man and free will.

The Supreme Being is the prime mover of the world and also its final end. In the *Quran*, this idea is expressed thus :—
 "We are Allah's and to Him we shall surely return." This Supreme Mover is himself unmoved. He is ever eternal, self-existent, good, immaterial, beyond space and time. Everything

ning, and hence he does not believe in the creative power of the Supreme Being, which is against Islamic teaching. A further difference between Aristotle and Muslim teaching is in regard to the personality of God, on which Islam insists, while Aristotle is indifferent to it. Man is organic substance, made up of matter (as body) and soul (as essence). The activity of the soul is not uniform in all existing things. A plant possesses a nutritive soul; an animal, a nutritive, sensitive, appetitive and locomotive soul; while man, besides all this, possesses also the rational.

Intellect or reason thus distinguishes man from a mere animal. Reason is immortal or, in other words, unchangeable and divine, and enters from without. Its activity has no relation with the bodily activity. The animal possesses memory but man, besides memory, is gifted with the power of reminiscence. Reason is constructive and passive. The passive receives impressions of external things and is the seat of memory, and perishes with the body, but constructive or creative reason is eternal and immaterial, and, therefore, has no memory. This theory contradicts the belief in resurrection, which is not acceptable to Muslims. Aristotle's commentators have identified his active intelligence as universal and same everywhere, and among Muslim philosophers Ibn-ur-Rushd believed that there is only one intelligence in the universe and all human thinking is really the thought of the Supreme Being.

Aristotle's *Physics*, which was speculative to some extent, proved misleading to younger generations of both the East and the West for a considerable time. It is partly experimental and partly scientific. In its speculative aspect, Aristotle has imagined space as an unmoved limit of the universe or things in motion. The world moves in upper, lower, left, or right sides, and the earth is the lower half of it. Though the motion of the universe appears to be from left to right, really it is from right to left. The farthest end or the extreme outer circle is the most rapid in motion, which is the sphere of the planets. Aristotle gives between 47 and 52 spheres. Each planet possesses a soul which is its unmoved mover. The Earth is the centre of the universe and is stationary. Fire and earth, the two elements, represent heat and cold, and to these, moist and dry, water is added and wind considered as the fourth element. There is a fifth element, called ether, which has a circular motion. The other two motions tend towards the centre, as stone, or recede from the centre, as fire. The planets and stars have a revolving motion. Beyond space, there is no time. There is eternal and blessed life of peace in the region of the Divine, imperishable and unchangeable. The first heaven, the sphere of fixed stars, revolves from the left to the right and the planets revolve in the opposite direction. They are

composed of ether. The human soul is also of the same composition. The whole of this theory now appears a fiction and, even long before Aristotle, Pythagoras thought the earth was moving. The central position of the earth, as given by Aristotle, does not place it in a higher position. It is in the centre, but its destiny is bound up with an all-embracing circumference. This theory was accepted by Muslim poets and most of the thinkers, and from some passages in the *Quran*, it might be inferred that the earth is stationary and that the sun and the moon are moving, but in other passages, it is said that though mountains appear as at rest, they move as swiftly as clouds, which gives the idea of a moving earth.

The essential state of life is the natural heat, seated in the heart, which is also the seat of intelligence. The brain is the coldest and wettest part of the body. Thus, of the five senses, sight, sound and smell are placed in the brain; the other two (touch and taste), including commonsense, are connected with the heart. Aristotle's description of animals, of which a large number has been given by him, is, to a great extent, imaginary and mythical, in which he was followed by his Eastern successors. The scholastics of Europe converted the unmoved movers or intelligence of planetary spheres into angels.

Reasoning as a subject started with Socrates and, by Plato, made a dialectic, while it was organized and systematized as Logic by Aristotle. Aristotle, therefore, is called a great logician by Muslim thinkers. His logic was related to language, grammar and rhetoric, and based on concepts. It was further developed by Eudemus¹³ and Theophrastus,¹⁴ and became a subject of study by all subsequent Roman, Greek, Egyptian and Syrian scholars. It was called an introduction to the art of investigation and the science of correct thinking. Thinking consists in reasoning; in deriving the particular from the universal. Inferences are made up of judgments, which, when expressed in language, are called propositions. Judgments, again, are made up of concepts, which are expressed in terms. Concepts depend upon proof, which, according to Aristotle, fall under one of the following ten categories though, sometimes,

¹³ *Eudemus*: Pupil of Aristotle; is known by his history of mathematics and astronomy.

¹⁴ *Theophrastus*: A peripatetic philosopher, born in Zesbos; pupil, heir and successor of Aristotle, and the great interpreter and expounder of his philosophy; was widely famous in his day; his writings were numerous, but only a few are extant, on plants, stars and fire. Died 286 B.C. Among the other pupils of Aristotle were: Aristoxenus, known by his studies in the theory of music; and Dicaearchus, by his geography and politics. See Thilly, *History of Philosophy*, 94.

he enumerates only eight:—Substance, quality, quantity, relation, place, time, position, condition, activity and passivity. Categories are translated into Arabic as *maqulat*. Propositions (Arabic *Qaz āyā*) are classified into universal and particular, affirmative or negative. When one asserts or denies of the whole, what the other denies or asserts of the part, we have contradictions, and when the universal affirmative stands against a universal negative, we have contraries. A syllogism is a speech in which something is presupposed and contains premises, the major (Arabic, *Kubra*), and the minor (Arabic, *Sughra*), and a middle term which enables us to compare them. The different relation of the middle term gives us the three figures of the syllogism. There are two forms of syllogism, the inductive and deductive. The inductive method is to proceed from a particular to a general conclusion, and the deductive from a general to a particular.¹⁵ The first is concluded from part to whole and the last from whole to part. Induction proves the major and the middle premises by means of the minor and is based on assumptions obtained from experience. Aristotle, therefore, does not definitely assert that inductive proof leads to the final truth in all argumentation.

In India, Indrabhūti Gautama (about 607-515 B.C.) and Dignaga (500 A.D.) were the earliest writers on logic. But to the Indian, Logic (*Tarka* or *Nyāya Sāstra*) is not a separate formal subject. Any one of the six philosophical systems of schools of India may form its own logical theories. The Hindu categories (*Padārtha*) as enumerated by Kanāda, the founder of the Vaiśeṣika system, are:—*Dravya* (substance), *Guṇa* (quality), *Karma* (action), *Sāmānya* (community), *Viśeṣa* (difference) and *Sannavāya* (permanent inherence). To these, *Abhāva* (negation) was added. These seven categories, further subdivided into classes, lead to *Mōksha* or freedom.

In syllogism, we put two assertions together and out of them deduce a third. When two things are in the two extreme ends in the same genus, they are called contrary to each other, but when one is the negative of the other, it is termed contradictory. In Metaphysics, the universal is the first substance and the individual possesses a derivative existence; in Logic (categories), the individual is the first substance. A proposition must affirm or deny something. Such, in brief, was the art of logic taught by Aristotle and developed by his successors into a science.

¹⁵ The ideal science in Aristotle's day was mathematics; hence, the important role deduction plays in his logic. His aim was to reach the certainty of mathematics. See Thilly, *History of Philosophy*, 80.

HIS ETHICS AND POLITICS

Musim Ethics in its character is Eastern and more indebted to India than to any other foreign country. It has, however, a close resemblance to Aristotle's when it asserts 'Means' or moderation of various human faculties as virtue. This is suggested in the *Quran* in the following lines :—"And do not make your hand to be a fetter to your neck nor stretch it forth to the utmost of its stretching."¹⁶ This means that moderation should be adopted. Excess in anything becomes a vice. For example, cowardice, which is of the least use as a human defensive power, or rashness, its opposite, which is the overuse of the same ; but courage is moderation and therefore a virtue. Muslim writers base their ethics on the authority of passages in the *Quran*, to which Iranian and Indian traditions are added, though they classify according to Aristotle and often quote Socrates, Plato, Galen and Hippocrates in support. Plato taught knowledge to be the highest good and justice the basis of all virtues, to which Aristotle agrees and says that 'Means' balances virtue and vice. Plato enumerates courage, justice, temperance, wisdom and purity or holiness which was adopted by Aristotle, with the exception of holiness. In *Quran*, humanity, patience, chastity, faith, devotion and self-sacrifice are among the best virtues but they are not mentioned by Aristotle. His virtues are :—Courage, temperance, liberality, magnificence, right ambition, self-respect, gentleness, truth, wit and friendliness. Each of these possesses two extreme sides converting the same into vice. The means of virtue are fluctuating and modified according to the intellectual development, knowledge and circumstances of the individual. In brief, Aristotle believed too much or too little of anything to be had and his virtues are more Western than Eastern. He aims at excellent physical and intellectual activity ending in perfect wisdom, by which man attains to true happiness.

In politics, Aristotle's conception of the ideal State is a gathering of not more than 100,000 citizens, who must possess slaves captured in wars or by other means from non-Greeks to cultivate the land and to do service in the house. His ideal family is composed of husband, wife, children and slaves. If we classify the inhabitants into different castes, the highest according to Aristotle are Greeks, who must have time and leisure to pursue knowledge and educate themselves in philosophy ; the next are artisans, or those who work on wages ; and the lowest are slaves. The State should not be situated too close to the sea though it should possess a harbour. He had no enthusiasm for commerce, but prefers cultivation of

¹⁶ *Quran*, Chap. XVII. 29.

land, rearing of animals and working of mines as chief sources of wealth. He did not approve of usury, which he thought the most unnatural form of gaining riches. Islam also condemns usury as mentioned elsewhere in this work. Aristotle believed the Greeks had a right to fight with nations of lower civilization and to make them their slaves. The idea of slavery continued to be prevalent both in Europe and Asia, and even Christian theologians defended and approved it. Islam insists on kindness and good treatment of slaves but did not abolish slavery.

HIS THEORY OF EDUCATION

Aristotle's system of education may be thus summarised :

First 5 years in healthy play.

Years 5 to 7.—Easy education.

Years 7 to 14.—Primary education in music and physical exercises.

— Years 14 to 21.—Secondary education in gymnastics, letters, drawing and music and afterwards regular study of Arts and Sciences.

He thought by right training and education, good character is built up. The young mind must, according to him, be bent to all virtues. The youth should be trained to discipline and to obey the right rule. As is laid down in the *Quran*, rational capacity, if trained, develops into good, and if left to itself becomes corrupt and bad. "And the soul and its perfection. It has been given the capacity to deviate from the truth and to guard against evil. Therefore, if it guards against evil, it is successful and if it corrupts itself it is a failure." It is by constant doing of right acts that one can acquire good character. Moral goodness, according to Aristotle, is a condition of will and virtue a condition for the good intellect and right judgment.

HIS POLITICAL IDEALS

Aristotle's political ideal is a constitutional administration, somewhat resembling the present English constitution. The body of citizens in a State should obey the laws with the object of making their State good and perfect. He is inclined to submit to a constitutional king with heroic virtues. The greatest share of power should, in his view, be given to the middle class, saving the State on one side from tyranny and on the other hand from democracy. Thus, his government is a compromise between oligarchy and mob democracy. The highest happiness consists in the use of man's best powers either as an individual in his own welfare or as a citizen in the welfare of the State.

HIS IDEAS ON ARTS AND SCIENCES

The beginning and development of art in the West and the East took place on different lines. In the East, the art of poetry and music took birth in religious sentiment and remains so with some nations, for example, the Hindus. The earliest Iranian and Hindu poetry is made up of hymns in praise of gods. Eastern poetry is a representation of abstract universal spiritual yearning, personal admiration and attachment, which not infrequently degenerated into praise of unworthy tyrants or unexisting beloved. The author of *Charmagala*, a work which, according to Mr. E. G. Browne, throws a good deal of light on the intimate life of the Iranians and Central Asiatics in the 12th century, gives the following definition of poetry :— A poet must be able to make small events appear great and great small, cause good to appear bad and bad to appear good, in such a language that his suggestions might excite his readers and affect their minds, either with depression or exaltation, as desired by the poet. Thus the poet must be the indirect cause of great deeds. Ib-e-Khalledun, the Arab Philosopher-historian, says that Arab poetry can only be produced by one who has got by heart an enormous quantity of classical Arab verses, and he must cast his thoughts in the mould of past great Arab poets. He suggests that originality in regard to form is a defect. The *Quran* condemns contemporary Arab poets for not being true to their convictions, misleading others and themselves men of no principle. Aristotle's conception of poetry exalts imitation of nature, which naturally must be true and exact to the original. The idea of Aristotle elevates European poetry and art far above Muslim conception. Nature itself is an imitation of something supernatural and a poet's imagination may penetrate and perceive supernatural beauty. Like Plato, Aristotle believes in harmony and proportion as the essential features of beauty. He includes dancing, singing and painting, together with poetry as imitative arts. A poet not only must be true in the imitation of his mental or physical observations but also possess a creative tendency. He divides poetry into *Drama* (tragedy and comedy) and *Epic*. In a tragedy, the poet represents serious events, men possessed of higher ideals, and in comedy, of persons belonging to a lower class. In tragedy, he imitates noble action worth serious attention. As regards drama, Aristotle, after giving a historical description, concludes by saying that that art had degenerated in Greece in his time. He thinks poetry must be more philosophical and earnest than history, and drama, either historical or imaginary, should possess unity of action. Rhetoric is a mixture of logic and moral philosophy and historical argument must be either deductive or inductive, and to these, he adds

*enthymeme*¹⁷ or suggestion without conclusion, somewhat like the Indian figure named *dhvani*.¹⁸ An orator must draw the attention of his hearers either by appropriate illustration or *enthymemes*. The sources of persuasion are the personal character and integrity of the orator, which he must assure, exhibit and impress on his hearers and his mood and the method of his argument. In proposing a toast, the speaker must describe the present in flattering terms but on other occasions he can be critical. Drama was never appreciated or adopted as an art in Muslim Asia. We must accordingly conclude that this portion of Aristotle's work, *viz.*, poetry, never affected Muslim Arabia, Iran and other parts of the world.

HIS WORKS AS KNOWN TO MUSLIMS

The following works of Aristotle were known to Muslim philosophers :—

- Al-muqalat*, categories.
- Al-Ibara*, Hermeneutic.
- Al-qiyas*, Analytics.
- Al-burhan*, apodeictic.
- Al-jadal*, topics.
- Al-maghalit*, Sophistici elenchi.
- Al-Khatāba*, Rhetoric.
- As-sher*, Poetics.
- As-samul-kiyan*, De coelo.
- As-suma-wal-alam*, De generatione.
- Al-kaun-wal-fisad*, meteorology.
- Al-atharul-alawiya*, De anima.
- An-nafs*, De sensu.
- Al-hasse-wul-mahsus*, senses and sensibles.
- Al-hayawan*, Historia animalium.
- Ma-bad-ut-tabi'a*, Metaphysics.
- Al-akhlaq*, Ethics.

Among the Muslim admirers of Aristotle was Ibn-ur-Rushd (or Averroes), whose commentary on Aristotle's philosophy is a standard work of Mediæval Europe. There was no distinction made between the genuine works of Aristotle and Platonist commentators. The latter were studied and sometimes preferred. On the whole, Aristotle's views were modified

¹⁷ *Enthymeme*: From Greek *enthymema*, *en*, and *thymos*, mind. In logic, an argument consisting of only two premises or propositions, a third proposition required to complete the syllogism being suppressed or kept in mind.

¹⁸ *Dhvani*: In rhetoric, indicates the first and best of the three main divisions of *Kāvya* (or poetry), in which the implied or suggested sense of a passage is more striking than the expressed sense, or where the expressed sense is made subordinate to the suggested sense.

according to Islamic teachings. His dualistic and pantheistic views not only proved unacceptable but also objectionable to Muslim theologians. According to Aristotle, man is composed of matter and an immaterial essence. Intellect is immortal and divine and a third kind of substance. These views had to be reconciled by Muslim thinkers with the views propounded in different passages occurring in the *Quran*.

A large number of Muslim thinkers and writers have written in refutation of Aristotelian philosophy. Among them are :—Abu Zakariya Razi and Ibn-e-Hazm, who wrote against Aristotle's logic ; Nazzām, Abu Alī Jubbāi, Hebetullah, son of Alī Abu Baraktā, and Hasan, son of Musa Naubakhti, on his other works.

NEO-PLATONISM

After Alexander's death, his vast empire was broken up into a number of small and large states—Macedonian, Iranian and Greek. Greek literature and philosophy, however, pervaded the East as far as the Punjab. Amongst its important centres, Seleucia was one in the East, which was not far away from Ctesiphon, the capital in succession of the Parthian and the Sassanian Empires of Iran. Mithraism became the predominant mystic religion in Asia Minor and soon found followers all over the Roman Empire and North Africa. This was the most important blending of the Eastern and Western sense in religion, which was displaced by a more complete fusion of the East and the West in Christianity. The history of pure Greek philosophy ended with the school of Aristotle but reappeared blended with Oriental thought under the name of Neo-Platonism, in which several aspects peculiar to the East had mingled, such as the theory of emanation, ascetic life, contemplation, ecstasy, devotion, vanity of all earthly pleasures, etc. It was meant for and became agreeable to men of pure habits, possessed of a religious and speculative turn of mind, but it could not make itself understood by the masses. Later, it was modified and taken up by Christian and Muslim mystics. In India, it exerted no influence, as Buddhism, one of its constituents, was itself largely Upanishadic in its philosophical aspects.

The third century A.D. is noted for the decline and final disappearance and absorption of Mithraism into Christianity, and the appearance of great thinkers in the East, such as Bardesanes in Mesopotamia, Arask and Mani in Iran, Ammonius Sakkas and his disciple Plotinus in Egypt. The theory of emanation, belief in a sort of trinity or Pantheistic nature of existence, and strict morality or asceticism were common to all the new philosophical systems of thought or religious movements of this period.

PLOTINUS

Plotinus, the propounder of Neo-Platonism, was an Egyptian Copt, born in Lykopolis, about 205 A.D.¹⁹ He was an elder contemporary of Mani and died three years before him in 270 A.D. At the age of about 27, he became a pupil of Ammonius Sakkas and remained under him for eleven years. When his master died, he enlisted himself in the army of the Roman Emperor Gordian, who was going on an expedition to Iran (which, by the way, ended in failure), to acquire knowledge from Oriental sources. In 245 A.D., he settled down at Rome and passed his life in teaching philosophy. Though a man of vast learning and original thought, he was of an ascetic temperament, of pure and simple habits, delicate in health, shy and modest in nature. His essays were collected and edited by his pupil, Malchus, a Syrian by birth, who adopted the Greek name of Porphyrius. His work is entitled *Enneads*.²⁰

According to the Muslim writer Masudi, the centre of philosophy, shifted from Athens to Rome during the reign of Emperor Augustus and Alexandria became another centre under Theodosius.²¹ A good number of the so-called Roman

¹⁹ *Plotinus* (207-70 A.D.): He advocated a system which was opposed to the reigning scepticism of the time at Rome. Very briefly put, it based itself on the intuitions of the soul elevated into a state of mystical union with God, who, in His single unity, sums up all and whence all emanate, all being regarded as an emanation from Him. Fundamentally, all existence is traced, not to two principles but to one! God is the simple unity that lies beyond all multiplicity. It has been suggested that his doctrine represents in its essence the Upanishadic theory of transcendentalism with which he became conversant at Alexandria, which was directly in touch with India at the time.

²⁰ *Porphyry* (233-305 A.D.): Born at Tyre; he wrote a work against Christianity, known only from the replies. He accused Christians of appropriating and adulterating the teaching of his master.

²¹ *Theodosius I*: Surnamed the Great; Roman Emperor; (346-95 A.D.); became Emperor of the East in 379 A.D. Defeated the Goths and conciliated them. Actively interfered in the West, became sole head of the Empire in 394 A.D. Was a zealous churchman, and stern suppressor of the Arian heresy; the close of his reign marks the beginning of the end of the Roman Empire, for his death opened the floodgates of barbarian invasion and from this date—about 395 A.D.—begins the formation of the new kingdoms of Europe.

Antioch: An ancient capital of Syria, on the Orontes, called the Queen of the East, lying on the high-road between the East and the West and accordingly a busy centre of trade; a city, at one time of great splendour and extent, and famous in the early history of the Christian church as the seat of several ecclesiastical councils and the birthplace of Chrysostom.

philosophers were originally from the East. Besides the two places mentioned above, other centres of learning were founded in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Syria and Iran. Among these were Antioch, Cæsarea, Seleucia, Harran, Nisibis, Edessa and Junde-Shahpur in Khuzistan (Iran).²² During this period, i.e., between the third and the sixth century A.D., philosophy became more and more theological and scholastic. At the same time, Christianity in the West and Zoroastrianism in the East became State religions supported by the great Roman and Iranian Empires respectively. In the sixth century, Neo-Platonism ceased to be an independent philosophy but soon, as already suggested, re-appeared modified in the form of Christian and Muslim mysticism.

Neo-Platonic Philosophy may be classified under the following headings :—

1. God or primeval Being.
2. The intelligible or invisible world.
3. The sensible or phenomenal world.
4. The soul.
5. Man's immortality ; his descent and ascent, sin and emancipation.
6. Ethics.
7. Beauty and vision.

God or Supreme Being is one, but Platonism like pre-Islamic Arabs believed in stars, nature, earth and demons as deserving respect and worship and the unity of a Supreme Being like Mithra and Christ was explained in terms of trinity through emanation. The difference between the Christian conception of trinity and Platonism is in attributes and persons. While Christians believed in their persons united into one, the Platonist held to an impersonal trinity which may be thus summed up :—The Supreme Being, formless, attributeless, above goodness, above life, above thought, motionless, neither

Cæsarea : A Syrian seaport, 30 miles north of Joffa ; built in honour of Augustus Cæsar by Herod the Great ; now in ruins, though a place of note in the days of the Crusades.

Seleucia : There were several ancient cities of this name in Syria, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Caria and Mesopotamia, founded under the Seleucid kings. The one referred to in the text was the one situated in Mesopotamia or the present Iraq.

Edessa : Called by travellers as Orfa ; a very ancient city in the north of Mesopotamia ; made a Roman military colony in 216 A.D. ; conquered by Muslims in 638 A.D. ; an early seat of Christianity and accordingly figures in church history ; reputed to have contained at one time about 300 monasteries ; has numerous mosques and churches ; it is held sacred by Muslims and Jews, as they believe it to have been the residence of Abraham.

²² *Khuzistan* : Ancient Susiana ; a province of Iran, having Fars in the East and the Iranian Gulf on the South.

increasing nor decreasing, yet the true source of all existence and even producing. As is said in the *Quran*, "Every moment He is in a state".²³ He shines everywhere and everything is His reflection, the distinction is caused by the successive stages of reflection and every lower state is comparatively a weak reflection turning to its higher for illumination. His centre is everywhere but circumference nowhere. He has no desire or will but superconscious, a state which may be figuratively explained as a state of wakefulness. As is described in the *Quran*, "Allah is He, besides Him there is no God, the ever living, the self-subsisting, slumber does not overtake Him nor sleep".²⁴

His first emanation is the *Nous* or the Universal Intelligence, His perfect image and like Him self-existent, eternal, perfect, comprehending within Himself the whole of existence. The image or emanation of the *Nous* is psyche or the universal soul, the immaterial principle of life and intermediate between the Universal Intelligence and the world of phenomena. It is illumined by *Nous* and illumines nature. It has the capacity of uniting with matter and therefore the direct cause of life in the universe. Thus the Supreme Being, the Intelligence and Soul are the trinity forming a unity in the Platonic System.

THE INTELLIGENCE AND THE INTELLIGIBLE WORLD

Being immaterial and indivisible, the Intelligence is a unity but as arch type of the material world it may be apprehended through multiplicity. According to Plotinus, all material things have a counter immaterial type fuller and more perfect in life. Hence, we may consider the heavenly pleasures in the *Quran* spoken of as a counter form of earthly pleasures which can be described figuratively in the same words. It is life which causes vanity in matter. Pure intelligence is the fullness of thought, a unity in diversity like a sun whose rays shoot on all sides. As thought, the acts of thought and objects of thought are all in Him. While thoughts (or ideas) are many, the thinker is one. When the individual becomes conscious of His *I-ness*, a *not-I* is produced and diversity in the existence is formed. In other words, the different aspects of intelligence through individual self-assertion cause diversity and qualities. When the Universal Intelligence as unit becomes conscious of himself, the very act of consciousness is the cause of duality which carries with it life. The Universal Intelligence being an emanation of the Supreme Being does not depend on nor is in need of the Intelligence. The Universal Soul, in its turn, depends upon and looks to the Intelligence, as described in the *Quran* "the soul of the

²³ *Quran*, Chap. LV. 29.

²⁴ *Quran*, Chap. II. 255.

religious will look to their Lord". As the Intelligence is the image of the Supreme Being, in the same way the Soul is an image of the Intelligence. The lower yearns for its higher source, or the effect for its cause and can find rest and peace only in it. The Supreme Being by turning to Himself, without moving, sees Intelligence and the Intelligence, being conscious of itself, is filled with the world of ideas, resulting in an emanation of the soul and through the soul, of form, which is the cause of various types of quality and quantity in the sensible world. Each lower effect must look to its higher cause, till the union with the first cause is effected.

The sensible or material world is neither energy nor a creative power. It is a formless, shapeless, invisible, receptacle of the soul, which moves in it, as pictures move in a mirror, and is reflected as form or things. Matter itself cannot act and the forms moving in it, though they appear to act, really do not, because they are mere shadows of the original in the intelligible world. Thus, Matter while admitting reflection which it cannot resist, takes the false appearance of motion ; the things reflected also are illusory and do not effect any real change in Matter. Thus, the whole sensible world as it is thought and as it appears is illusory, a reflected mirror in which passing shadows are reflected. The soul is neither any particular state of Matter as it was considered by some nor attached to it. It passes or rides over it and leaves Matter as defective and powerless as it was. The elements also are lifeless but by a particular mixture become capable of receiving life without attaining a unity of consciousness which is the characteristic of the soul. Thus the material contact of the soul is not a gain but a loss, not an ascent but a descent, not a rise but a fall. Matter has no capacity to move but appears to be moved by the soul. Therefore material objects retain their objective aspect through soul and form and abstracted from these two, Matter becomes impossible of comprehension. Space is the limitation of the bodies formed from within and time is caused by the contact of the soul with matter and remains within material existence. Matter needs God for life, but God does not need it. It is eternal in the state of nothingness and united as possessing illusory life. It is helpless, lifeless and hence it is called evil, the opposite of the good which is fullness of life. It is unknowable, neutral, unreal and dark, and an obstacle between the supreme good and the individual soul. The Divine intelligence possessing abstract thoughts or ideas may be considered an ocean full of waves,—all same, yet different, moving and melting into one another. They move, but the ocean as a whole is not moved, there is activity but no change. They appear in multiplicity, though really they neither increase nor decrease. The

sensible world is a shadow and an imperfect image of the intelligible world and worldly virtue and vice are stages in the development of the soul in attaining harmony entangled as it is in the world.

THE SOUL

As all separate intelligences are within the Universal Intelligence, so all individual souls are embraced by the Universal Soul. They are all same because all are an offshoot of the same Universal Soul, yet distinct in individuals. Unity does not destroy their individuality. Bodies are formed by nature, the world spirit, which through words or energy is the direct cause of shape, bulk, quantity and quality of Matter. Nature is the sum total of all energies in the world and assumes various forms, made active by a shadow of the real soul. Every human being possesses a double soul, one of which is divine and high and is his true self. It is an image of the Divine Soul and possesses memory, imagination, reasoning and will. The other soul is called lower or animal and its functions are desire, pain and pleasure, love and anger and is joined with the body by natural instinct. But the Divine Soul remains separate from the body. These two being of different tendencies appear to be antagonistic to each other and are called by Zoroaster constructive and destructive spirits. The soul is not in the body but the body is in the soul. Man's real ego is pure, without emotion or consciousness of the worldly objects, never separated from its higher self and remains a faded form of the Universal Soul.

MAN, IMMORTALITY, DESCENT AND ASCENT, EMANCIPATION

Among Western thinkers, Pythagoras thought of the soul as a harmony and Aristotle as a form of body, while the Stoics described it as an affection of matter and others as a kind of physical energy, but Plotinus asserted that an un-intelligent thing, like matter, or any force connected with matter, cannot cause an intelligent soul. He, therefore, held that the soul is an offshoot of an intelligent abstract thing and independent of matter. It is life, and, therefore, unlike the body, imperishable and immortal. It is an image of the Universal Soul, pure in its essence, but polluted by attachment or descent towards matter. Its ascent is reversion towards God, as is said in the *Quran*:—"O! Soul that art at rest! return to thy Lord well pleased with Him, and Him well pleased with thee."²⁵ Reversion towards God is the craving for the real Self. As the descent was gradual from the world of ideas to heavenly bodies, next to atmosphere and in the lowest stage to the earthly form, ascent also is gained by

²⁵ *Quran*, Chap. LXXXIX. 27-28.

stages, appreciating the natural beauty and contemplating the multiplicity and harmony of natural phenomena and forces, then turning attention from external objects to the internal true Self by doing good, next contemplation of the *nous* or Universal Intelligence, the world of ideas and finally released from all worldly attachment and completely purified, beholding the Supreme Being, man is face to face with his Creator, the source of his existence. He thus enjoys perfect peace and highest bliss, which is called human emancipation.

ETHICS

Man possesses both the rational and animal soul. He is free on his rational side but entangled and bound with desires in his animal aspect. His evil side is his dependence upon material objects and his freedom lies in union with his inner self. He is weaned from his animal nature and converted to the intellectual or higher self by controlling desires. Platonic virtues are the same four cardinal virtues of Plato, to which *nous* or intelligence is added. This must guide and regulate man's action. Virtuous action must be combined with virtuous thoughts and abstention from sensual objects. When the heart is purified, man must wait until God's grace comes to him of itself. It is left to him either to incline towards his rational side by which he is elevated to the eternal bliss, or to fall in the world of lust, through which he is degraded in the darkness of the matter. The same idea is taught in the *Quran* in the following lines :—

"He has revealed (to Soul) its turning from truth and its guarding against evil. If it purifies itself it is emancipated and if it corrupts itself it fails." (Chap. XCI.)

According to Plotinus, virtue is the awakening and vice is the sleep of the soul which can be cured through moral virtues and right knowledge.

Men are classified into :—

1. Those who are sunk in the darkness of the material world ;
2. Those who are above the material world and inclined towards spiritual purity and are called virtuous ; and
3. Those who are divine and perfect.

The same division is found in the *Quran* :—

"And you shall be three sorts—(1) the foremost who are drawn near (to God) in the gardens of bliss ; (2) the companions of good luck or right hand ; and (3) the companions of ill-luck or left hand." (Chap. LVI.)

Virtue is likeness to God and classified into practical and intellectual. The aim is to turn from the world to God. By spiritual contemplation, man is elevated to the eternal bliss till he forgets his limited self and sees the ideal beauty in his

higher self. It is communion with the Supreme Beauty and is eternal happiness. Practical virtue is good conduct and intellectual virtue is the source which leads man to God.

BEAUTY AND VISION

Beauty and good are the same, but good is prior to beauty, and hence the love of the good is higher than the love of beauty. But appreciation of beauty and harmony leads to the love of the good. Those who can appreciate beauty are (1) musicians, (2) lovers, and (3) philosophers. Among these, the first appreciate harmony in sound ; the second, in shape and form ; and the third, in reason and truth, and all these lead to one goal. Thus, beauty is manifested in the soul, in sight and in conscience which means virtue and truth. Things are beautiful in fullness of life and ugly when matter is left shapeless and not harmonised by life energy. The most beautiful thing is the intelligence loved by the rational soul. There are two stages in spiritual attainment, which are extended into seven by Muslim Sufis. The first stage is gained by knowing God but distinguishing Him as a glorified higher image of ourselves, and the second stage is reached when we are full of God, in which we see God by direct vision. When we see phenomenal and physical beauty, we must appreciate it as an imitation, a shadow, an image of the real and then we must leave the shadow and turn towards the real. By seeing beauty reflected in water and mistaking the shadow in water to be real, one is sunk in water ; but by looking above and turning towards the real, he possesses his true beloved. When we are fit to look at the Supreme Beauty, it comes unwarranted by a complete withdrawal of external consciousness to the extent that the Soul forgets its connection with the body. If we strive, we can perceive the Supreme Beauty more clearly than material objects, because our true self is immaterial and originated from Him. Plotinus believed in vision not as an indispensable condition, but as a possibility for a pure soul to enjoy the sight of the Supreme Soul. The Christian Church also believed in the beautiful vision and the *Quran* declared in the following lines that the Prophet had a vision of the archangel Gabriel (the intermediate energy between world and God or the universal intelligence):—

“And he was in the highest part of the (mental) horizon. Then he drew near, and became descending (till) he was (close) to the measure of two bows or closer still. (Then) He revealed to his servant (Muhammad) what he revealed. The heart does not (speak) lie to what it saw. Do you dispute with him (i.e., Muhammad) as to what he saw ? He saw Him in another descent at the farthest lote tree, near which was the garden, covered with what covers a lote tree. The eyes.

did not turn aside nor did it exceed the limit, certainly he saw the greatest signs of his Lord."²⁶

THE ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL

Plotinus was succeeded by his pupils, Porphyry and Amelius, who made some modifications in minor points in his doctrines. Porphyry is specially noted for editing and collecting his master's work, as an anti-Christian philosopher. He was opposed to the Manichæan theory of matter being the cause of evil and entanglement of the soul. He taught that evil is created from the desires of the soul and hence the salvation of the soul must be through the renunciation of the desires. Like Mani, he believed in strict ascetic life, abstaining from flesh, wine and sexual enjoyments. His criticism of Christianity was not against the teaching of Christ but against Christianity as it was practised. He did not believe in the Christian sacred books, which he considered had been written by ignorant and deceiving authors. Many of his works were destroyed during the Christian ascendancy (about 448 A.D.). Porphyry was succeeded by his pupil Iamblichus, who converted Neo-Platonic philosophy into theology and its speculative aspect into a mythology. Proclus was the last great schoolman of Neo-Platonism who was born in 411 A.D. and died in 485 A.D. He re-organized and left Neo-Platonism in a form in which it was taken up by Christian theologians and afterwards by Muslim thinkers. Thus, Neo-Platonism has influenced both Muslim and Christian religions. Certain points suitable to Sūfis and others were adopted by philosophical thinkers.

RISE OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE EAST

According to Christian tradition which, in this instance, appears to be lacking in foundation, Abgar, King of Osrhoene (a province in the extreme North-West of Mesopotamia, containing Edessa), who was a contemporary of Jesus, was suffering from rheumatism and learning that Jesus could cure diseases invited him to his city. In the meanwhile, Jesus was crucified but Thaddæus, one of his disciples, went to Osrhoene, cured the king and baptized him. He afterwards despatched his assistants to Ctesiphon and other parts of Iran, who made a number of converts to Christianity. In the beginning of the third century A.D., there were about 360 churches in Iran. Gregorius, known as the Illuminator, whose father was a member of the famous Surena family of Seistan, became the founder of the Armenian Church in the fourth century A.D.²⁷ His son

²⁶ *Quran*, Chap. LIII. 7. 18.

²⁷ *Armenian Church*: The Armenians are a people belonging to the Iranian group of the Aryan race, occupying Armenia, who were early converted to Christianity of the Eutychian type, which



CARACALLA: ROMAN EMPEROR 211-217 A.D.

and grandson became famous as Bishops in the Armenian Church. While Christianity was making rapid progress in the East, its missionaries and new converts were savagely persecuted by the Roman Emperors, especially in Rome itself, the seat of the Empire. This terrible persecution of Christians lasted for nearly three hundred years,²⁸ the most severe being under Trajan, Nero, Marcus Aurelius Antonius, Caracalla, Decius, and Diocletian.²⁹ In 266 A.D., the orthodox Sassanian dynasty succeeded the liberal-minded Parthians, who were known for their toleration of non-Iranian religions in Iran. The Sassanian

is so called after Eutyches, a Byzantine heresiarch, who, in combating Nestorianism, which teaches that the two natures, the divine and human, co-exist in Christ, but are not united, fell into the opposite extreme and maintained that in the incarnation, the human nature of Christ was absorbed in the divine, a doctrine which was condemned by the Council of Chalcedon in 448 A.D. Eutyches lived between 387-454 A.D. The Armenians occupy a country (named after them) in Western Asia, west of the Caspian Sea and north of the Kurdistan mountains, anciently independent, and later divided between Turkey, Russia and Iran, occupying a plateau interspersed with fertile valleys, which culminates in Mount Ararat, in which the Euphrates and the Tigris have their origin. The Armenians, like the Jews, are a widely scattered race and have emigrated into adjoining, and even remote, countries, and live like the Jews, again, engaged in commercial pursuits, the wealthier of them especially in banking and money-changing.

²⁸ On the causes of the persecution of the Christian religion by the Roman Government, see *Students' Gibbon*, edited by Smith, Chap. IX, 109-24. Among the causes which contributed to this persecution were principally three:—(1) The proselytising ardour of the Christians; (2) the union and assemblies of the Christians which were regarded with apprehension by the Roman government; and (3) the secrecy with which the Christians performed the offices of religion.

²⁹ *Diocletian*: (245-313 A.D.); Roman Emperor from 284 to 308 A.D.; of obscure parentage, entered the Roman army and rose rapidly to the highest rank; invested by the troops with the imperial purple; in 286 A.D., became responsible for the division of the Roman world into two halves—with two Emperors in the East and two in the West; in 303 A.D., at the instance of Galerius, he commenced and carried a fierce persecution of the Christians, the tenth and the fiercest; in 305 A.D., weary of ruling, he abdicated and retired to Salona, his birth-place in Dalmatia, where he spent his remaining eight years in rustic simplicity of life, cultivating his garden.

Trajan, Marcus Ulpius: (56-117 A.D.); born in Spain; Roman Emperor 97 A.D.: joint Emperor with Nerva; sole Emperor, 98 A.D.; except for his persecution of the Christians, ruled the empire with wisdom and vigour; carried out various improvements; suppressed the Christians as politically dangerous, but with no fanatic extravagance; successfully conquered Dacia, in commemoration of which he is said to have erected the famous Column (125 ft. high), named after himself, which still stands at Rome, though a statue of St. Peter has taken his place, under the orders

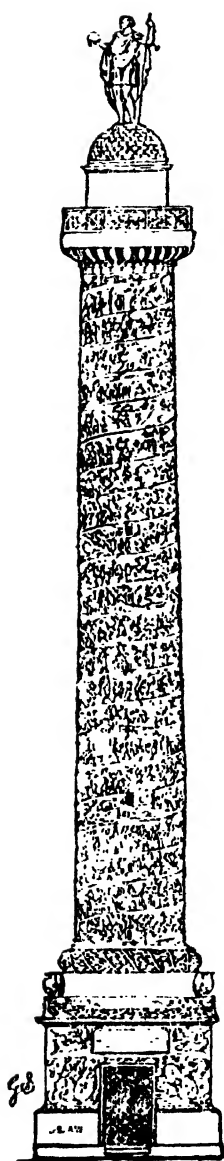
period is noted for the revival of orthodox Zoroastrianism and persecution of non-Zoroastrian religions. On the other hand, Christianity, though persecuted for a long time by the Roman Emperors, finally became the state religion in the Roman Empire, which was the rival enemy power to Iran. Thus, two rival religions and two rival empires confronted each other. The Christians in Iran were persecuted for their sympathy with Rome and disloyalty to their own motherland. On the one hand, they were ill-treated by their own government, and, on the other, suspected by their co-religionists in Rome as spies from Iran. As the Iranian church was of Syrian origin, Antioch remained the centre of the Bishopric for about three hundred years and Syriac was employed as a common sacred language. Political rivalry and territorial ambition, combined with the religious bigotry of the Zoroastrian and Christian priests, created strong prejudice and hatred in both the Empires. Christians in Iran, so long as they remained loyal to their country, were left free, but, at any sign of disloyalty, they were severely persecuted, particularly during the war with the Roman Empire. In Eastern Iran, Merv and Herat became

of Pope Sextus V. Trajan's rescript regarding the Christians, issued in reply to a reference from the younger Phuji, is well known. (See *Students' Gibbon*, edited by W. Smith, p. 113.)

Nero: (37-68 A.D.); Roman Emperor from 54-68 A.D.; ascended the throne, superseding Britannicus, the rightful heir; his reign, barring the first five years, was marked by murders and profligacy; Britannicus, his mother and wife were his first victims; then, in 64 A.D., numbers of Christians suffered death, with every refinement of torture, on a trumped charge of having caused the great burning of Rome, suspicion of which rested on Nero himself; then fell Seneca, his adviser; next the poet Lucan was put to death for alleged conspiracy; thereafter, he kicked his wife, Poppæa, then *encliente*, to death, and offered his hand to Octavia, daughter of Claudius, and because she declined his suit, ordered her death; rebellion followed; Spain and Gaul rose in favour of Galba and the Prætorian Guards followed suit; Nero fled from Rome and sought refuge in suicide.

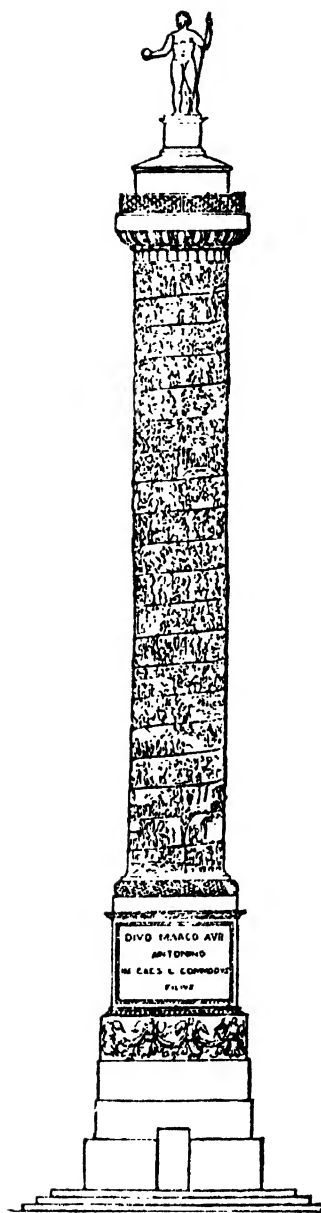
Antonius, Marcus Aurelius: (121-80 A.D.); Roman Emperor; famous for his virtue; belonged to the Stoic school and one of its most exemplary disciples; was surnamed the "Philosopher"; has left in his *Meditations* a record of his religious and moral principles. "It is a remarkable fact, that the reign of the wisest and most humane of the heathen emperors was more fatal to the Christians than the reigns of the greatest tyrants. The causes of this persecution are uncertain. Most writers have ascribed it to the latent bigotry of the character of Marcus Aurelius; others to the influence of the philosophic party; but the fact is admitted by all." (See *Students' Gibbon*, pp. 113-14.)

Caracalla: Roman Emperor, son of Septimus Severus, born at Lyons; his reign (211-17 A.D.) was a series of crimes, follies and extravagances; he put to death 20,000 persons, among others



THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN

This Column still stands at Rome and is the finest monument of the kind in the world. The height of the column, including the pedestal, is $127\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Round the column runs a spiral band of admirable reliefs representing the wars of Trajan against Decebalus, and containing no fewer than 2,500 human figures



THE ANTONINE COLUMN

Erected in honour of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, which is still to be seen at Rome. It is a repetition of the Column of Trajan. The bas-reliefs represent the conquests of the Marcomanni.

two centres of Christianity and from those centres,³⁰ Christian missionaries reached the interior of China and India. In the beginning of the fourth century A.D., Ctesiphon, the Iranian capital, took the place of Antioch as the seat of the Metropolitan in Iran and remained so till the rise of Islam. Christians used to name themselves in Iranian or Syrian and in some cases they called themselves partly in Iranian and partly in Syrian and, therefore, it is often difficult to ascertain their exact nationality. They were all called Christians but, among Christians, there were Iranians as well as Syrians, Mesopotamians, Kurds, Armenians and even Greeks and Romans. All these looked upon the Roman Emperor as their protector and deliverer, and the Roman Emperors also showed themselves as such, which was the reason why the Iranian Government looked upon the Christians with distrust and suspicion. Shahpur, the Iranian king (241-72 A.D.), not trusting his Christian subjects, exempted them from joining the war waged by him and, in return, imposed an extra tax, which continued to be collected under the name of *Jazya* by Muslims from Christians and Jews. In 164 A.D., Seleucia, the stronghold of Greek learning in the East, was destroyed by the Romans under Cassius,³¹ but soon other centres were established. The most important among these were:—Nisibis and Edessa in Mesopotamia, to which Mar Aba, a Zoroastrian Iranian convert to Christianity, added a college in Seleucia. These colleges were strongholds of Christian theology and Greek philosophy as interpreted and commented upon by Christian theologians.

the jurist Papinarius, and was assassinated himself by one of his guards.

Dectius: Roman Emperor from 249 to 251 A.D.; was a cruel persecutor of the Christians; perished in a morass, fighting with the Goths, who were a constant thorn on his side all through his reign.

³⁰ **Merv:** An oasis in Khorassan; taken by Russia in 1883; 60 miles long by 40 broad; produces cereals, cotton and silk; has a capital of the same name on the Trans-Caspian Railway.

Herat: Chief town of a province of same name in Afghanistan; 300 miles west of Kabul; great commercial and military centre; strongly fortified by a citadel and a garrison; long the royal seat of the descendants of Timur; in 1836, the Shah captured it; of equal importance to India and Iran; called the Key of Afghanistan and hence of Western India; Herat is spoken of as the pivot of the Central Asian question; the town was famous for its splendid buildings, now a heap of ruins; the citadel, the Jumma Masjid and parts of the Musallah are the only remnants of a bygone glory; the population is mostly made up of Iranians, Tajiks and Chihar Aimaks.

³¹ **Cassius, Caius:** Chief conspirator against Cæsar; won over Brutus to join in the foul plot; soon after the deed was done, fled to Syria and made himself master of it; joined his forces with those

SYRIA AND IRAN AS CENTRES OF LEARNING

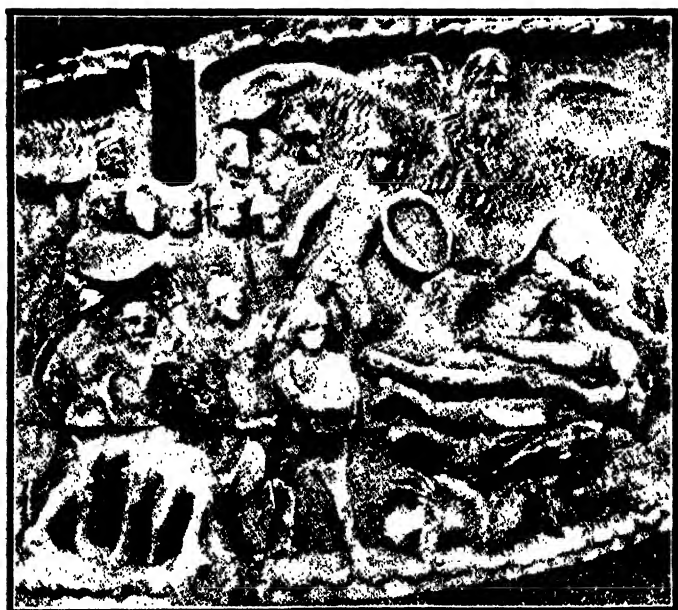
Harran, in West Syria, became a centre of secular learning from about the death of Alexander the Great and continued so till the rise of Islam. Its scholars took great pains to translate works from Syriac into Arabic. Junde-Shahpur, a town in South-West Iran, became the centre of Iranian learning under Khusroe I, known as Anushirwan. Learned men were invited to it from Syria and India and made professors in the subjects in which they excelled. Medicine, philosophy, Zoroastrian theology and other subjects of science and arts were taught at this place. The medium was the Syriac language but Pahlavi was also understood. Besides these important colleges, which took the place of modern universities, Christian monasteries also were places for imparting knowledge. Subsequent to the Council of Chalcedon, held in 448 A.D., a new sect of Christians known as the Jacobites (or Monophysites) was formed and were, much like the Nestorians, persecuted by the established Roman Church.³² Their centre was Alexandria, in Egypt, noted for a college of medicine, in which, besides teaching, researches also were undertaken. The sixteen works of Galen, commented upon and abridged, were the texts read in connection with medicine. In the East, the Nestorian sect founded by Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople,³³ alienated themselves from Rome and therefore found favour with the Iranian kings. They believed in two separate persons, Jesus, the son of God, and Jesus, the son of man, and that Mary was not the mother of God but of the man Jesus. With them Syriac took the place of Greek or Latin as the language of their sacred books, theology, philosophy, science and arts. Greek became unknown in the East and its place was taken up by Syriac as the language of culture and learning all over Syria, Mesopotamia and Western Iran. Khusroe Anushirwan,³⁴ the philosopher-king, became a patron

of Brutus at Philippi; repulsed on the right, thought all was lost; withdrew into his tent, and called his freedmen to call (?) him; Brutus, in his lamentation over him, called him the "last of the Romans". Died in 42 B.C.

³² *Jacobites*: A name given to certain partisans of Eutychian sect in the fifth century, in the East, from the name of their leader.

³³ *Nestorius*: Described as a celebrated heresiarch, born in Syria; made Patriarch of Constantinople in 428 A.D.; deposed for alleged heresy by the Council of Ephesus, 431 A.D., and banished to the Lybian desert, where he died; the heresy he is alleged to have taught was that the two natures—the divine and the human—co-exist in Christ, but not united; he would not also allow to the Virgin Mary the title that had been given to her as the "Mother of God"; the orthodoxy of the church as against the doctrine was championed by Cyril of Alexandria.

³⁴ *Anushirwan*: Ruled from 531-79 A.D.



DETAIL OF THE COLUMN OF ANTONINUS

of learning in the East. He used to hold meetings in which learned men were assembled. Among them were Zoroastrians, Christians and Hindus. Problems of philosophy and theology were discussed and the king himself joined in the discussion.

TRANSLATION OF PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS

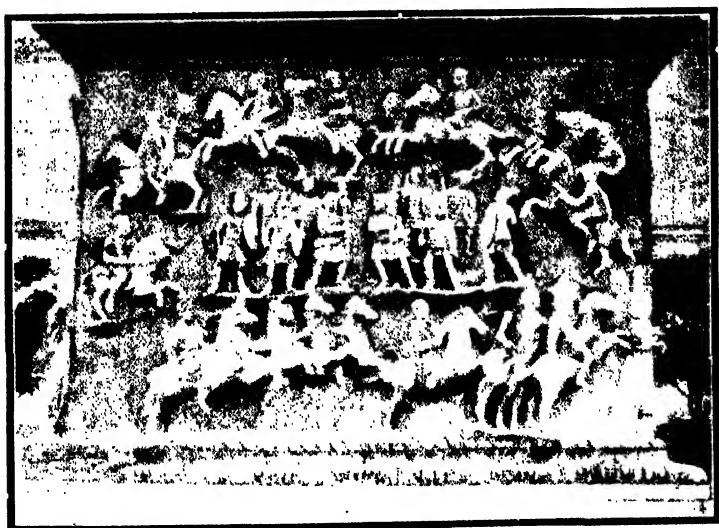
Many useful works on different subjects were translated into Syriac (which was known to most of the educated Iranians) and also in Pahlavi. Among the learned men of Anushirwan's court were Mar Abas, the founder of a college in Seleucia, who had commented on several works in philosophy. Hymns composed by him were popular and are even now extant among the Nestorian Christians. Paul, an inhabitant of Dari-Shahr, was a learned Iranian and a convert to Christianity. He won fame as a scholar both in philosophy and in theology. He has written a commentary on Aristotle's logic. He was finally appointed Bishop of Iran and died in 535 A.D. He was in great favour with king Anushirwan and has left us a fair description of the many controversial theological problems that agitated the men of his time. He observes that there are some who believe in one God and others claim that He is not the only God; some teach that He possesses contrary qualities; others say that He does not possess them; some admit that He is omnipotent; others deny His power over every thing; some believe that the universe is created; others think that all things are not created; some say that God made the world from pre-existing matter and so forth. Among the heathen Arabs who were contemporaries of the Prophet, Haris, son of Kaldah, had studied medicine and philosophy in the college of Junde-Shahpur and his son Nazr also was a student of the same college and a great admirer of the Iranian. He knew a number of legendary Iranian stories, and told them to Quraish in Mecca. He was an enemy of the Prophet and used to persuade his hearers not to listen to Quranic passages in which they could find old stories of the tribes of *Ad* and *Samud* who were destroyed by God, but to hear from him the heroic deeds of Rustam, Isfandiyar and other Iranian kings and heroes. Thus in Mecca, at the advent of Islam, there were two parties, one pro-Iranian and pro-Zoroastrian and the other pro-Roman and pro-Christian. Nazr was put to death by Ali, the cousin of the Prophet, in the battle of Badr. Probably, the Prophet himself came into direct contact with Syrian Christian monks and indirectly with the scholars of Junde-Shahpur. Among his companions, Ali, the fourth Khalif, has given expression to some philosophical thoughts in his public sermons and addresses. For the first half century after the death of the Prophet, Muslims were either engaged in foreign conquests or in civil wars. Abdul Malik, the Umayyad Khalif,

after defeating and subduing his rivals, pacified and organized the vast Empire and made Arabic the official language. His reign was the true beginning of Muslim learning, which reached its zenith during the rule of the Abbasides. In the meanwhile, the intellectual activity of non-Muslims, though diminished, continued in the colleges of Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt and Iran, and revived under the Abbaside rule. Thus Muslim learning was not a new movement but a continuation of past activities, which were revived with greater vigour and better support under the Arab Khalifs, than it had ever done even under the Romans or Iranians. The medium was changed from Pahlavi, Coptic and Syrian into Arabic, which remained the language of science and philosophy throughout the Muslim countries till the end of the nineteenth century. Indeed, it may be said that it still occupies a very prominent place in Iran and India. The early Abbaside period, beginning with the accession of Mansur, the second Khalif, up to the death of Mamun, passed in the work of translating important works in philosophy, medicine and science. There were several important centres of learning at this time and each took a share in the development of Muslim culture. Among them, as already stated, was Junde-Shahpur in Iran, which in spite of the loss of Iranian independence continued to flourish under Islam. Harran and Damascus in Syria, Alexandria in Egypt, Basrah and Kufa in Mesopotamia, Medina and Mecca in Arabia, became great centres of Muslim learning. Basrah and Kufa were noted for scholars in language, literature and theology, while Medina was famous for its traditionists. The important rôle in translation was played by the pagans (mostly Sabians) as well as the Christians of Syria and Mesopotamia, whose mother-tongue was Syriac, in which already works on Greek philosophy were available. They knew Arabic also and therefore it was easy for them to make translations from the Syriac into Arabic. Next there were Iranian Christians as well as Manichæan and Zoroastrian converts to Islam. Among the earliest translators was Ibne-Muqaffa, a scholar both in Arabic and Pahlavi. Among the books he translated from Pahlavi into Arabic was *Kalila-Damana*, originally the *Panchatantra* of India, which was for the first time translated by Burzuya, a contemporary of Khusroe. The works of Galen, Hippocrates, Plato, Aristotle, Archimedes, Apollonius,³⁵ and Neo-Platonist thinkers were translated not directly from Greek but mostly from Syriac versions and in some instances from Pahlavi.

³⁵ *Apollonius*: (d. 97 A.D.); called Apollonius of Tyana, a Pythagorean philosopher, who, having become acquainted with some sort of Brahmanism, professed to have a divine mission, and, it is said, a power to work miracles; was worshipped after his death, and has been compared to Christ.



ANOTHER BASE OF COLUMN OF ANTONINUS



FURTHER BASE OF COLUMN OF ANTONINUS

FIRST MUSLIM THINKERS

Between the ninth and tenth centuries, the work of translation was completed and original writers began to appear among the Muslims. Among the chief philosophical problems discussed by them were the first cause, nature, reason or the intellect, the soul and position of man in the universe, movement, unity, eternity, immateriality and immovability of the first cause, whose existence is proved not by affirmation but by negation of certain qualities. God produced the world from nothing by His creative act. The Soul itself is not life but the cause of life in things. He is imperishable. The two aspects of the soul, five external and five internal senses. Matter and form, substance and accident, etc. In physics, the chief problems were the corporeal movement or change of bodies. In logic, Aristotle was considered the greatest authority, but psychology and ethics were modified according to Eastern traditions and experience. The majority of Muslim thinkers were either Iranians or Iranised Turks and Spanish. Muslim philosophy, therefore, is not a continuation, or a mere imitation of Greek philosophy but a blending of the Western and Eastern thought, modified by the doctrines inculcated by the *Quran*, which in some instances is interpreted as desired by the thinker. As the Scholasticism of Europe was guided by Church theology, Muslim philosophy also had to be reconciled to Islamic teachings. The Middle Ages produced, both in the West and the East, apart from philosophy, a theology known as scholasticism, beginning with a discussion on pre-destination, then human free will and the relation of man to God and then extending over many

Galen : (131-201 A.D.); famous Greek physician; born at Pergamus in Illyria; went to Rome; physician to Emperors Marcus Aurelius, Verus and Severus; 83 of his treatises are still extant, dealing with an array of subjects, philosophical as well as professional; for centuries after his death, his works were held as authoritative in the matter of medicine.

Hippocrates : The father of medicine; born at Cos, 460 B.C.; a contemporary of Socrates and Plato; no fewer than sixty writings are ascribed to him.

Archimedes : Of Syracuse; 287-12 B.C.; a man of superlative inventive power; skilled in all mechanical arts and sciences of his day; he is credited with the boast: "Give me a fulcrum, and I will move the world". He discovered how to determine the specific weight of bodies while he was taking a bath, and was so excited over the discovery that, it is said, he darted off stark naked on the instant, through the streets, shouting, "Eureka! Eureka!! I have found it! I have found it!" When Syracuse was taken by the Romans, he was unconscious of the fact, and slain, while busy on some problem, by a Roman soldier, notwithstanding the order of the Roman general that his life should be spared.

questions touching either pure philosophy or religion. Side by side with these two subjects, pure theology and Sufism (termed in Europe as Mysticism) were also developed. Thus, during the period commencing from the ninth century A.D. and ending about the sixteenth century A.D., both Europe and Asia produced great philosophers, scholastic theologians and mystics. These were inspired by Christianity in Europe, by Islam in West and Central Asia, North Africa and South Europe; and by Brahmanism in India. The great learned men of this period had in many instances combined in themselves a thorough knowledge of all the four subjects referred to above, or one or two of them. For instance, Ghazzali was a first class theologian, a philosopher, a deep Sūfi and an authority on *al-kalam* (scholastics). The East found a great patron of learning in Harun and the West in his contemporary Emperor Charlemagne. While the Hindu thinkers of this period took up the subjective aspects and the Europeans tended more towards the objective, the Muslims had adopted a middle path. Their aim was human salvation and a knowledge of the mystery of life. They followed Islam, but studied the question of philosophy from what may be called a rational point of view, independently of pure theological explanations. They harmonized Islamic teachings with their own rational reasoning and experience. Muslim philosophy and the scholasticism of Europe may be classified into the following theoretical and practical branches :—

Theoretical.

1. Metaphysics ;
2. Physics in a general sense ; and
3. Mathematics.

Practical.

1. Logic ;
2. Ethics ; and
3. Politics.

To these, as supplementary subjects, were added the following :—Astronomy, Botany, Zoology, Chemistry, Physics (in the modern sense), Grammar, Rhetoric, Philosophy and a few other minor subjects.

AL-KINDI

Among the earliest Muslim philosophers and the only great representative of Arab race in philosophy, was Abu Yusuf Yaqub, son of Ishaq, of the Kinda tribe. He was born about the close of the eighth century A.D., and died in 873 A.D.

He was a contemporary of John Scotus Erigena.³⁶ Besides Arabic, he knew Pahlavi also. He wrote as many as 263 works, small and large, on different subjects. Among these are : Commentaries on *Analytica*, *Posteriora*, *Sophistica Elenchi*, the *Categories*, the *Aprocryphal Apology of Aristotle*, *Almagestia of Ptolemy* and *The Elements of Euclid*. He also made an abridgement of Aristotle's *Poetica* and *Herneutica* and *Isagoge* of Porphyry, besides writing essays *On the Intellect* and *On the Five Essences*. He revised the Arabic translation of the *History of Aristotle*, which was an abridgement of the last three books of *Enneads* by Plotinus.

His philosophy was influenced by Aristotle's works as commented upon by Alexander of Aphrodisias. He follows the Neo-Platonic theory of cause and effect. The effect is inferior to its cause and depends upon it. God is the final cause, whose direct emanation is the universal intelligence, which is in turn the cause of the universal soul and the soul of nature. Soul is intermediate between the world of intelligence and the sensible. Though each effect may have a cause but the final unchangeable and the first cause is God, who is the creator of cause in itself. The worlds of intelligence and sense are compared to a rough and carved stone. The individual soul (*Nafs*) is a pure intellectual substance (*Jau-har-e-Aqli*), immaterial and imperishable, having its source in the world of intelligence, from where it descends into the world of sense. It has two aspects, one inclines towards matter and is the cause of material activity; and the other remains attached to its origin. Its material side conceives a desire to produce form, which becomes a cause of pain and entanglement in matter. Thus soul is pure intellect, partly in body and partly out of it. It is the instrument of intelligence, and manifests itself through the intermediary of soul in the world of sense, without forming any attachment. Besides the rational soul, according to Al-Kindi, there are the following faculties or degrees of intellect in the Soul :—

(1) Potential intelligence (*aql-e-Hayulani*), by which man understands the essence of corporeal things by abstracting mentally the substance or essence from the various accidents, which may be compared to Aristotle's common sense.

(2) Active intelligence (*Aql-e-bil-fil*) which causes the knowledge gained to be put in practice.

³⁶ *Erigena, Johannus Scotus* : (d. 882 A.D.); a rationalist mystic and most distinguished thinker of his time : of Irish parentage; taught at the Court of Charles the Bold in France; summoned in 877 A.D. to Oxford; died as Abbot of Malmesbury; held that "damnation was simply the consciousness of having failed to fulfil the divine purpose"; he derived all authority from reason, and not reason from authority, maintaining that authority unfounded on reason was of no value.

(3) Agent intellect (*Aql-e-fa'al*), which guides and directs the action. The third is related to the second as form to matter.

The body, which is merely the instrument of the soul, is disintegrated after death, while the soul, which is the reality of man, is imperishable and remains ever without corruption or dissolution, and in pure condition returns to its origin. But if it is defiled and becomes impure by unnatural attachment to material lusts, it remains entangled in the world of sense. After undergoing painful effort, it is finally emancipated, when it forgets all its corporeal experiences and desires. In fact, while yet attached to the body, if it turns its attention towards heaven, it becomes uninterested in all worldly enjoyments. Soul is eternal and not bound to time or space. The different faculties of the soul as thus described do not form an argument against its unity. Its different degrees of activity are manifested at particular times, as the body cannot receive its working direct and at one time. The rational soul or the intellect is the essence of the human being and when he sees his essence, he sees all, and comprehends all things. The five essences are :— (1) Matter which receives impressions of all forms but itself cannot impress or become quality. (2) Form which cannot remain without matter. It is of two kinds, i.e., inseparable from matter and descriptive of a thing through which a thing (*shai*) is formed from formless matter. Matter in its pure state is abstract and real but by becoming a thing, it takes a form and becomes unreal. (3) Movement, which also cannot remain without matter. It is classified into six kinds :—generation, destruction, increase, decrease, variety in quality and change of position. (4) Time, which is connected with Movement but in one direction. And (5) Space or Place, which surrounds the body. All things in the universe are bound together through a natural universal law, so that each in itself, if perfectly and rightly conceived, is a mirror showing the reality of all other things or, in other words, the universe. Al-Kindi did not believe in Alchemy, the object of which is to discover the means for changing materials into gold or silver. Besides philosophy, he was much interested in Mathematics, Astrology, Geography and Medicine. Among his pupils the following were the most noted :—

AHAMAD SARKHAS

Ahamad, son of Muhammad of Sarkhas, in East Iran (d. 899 A.D.), believed in the studying of the abstract reality through its objective side, and in meditation and knowing the wonders of the corporeal world.

ABU NASAR MUHAMMAD OF FĀRĀB

Abu Nasar Muhammad, son of Muhammad of Fārāb, known in Europe as Alfarabius, was born towards the end

of the ninth century. He died at the age of over 80 years, in 950 A.D. His native place was Utrar or Fārāb, situated in Sughd, in the extreme eastern confines of ancient Iran, but now a part of Uzbakestan Republic in Russian Turkestan. His father was a general, but the philosopher, while still at a tender age, left Fārāb and reached Baghdad, when he began to study the Arabic language and afterwards took logic under Abul-Bashar Matta, son of Yunus. To augment his knowledge of philosophy, he went to Harran, and became a pupil under Yuhanna, son of Khailan. He was so very fond of the subject that he read Aristotle's *De Anima* 200 times and the *Physics* 40 times. After travelling in Syria and Egypt, he settled down at Damascus, where he was in such poor circumstances that for sometime he served as a watchman and had to read by the light of the garden lantern. Saif-ud-doulah, the prince of Damascus, granted him a pension of four *Dirham* per day and the philosopher, content with this limited income, passed the remaining days of his long life in seclusion, studying and writing a series of books, numbering over a hundred, of which half are commentaries and criticism of the past thinkers and the other half are original. Like his predecessor Al-Kindi, the major portion of his work is lost and the following have come down to us in an incomplete or a fragmentary condition :—

Introduction to Logic ; Commentaries on the *Isagoge* of Porphyry, the *Categories*, the *Hermeneia*, the first and second *Analytics*, the *Topics*, *Sophistic Rhetoric* and *Poetics* ; Commentary on the *Nicomachæan Ethics* ; A *Short Treatise on the Ideal City* ; *On the Intelligence and the Intelligible* ; *On the Universe and the One* ; *Space and Quantity*, *Substance*, *Dreams*, *Vacuum*, *Meteorology*, *Movement of Heavenly Spheres* ; and *The Soul and its Faculties*. Besides these, he wrote a commentary on the work of Alexander of Aphrodisia's *De Anima*, on agreement between Plato and Aristotle ; a commentary on Ptolemy's *Almagest*, the *Elements of Euclid*, *Alchemy*, *Geomancy* ; also a work entitled *Gems of Wisdom*, etc. The *Gems of Wisdom*, which consists of 58 brief chapters, is used as a text-book in schools. He was a great philosopher, mystic, mathematician and musician. His work on the theory of music is well known and authentic. His style is not clear and this is one reason why he is not well known.

Quite otherwise was the case with Avicenna, his successor, whose style is easy, fluent and clear. He is called the second teacher, or the second Aristotle, for he was a master in all branches of philosophy known in his time.

HIS PHILOSOPHY

Fārābī was first a devoted and pious Muslim and next a philosopher. He has reconciled the views of Plato and Aris-

totle with the teachings of Islam. He holds that the teachings of Plato and Aristotle though differing in details, are, in their essence, the same. He inclined towards mysticism. Aristotle's suggestion of co-eternity of the first cause and matter is, in his opinion, dualistic in character, though he throws out the hint that it is identical with the teaching of truth by the Prophet. The soul, according to him, has different degrees of activity or aspects as taught in the *Quran* and explained by past thinkers. Every effect has, he says, a cause, until all causes reach one final cause, which has no cause for itself. The world is compound, but the first cause is single. The aim of philosophy is to know God through rational and logical argument and by leading a pure and perfect life. Logic leads to the formation of correct concepts and true judgment and discloses the hidden reality, resolves our doubts and gives us the right knowledge of things.

HIS LOGIC

Fārābī is also considered a great logician among Muslim thinkers. This subject had already been taught in the colleges of Harran, Edessa, Nisibis and Junde-Shahpur. Translations, abridgements and explanations of Porphyry's *Introduction* and Aristotle's work on *Logic* were extant in the Syriac and the Pahlavi languages. Paul, the Iranian Bishop, had written treatises on logic which must have been studied at and after the advent of Islam and on the revival of learning under Muslim Khalifs. Logic was considered a subject leading to the knowledge of the unknown from the known, by which one could distinguish the real from the unreal and the good from the evil, a guide for the true happiness and perfection of the soul. Muslim thinkers and their immediate predecessors in Syria and Iran believed in the ten Aristotelean Categories having a double existence, one as manifested in the world and the other as images in the mind. The word "existence" also had two aspects, one objective and the other subjective. The Scholastics of mediæval Europe spoke of logic as an instrument of knowledge allied to metaphysics and psychology but Fārābī believed it to be a constituent part of philosophy and his view was accepted in Europe. According to Fārābī and other Muslim thinkers, logical argument distinguishes between truth and falsehood and thus guides us in keeping to gain knowledge of things unknown. Therefore, the object of studying logic is to distinguish between the real from the not-real, good from evil, and finally to perfect and purify the soul and obtain perfect happiness and satisfaction. It is through logic that one understands the processes of inference and proof and is able to distinguish between right and wrong concept and the true from false judgment. Fārābī's explanation of metaphysi-

cal questions is based on his logical argumentation. Ideas as well as judgment and knowledge (or conclusion) are of two kinds. The first is in need of other more distinct conceptions to prove its existence and the second is distinct in itself. For instance, in the case of ideas (Arabic *Tassavur*), there are perfect (*Tām*) ideas which do not require any preceding idea or ideas to make their existence clear, such as being, necessity and possibility, and imperfect (*Naqis*) ideas, which need other distinct ideas to make their concept clear such as 'body', which requires the concept of length, breadth and thickness. In the same manner, a judgment is either probable or certain. The probable requires other judgments to prove its truth but 'certain' is so distinct to reason as not to stand in need of further proofs, such as a whole which is certain to be greater than its parts or two contradictories of which one can be true. Knowledge also is classified into necessary and possible. The former is clear to the intellect and does not depend on more distinct truth and the latter is based on the support of other conclusions. Things (Arabic, *Shai*) also are either necessary or possible and exist as one or the other, either in the outer world or in the mind. Universals too exist as an accident (*Araz*) in the individual and as substance (*Jauhar*) in the mind. Muslim philosophers as well as *Mutakallamin*, i.e., Scholastics, took great interest in logic and on several points have modified the views of Greek thinkers. Among the subjects treated in Logic are concepts, predicates, being and not being, abstractions, substance and accidents, etc.

HIS METAPHYSICS

Fārābī attempts to reconcile the teaching of the *Quran* with the prevalent philosophical notions. He quotes freely passages from the *Quran* and endeavours to prove that current philosophical views fully agree with its teachings. He defines possible being as a being dependent for its existence on a cause, in which it terminates. Its characteristics are deterioration and change. The necessary being, on the other hand, is self-existent, unchangeable and perfect. All compounded things must have a cause or causes for their compositeness and the universe being evidently a composite, must have a cause or causes, which must end in a final cause, itself independent of any other cause. This cause or the first principle is necessary and perfect. He is the creator, who has created the universe, which existed through eternity as a created thing in Him, in an instant through the medium of the universal intelligence, which also caused the beginning of time. According to Fārābī, the first principle is not a prime mover as taught by Aristotle but as pointed out above the creator. His being, to our sense, is quite distinct and so much shining and dazzling to our im-

perfect and weak intellectual vision that our mental faculties cannot perceive Him. Thus, He is both apparent and hidden, above our knowledge and also beneath it. He may be compared to a sun, which shines and yet our eyes cannot see it. In the same manner, God is self-evident and does not stand in need of any proof and yet none can identify and compare Him to anything as Rumi, the great Iranian mystic-poet, sings :—

“The sun alone can well explain the sun
Wilt see’t expounded ? Turn to him alone
That day orb still each eve sets, here below
The soul-sun, God shines, in eternal glow.
On heart unless the soul-sun cast a ray
No thought, no picture can it sheen portray.
Can mind his glorious essence comprehend ?
His presence, then to image who ’ill pretend”.

Fārābī's first principle is eternal, unchangeable without parallel, unique and one. His oneness is not of number but of meaning, beyond time and space, everywhere and nowhere. His existence is the same as His essence. We know Him through His attributes, by purifying our heart and by abstracting ourselves from all worldly tendencies. He is the knower, the knowledge and the known, the lover beloved as love, self-conscious, self-satisfied, most perfect, most good, most powerful. We live to know Him, which is the ultimate aim of philosophy.

The universe, according to the following passages from the *Quran*, has been created by God with an object, which is known to Him only. It had a beginning and it will have an end :—

“Those who think of God, standing and sitting and lying on their side and reflect on the creation of the heavens and the earth, (say), O Lord ! thou hast not created those in vain.”
Ch. III—190.

“We did not create the heavens and the earth and what is between them but with truth and for an appointed time.”
XLVI—3.

The above passages had to be interpreted in the light of philosophy and Fārābī's interpretation, which is accepted by Muslim thinkers generally, represents it as the divine munificence or *faiz*. The overflowing of divine knowledge is the cause of phenomenal existence. Thus, divine knowledge is the cause of creation, which is believed to have taken form in a series of intelligences, finally forming into the *Alam-e-amr*, or immaterial soul world, and *alam-e-khalaq*, or the sensible material existence. The universal intelligence, in which there is no multiplicity, is the notice of His knowledge by Himself and thus His first creation. It has the two aspects of one side, being and hence a necessary existence, and on reflecting upon itself and becoming cognized of its originator

becomes possible existence. Thus, a series of further intelligences is started, ending in plurality, which is named the universe.

HUMAN BEING AND HIS PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECT

Ilmun-nafs or psychology was studied by Muslim scholars through Greek and Iranian sources. It is closely related to Ethics and Medicine. According to pre-Islamic Iranian thinkers, the spiritual activity of man is manifested through the following faculties, each having its individual characteristics :—

(1) *Fravashi* or *Frovahar*, the archetypes and anti-types of all good being. The evil spirits do not possess them. These are the essence of existent things. Somewhat resembling the Platonic ideas, they are for everything created by Ahura-mazda, including sky, water, earth, plants and animals, even Ahura-mazda himself. In the Pahlavi literature, they have lost their original significance and are considered as the purifying air in body, heat or the power of digestion.

(2) *Daena*, in modern Iranian *din*, possessed both by good and bad, is a faculty exercising a moral influence on the soul.

(3) *Urvan* or *Ravan*, the ego proper, parallel to Quranic *nafs*.

(4) *Baodah* or in Pahlavi *bōd*, self-consciousness.

(5) *Ahu* or Pahlavi *Akho* (in modern Iranian *Jān*) life energy which perishes with the body.

(6) *Vīr*, reason.

(7) *Hōsh*, memory associated with *vīr* and so forth.

According to Aristotle, the sources of human knowledge consist in sense, memory, experience, induction and the intellect which apprehend the principle.

The scholastics of Europe had the following numbers of senses :—

External :

Hearing, seeing, smelling, taste and touch.

Internal :

Common sense, imagination, memory and instinct (for animals).

The psychic faculties among Muslim scholars were arranged as follows :—

In Fore-brain :

Hissi-mushtarak, common sense leading to perception.

Khiyal, imagination, which is the shadow of forms.

In Mid-brain :

Mutassarafa, controlling faculty.

Vahm, emotional faculty, seat of love, hate, fear, etc.

In Hind-brain :

Hāfeza, memory.

Nafs-e-natiqa was considered as conscience, real self, or intellect.

According to a very common theory current among Eastern scholars, the formation of a thing under the natural process, takes a certain time. Thus, a human being in his essence must pass through various conditions, till the essence becomes fit to take the human form, and for further development, must receive new experiences and reach its maximum degree of perfection. This theory of human evolution is briefly indicated in several passages of the *Quran*, for instance, in the following :—

“And certainly He (God) has created you through various grades.”

The celebrated poet Jalal-ud-din Rumi⁸⁷ repeatedly alludes to this idea in his *Masnavi*. This theory is based upon the assumption that the real man is soul, occupying a body. The body is not capable of perfection ; its apparent changes are due to the various activities of the soul, which, using elements in different conditions, evolves itself and experiences various grades of lives, such as mineral, plants, lower animals and so forth, till manifest in the form of a human being, and finally it must reach its maximum perfection. Fārābī and other Muslim philosophers as well as *Sufis*, in accordance with this theory, concluded that man is a compound of two substances, viz., body and soul. One is his essence and the other is his support. His soul is unchangeable and imperishable, not in need of space nor affected by time, but causes changes in matter. It does not require sensible organs, but uses the same to make the functions of the body complete ; therefore, it causes completeness of the body. Matter is the manifestative aspect of the soul. The soul, manifesting in different aspects, is distinguished by various names. The higher stage becomes form for the lower. This process is quite visible from the time of birth to death, on man's development, on his practical side. It is started from the activity of the nutritive faculty ; then cognitive, the awakening of external senses, and afterwards of internal senses ; the appetitive faculty, the imagination, memory, recollection ; and finally intellectual and rational aspect, which distinguishes man from other animals. Fārābī begins from the concrete and develops into the abstract, or from the objective to the subjective side, from bodies to essences, from words to their meanings, which is called knowledge. Human intellectual development is classified by him in the same grades as stated in the teachings of Al-Kindi. *Aql-e-fa'al* or the agent intellect is the perception of the human

⁸⁷ Rumi, Jalal-ud-din : For a detailed account of his doctrines, see Chap. XI of this work.

intellect, which gives him the power to distinguish between good and bad and guides the human will. It is the constructive faculty in a human being, without which man is degraded to the rank of an animal. It is the *real* man. His ego descends from above. It is pure, abstract, immaterial, derived from the universal spirit. It unifies matter and spirit.

FĀRĀBĪ AS AN EXPOUNDER OF SUFISM

As a Sufi, Fārābī believed that beyond the material objects and their knowledge and intellectual experience, there is a particular faculty called love, through which everything in the universe, including man, reaches to its highest perfection. The following is a tradition common among *Sufis*: I was a hidden treasure and I loved to be known. So I created the creatures, so that they may know me. God himself is love and the cause of the creation is love. Through the faculty of love, the parts in the universe are united to their whole, to be absorbed in the supreme fountain of love, which is also supreme beauty and supreme good. The imperfects are named lovers, who seek the help of perfects called beloved, the lower lifting the higher and finally reaching to the highest. The senses may disclose a few objects of sense, and the intellect may detect a few secrets of nature, but it is love which guides a human being towards his original source. God is not far from man. He is very close. It is said in the *Quran* that "We (God) are nearer to him (Man) than his life vein".³⁸ But it is love which opens the mental eye of man and makes him see his God. Material love and attachment to bodily desires are foreign to the soul, and prevent his ascent. Worldly desires become veils between the soul and his beloved, the supreme good. A man with no attachment to the world, according to Fārābī, while living in the world is really out of it, and even in this body, he can see what ordinary man cannot see, and do extraordinary acts, which others cannot do. He sees signs of God, and is happy within himself; spiritual visions are at first momentary, but by attaining a continuously purified state of mind, become constant and permanent.

FĀRĀBĪ'S POLITICS

Fārābī's politics is based upon the conception of collective efforts of mankind in attaining the supreme bliss, by individual purity of thought and action and by social co-operation, harmony and sympathy. It is in society that the individual perceives his defects and by rectifying and reforming them is perfected. Fārābī follows Plato in many points but imbibed as he was with the Iranian culture of his time, he believed

³⁸ *Quran*, Chap. L. 16.

that a wise prince with divine knowledge must rule the nation. His aim must be to train his subjects for the real happiness of the other life. The Prophet was one such prince. If such a ruler, who must be a divine agent, does not exist, the next choice should be for a selected number of wise men, each an expert in a particular subject. Their joint efforts may reform society and keep a good administration going.

FĀRĀBĪ'S INFLUENCE ON EUROPEAN LOGIC

According to M. Carra de Voux, Fārābī's logic produced a permanent effect on the logic of the Latin scholars, while his order and enumeration of the principles of being and his doctrine of the double aspect of intellect and perfect beatitude became the basis for his Muslim successors for building up their philosophy. Among his noted pupils were:—Abu-Zakariyya and Abu-Sulaiman Tāher, son of Muhammad, a native of Sarakhas in North-East Iran, who was a philosopher and a voluminous writer. Zaher had also studied under Al-Kindi and has written valuable treatises on music, logic, mathematics, medicine and other subjects. His son Muhammad was also a noted logician.

IBN-E-MASKE-WAIH

Abu Ali Ahmad, son of Muhammad, known as Ibn-e-Maske-waih, the celebrated Iranian moralist, philosopher and physician, was born in the tenth century and died after enjoying a long age in 1030 A.D. Though he was mainly interested in ethics, his position as a philosopher is undoubted. Among his noted works are:—*Tajarubul-umam* (history); *Tahzibul-Akllaq* (ethics); *Javidan-e-Khirad*; *Fouzul-Asghar* (philosophy); and *Fouzul-Akbar*.

HIS ETHICS

His work on ethics is divided into the following chapters, his arrangement of the subject being, with little modification, followed by his successors:—

1. The soul is immortal and immaterial, taking delight in knowledge alone. The principal virtues are:—Temperance, courage, wisdom and justice.

2. Man's natural inclination and disposition, mental training and education.

3. The supreme happiness and good is attained by the closest possible similarity with the deity.

4. Justice.

5. Love and friendship, in which the aim must be universal love.

6. Health.

7. Sickness of the soul and remedies.

HIS PHILOSOPHY

His philosophy as stated in *Fouzul-Asghar* is more scholasticism than pure philosophy. The following subjects, subdivided into several chapters, are treated by him :—

1. Existence and its originator.
2. Soul.
3. The Prophet.
4. Revelation, intellect, difference between the true Prophet and an imposter.

MOTION, MOVER AND MOVABLE

Every movable must be moved by a mover, but the mover himself is immovable or, as Aristotle has said, that every body having the quality of motion is moved by a different source than itself. Motion cannot be attributed to a body because a living being can move but a dead part of him cannot move. If motion was inherent in a body, its parts should possess the same quality. Therefore, we conclude that the power of motion comes from a source other than the body. And if we believe in a series of motions, one causing the other to move, finally we must stop at a mover which itself does not move or which is the cause of all other movements. Thus, the immovability of the prime mover is necessary. We must stop somewhere or it would necessitate an infinite regress, which is impossible and absurd. The prime mover must be of a character different from that of all else moved. It must be immaterial, eternal, immovable, one and without parallel.

What we consider substance of a thing becomes in its turn accident to some other thing and accident of a thing is an effect moved by a cause and each effect must have a cause. But the final cause in its own nature possesses the quality of causing all causes. Therefore, the final cause or the prime mover has existence by his own nature and existence of all besides him is a gift from him and due to him. He is one and he has created the universe, not working or forming in a thing, but out of nothing. Aristotle and his school of philosophy consider matter co-eternal with the primal cause, whose creative power is to form the matter but the matter has constant change of forms, and one form by succeeding the other becomes non-existent. By losing its existence, the question arises, whether it impresses itself on some other body or remains in the same body. Our experience does not admit that it has passed into some other body and the second idea contradicts itself. Therefore, we conclude that one form succeeding the other becomes absolute non-existence. Since form is co-eternal with matter and itself is created out of nothing, matter also is produced from nothing. Thus, God creates both matter and

form by His creative activity from non-existence. He is one, and does not possess various independent powers, to produce various effects and cause the diversity as we find it in the universe. This diversity apparently cannot be the effect of the one cause. Therefore, we must presume that the primal cause has created one thing, which, in its turn, is the cause of other things. Ibn-e-Maske-waih reaching his arguments to this point follows the theory of emanation already stated in other parts of this Chapter. Each emanation becomes more material and less spiritual till it takes the form of elements and by their composition diversity is manifested in the universe, beginning from the inanimate object and evolving to higher states of vegetable, animal and human life and still higher, till all again is absorbed in their original source. That which perceives several objects, at the same time, is called the Soul. It is not matter because matter cannot receive several impressions at one time. Ibn-e-Maske-waih, after thoroughly arguing on this point, concludes that the Soul is immaterial and being immaterial is immortal. Sensation is the lowest form of knowledge, which changes into perception and knowledge of external objects and gradually imagination becomes active and ideas are formed in the mind, till the conception of the immaterial by mental and intellectual development becomes possible.

Ibn-e-Maske-waih's explanation of the revelation, angels and office of a Prophet is beyond the scope of this Chapter. It may be remarked that it is both interesting and logical.

IBN-E-SINA (AVICENNA)

Abu-Ali Husain, son of Abdulla, known as Ibn-e-Sina or Avicenna, was born at Af-shana in the vicinity of Bukhara in 980 A.D. His father was an Iranian native of Balkh. He studied logic, geometry and astronomy under Abu Abdullah Natali and surpassed his teacher in these subjects. In studying other subjects, he partly received help from teachers and partly learnt by himself. At the age of seventeen, he had completed his preliminary studies and had become so famous as a physician that he was called to treat King Noah of the Sāmānid dynasty and succeeded in curing him. At the age of twenty-one, he began to write his great works on medicine and philosophy. He successively served at the courts of Gurgān, Rae, Hamadān and Ispahān, suffering exile and ill-treatment at the hands of the despots he was forced to wait upon. This great Iranian philosopher, whose works were studied both in the East and the West, lived in constant danger of his life and loss of personal freedom and honour. He died at the age of 55 or 57 in the year 1037 A.D. He was a contemporary of

Ibn-e-Maske-waih, Firdousi and Abu-Raihan Biruni and the predecessor of Anselm and Abelard³⁹ of the West.

His Works

Although constantly moving and serving different and differing masters, sometimes free and at other times in prison or on journey, he has left a large number of authentic works on philosophy and medicine. He used to pass the day time in the work of administration and the nights in writing his works. Among them are the following :—

1. *Shafa* (in Arabic); a grand encyclopædia of philosophy in 18 volumes, considered as an authority on the subject in mediæval Europe and among Muslim scholars to this day. It was completed in about 20 months.
2. *Najat* (in Arabic); an abridgement of the above.
3. *Qānūn* (Canon) on medicine (in Arabic) translated into Latin and used as a text-book on Arabian medicine in the Universities of Montpellier and Louvain⁴⁰ up to the middle of the seventeenth century. It is studied by all students of the Yūnani system of medicine throughout the East.
4. *Sadidiyya* (also on medicine) in five volumes.
5. On Music.
6. On Logic dedicated to Abul Hasan Sahli.
7. An Arabic Lexicon in 5 volumes.

³⁹ *Abelard, Peter*: (1079-1142 A.D.); a theologian and scholastic philosopher of French birth, renowned for his dialectic ability, his learning, his passion for Héloïse and his misfortunes; made conceivability the test of credibility; a great teacher in his day.

Anselm, St.: (1033-1109 A.D.): Archbishop of Canterbury; a native of Aosta in Piedmont; monk and abbot; visited England frequently; King Rufus appointed him to succeed Lanfranc; quarrelled with Rufus and left the country; recalled by Henry I; an able, high-principled, God-fearing man, and calmly resolute upholder of the teaching and authority of the Church.

⁴⁰ *Louvain*: A famous city in Belgian Brabant; it has a celebrated university (1426-1797), which had 6,000 students in the 16th century; reconstructed in 1817, the university is still a Catholic one, with about 1,600 students, and a library of 250,000 volumes.

Montpellier: Capital of Herault, France, on the Lez, 6 miles from the Gulf of Lyons, 30 miles south-west of Nîmes; a picturesque town, containing a cathedral, a university, picture-gallery, libraries and other institutions; has been a centre of culture and learning since the 16th century; manufactures chemicals, corks and textiles, and has a large trade in wine and brandy. The oldest botanic garden in France was founded here in 1592, while De Candolle laid out the first botanic garden upon the natural system in 1810. The medical school here has had a notable history, it being located in the old Bishop's palace. The principal glory is its two great terraces, forming public promenades overlooking the undulating country away to the Mediterranean, Cevennes, Pyrenees and Alps.

8. *Danesh Nameh* (in Iranian) on philosophy.

9. *Uyun-ul-Hikmat* (in Arabic) on philosophy in 10 volumes.

10. *Mojez Kabir* and *Saghir* on logic.

He wrote besides a large number of smaller treatises on various subjects coming under the heads of Science and Natural History.

HIS LOGIC

His logic, which has been adopted by Eastern philosophers generally and often quoted by the Westerners, such as Albertus Magnus,⁴¹ is a system used in a negative way and is an improvement on Fārābī's and Rāzī's systems. The former had adopted the deductive method and the latter was inclined to induction but Ibn-e-Sina combined both and considered his logic an introduction to all other subjects of Science and Philosophy. He was very particular in the accuracy of definition which he held the foundation of correct argument. The definition must make clear the essence of a thing, its genus and other characteristics. Universals exist in the human mind, and the abstract idea of the genus is found by observation and comparison of individuals and knowing their resemblance to each other. The idea is purely subjective and as such has no objective existence. He classifies the different models of genuine existence, such as *Ante Res* in the mind of the deity, which means everything exists in his knowledge in a general form and therefore it must be universal. The universal, accompanied by accidents, is realised in matter. The generic, though it does not possess an objective existence, is admitted as real in Logic. Intentions are of two kinds :—

1. Objective, such as directing attention to a tree ; and
2. Logical concepts of an object in relation to abstract universal conceptions, by which one proceeds from the known to the unknown.

HIS PSYCHOLOGY

His views on psychology are similar to those of Aristotle with some modification. He held that bodies are composed of the elements. They are either natural or artificial, moving or not moving. Some possess and others do not possess sense perception. Movement is either *Tabi'i* (i.e., natural and voluntary) and *Qasri* (i.e., coercive). Mind is the perfection of the body. It is neither the result of fusion (*Imtizaj*) nor of combination (*Ikhtilat*) but extraneous to the fusion of the elements.

⁴¹ *Albertus Magnus* : (1190-1280 A.D.); one of the greatest of the scholastic philosophers and theologians of the Middle Ages ; teacher of Thomas Aquinas ; supreme in the knowledge of the arts and sciences of the time, and regarded by his contemporaries as a sorcerer.

It is classified into :—Vegetable mind, animal mind and human mind. All animate bodies are similar in possessing the power of nutrition but the extent of growth and power of generation is not similar. The natural process in bringing a body into its perfect stage is gradual and slow. The power of growth is the means of its perfection, and generation prevents the extinction of a species. The generative power is the first creative process though last in external development ; growth is the second ; and the nutrition the last. The animal mind possesses all the faculties of the vegetable and is distinguished by enjoying the power of movement, cognition and motive. The human mind is the perfected state of animal development. Man possesses in common with other animals the faculty of cognition, which is classified into external and inner senses, and he is further distinguished by the possession of the rational mind. The rational is thus classified :—(1) Material intelligence, *aql-e-māddi* ; (2) Possible intelligence ; (3) Active intelligence ; (4) The acquired intelligence ; and (5) The Holy Spirit or intuition, which is found in rare cases and restricted to men of purified minds and virtuous character. As psychologist, he succeeded in diagnosing several mental diseases.

HIS METAPHYSICS

His metaphysics is conceived of under the following headings :—

1. Knowledge and its origin ; (2) Experimentation ; (3) Induction ; (4) Deduction ; (5) Matter ; (6) Force ; (7) Cause and Effect, and relation between them ; (8) The Primary and Accidental ; (9) Universals and Particulars ; (10) Primal cause ; (11) Unity of Cosmos ; (12) The relation of human soul to the Primal cause ; (13) Immortality of the individual Soul ; (14) Future existence ; (15) Prophet, etc., etc.

BEING

God is the necessary Being, He is beyond space, time and motion. If the universe is taken in a collective sense and called a being, its existence is not inherent in it but received from the necessary being, which is the source of all existence and from which the stream of existence flows. It is like the water of a river gushing out of a spring and if drops are withheld for a moment the river becomes dry. In the same manner, the existence of all beings is momentary, appearing as continuous by the constant flow of existence from the source. Ibn-e-Sina has laid down the principle that the One originates One only. Therefore, both matter and form do not proceed from him. The characteristics of matter are shapelessness, diversity and change, which are not in the Supreme Being. Therefore, matter is something which may be called not-Being.

The first Being caused pure intelligence, which is necessary because it is directly connected with, and possible since it has been caused by, the Supreme Being. Thus, the pure unity of the first cause became duality in the pure intelligence, by which the first cause itself is not affected. The duality by the process of other emanation is changed into multiplicity till reaching to the sphere of the moon, which is directly connected with life on earth. The last idea of connecting the moon with life on earth is an Indo-Iranian belief. Matter as stated is not-Being and shapeless, but it was made to receive form and this material disposition was caused by the motion of the spheres in such a way that form occupied the matter. To make this idea more clear, we may give the following grades of emanation :—

FIRST CAUSE

1. The first intelligence, knowing its essence and origin.
2. (a) The second intelligence knowing itself as necessary and as possible.
(b) The soul and body of the ninth sphere.
3. The third intelligence and the soul and body of the sphere of Saturn.
4. The third intelligence and the soul and body of the other spheres also animated by the soul.
5. " " " " " "
The sphere of the moon.
The active intelligence.

Four Elements, human soul—the evolution of the human being from stone to plant, to animal life, to human life, with still other lives in future.

THE THEORY OF LOVE

Ibn-e-Sina elaborates the idea of evolution through the appreciation of beauty, which means perfection and good. Things have either reached their maximum perfection or are yet imperfect strivings after perfection. The imperfect naturally seek the help of the perfect to become perfect. This striving is named love. The whole universe is moved by the same power of love towards the one Supreme Beauty, the most perfect, the most good. Non-existence is hated by all and all strive after perfect unbreakable existence. Shapeless matter is indeterminate and dead in itself, but it serves the purpose of love, which utilizes it by assuming various forms, the later, more perfect, moves the previous. Thus, the process of evolution begins first in stone, then in plant, animal and human life and further in other higher and more perfect lives of which we know nothing.

SOUL

The soul's activity is manifested according to the planes of being. The simplest manifestation is that of minerals and then of vegetable life, in which its activity is limited to assimilation, growth and generation. Next is animal life, in which perception and motive powers are increased. Finally, the human, in whom the rational soul, an immaterial substance, has descended from the divine source. The faculties active in human beings are divided into :—

1. Powers of perception and action.

The perceptive faculties are :—

External (8):—Sight ; taste ; smell ; perception of heat, cold ; dry, moist ; hard, soft ; rough ; and smooth.

Internal (5): (i) Whim or fancy. It differentiates between certain objects and helps animals to avoid possible danger or to seek objects beneficial to them. (ii) *Mutakhayyala* or imagination, by which animals can perceive objects absent from their external senses. (iii) *Hafiza* or memory, by which animals preserve the images of the objects acquired through the outer senses. (iv) *Mussavarah* or formative, by which through commonsense the shapes of objects are identified and preserved. (v) *Hisse-musharak* or commonsense, which gives definite meaning to objects perceived from the five external senses. To these, the rational soul or human mind is added. It is also called reason or intellect. *Nafse-Natiqa* or rational soul, conceives of its faculties by its own power, independent of the body. It is, however, dependent on the senses for knowing objects. It was descended from the agent intellect, at the time when the body was prepared to receive it. The rational soul when fully developed in a human being elevates him to the higher grades of prophets and angels. It possesses the will power and it does not conceive through the body, but is self-conscious and in essence is independent of body and senses. Its immortality is its re-absorption in the primal source.

HIS CONCEPTION OF PHYSICS

Ibn-e-Sina's Physics is similar to Aristotlean tradition to which his own experience and speculation are added. He did not believe in astrology but admitted the fact that the light of the stars influences life on earth. Bodies are composed of matter with form, which possesses three dimensions by stretching itself in three directions and cutting at right angles. Matter itself is shapeless, but is disposed to receive forms. Besides material bodies, there are those which are related to categories. Bodies are either composite or simple. The last possesses no parts but can be divided in imagination. Ideas connected with bodies are :—movement, rest, time, place,

vacuity, finity, infinity, contact, adherence, continuity or succession. Simple bodies are the four elements. Bodies have a beginning and end on their destruction with the exception of the celestial bodies, which are not corrupted. Matter receives form, but under a natural law it cannot be changed, for example, a stone cannot become a lion. Perfect movement is circular which is found in the stars.

HIS PUPILS

Ibn-e-Sina left a number of pupils who became celebrated and followed his system of philosophy and medicine. Among them the most noted were Bahman Yar, Abul Mamun Ispahani, Masūmi Abul Abbas, Ibn-e-Taher.

THE ENCYCLOPÆDISTS OF THE AKBWAN-US-SAFA

The *Akbwan-us-safa* is an encyclopædia of science and philosophy in 51 parts. Its authors were a number of Iranian scholars, some of whom are known and others are not known. The known scholars are :—(1) Zayd, son of Rifa ; (2) Abu Sulaiman Muhammad of Bust ; (3) Ali of Zangan ; (4) Abu Ahmad Mehregani ; and (5) Awfi.

There is nothing original in this important work, but it fairly represents the views of contemporary Muslim scholars on various subjects of science and philosophy. Their metaphysics, theology and psychology have a close resemblance to the Neo-Platonic views, but their ethics is a mixture of Indo-Iranian and Arabian virtues, but worked out as a systematized parallel to that obtaining with Greek philosophers. The Universe is not a direct emanation from the deity, whose first creation is reason or the active intelligence. The Universal Soul (*Nafse-kul*) proceeds from the latter and *Hayula* (*hyle-materia*) proceeds from the *Nafse-kul*. When it becomes capable of receiving dimension, it is called secondary matter, from which the universe is formed. *Nafse-kul* permeates all things retaining its unity. The Soul has different degrees of intellectual capacity. Its union with matter is temporary and the aim of human life is to emancipate one's soul from the prison of matter. The genealogy of metaphysical speculation might be thus represented :—

God :—Unknowable to human intellect.

Aql-e-kul :—Or the universal intellect or other planes than human soul.

Nafse-kul :—Or the universal soul permeating all things.

Primal matter.

Secondary matter.

Universe.

Hayula or pure matter is that which possibly can exist but has no form. It becomes something through the adoption of

form an opposed determination. The individual souls are part of the world soul to which they will return, as it is said in the *Quran*: "We are of God and we return towards Him", after being purified, and the universal soul will return to God on the day of resurrection. Thus the individual's death is a minor return and of the universal soul is the major return towards the creator.

ETHICS

Purification of human thought leads to the removal of all material imperfections. Moral purity is higher than intellectual capacity. The soul becomes perfect by self-discipline, self-control, faith with action, justice, mercy, truth, self-sacrifice, and by the renunciation of deceit, hypocrisy, envy, pride, tyranny, falsehood and other vices.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF MUSLIM PHILOSOPHY

The golden age of Muslim philosophy was between the tenth and fourteenth century A.D. The eleventh and twelfth centuries are noteworthy for the production of great thinkers among Muslims, such as Ibn-e-Sina and Abu Raihan, Albiruni, and after them Ibn-e-Malika, Zamakshari, Umar-e-Khayyam, Imam Ghazzali, Nasir Khusroe, Sharastāni, Ibn-e-Bajja, Ibn-e-Tufail, Shahab-ud-din Suhrawardi, and Ibnur-Rushd. Among these, the last four will be mentioned here in greater detail and Ghazzali will be dealt with under the head of scholastic thinkers of Islam.

ABU BAKR IBN-E-BAJJA

Abu Bakr Ibn-e-Bajja, known in Europe as Avempace, who died in 1138 A.D., was one of the great Muslim thinkers of Spain. He wrote commentaries on Aristotle's *Physics* and did original work in mathematics, also a work entitled *The Hermit's Guide*, in which he has distinguished between human and animal society. Among the scholastics of Europe, he is known as the originator of the theory of *Separate Substances*, by which he meant that the human being can attain to the knowledge of abstract substances, deduced from concrete bodies. The idea of a separate spiritual substance was adopted from him by the scholastics of Europe. His mystic doctrine, unlike that of Fārābi, who believed in ecstasy, is based on renunciation of worldly enjoyments. Thus among Muslims there were different methods of gaining *Ittisal* or union with the deity. Among these are *Ishq* (or *Bhakti*), *Zuhd* (*Sanyas*) or ascetic life, *Tafakkur* (*Jnāna*) or philosophical wisdom and *Khairat* (*Karma*) or the doing of virtuous deeds. While Fārābi was inclined to *Bhakti* and believed in ecstasy and contemplation as the best means of reaching the spiritual goal, Ibn-e-Bajja

preferred *Zuhd* or the ascetic life. Abu Bakr Muhammad, known as Ibn-e-Tufail, born at Wadish, near Granada, in 1100 A.D., and died at Morocco in 1185 A.D., was a philosopher, mathematician, physician and a poet. He is chiefly known for his celebrated work entitled *Hayy Yaqzān* in which he endeavours to explain philosophical and mystical ideas in the form of a story. The object of the author is to prove that a man gifted with sound reasoning and the power of observation of natural objects can attain to a perfect human life, without the aid of sacred books or a spiritual teacher. Such a person can be a philosopher by his own reflection and self-abnegation. The story begins thus :—

A boy, left alone on an island, is sucked and brought up by a gazelle.⁴² When he grew up, he had an intense desire to know and investigate everything not understood by him. He feels that animals possess natural covering and defensive instruments while he is naked and unarmed. Therefore he covers himself first with leaves and then with skins of dead animals and uses sticks for defence. Gradually, he becomes acquainted with the other necessities of life, discovers the use of fire, the benefit of wool, weaving, and constructs a hut as a dwelling for himself. In the meantime, his nurse, the gazelle, is old and weak and finally it dies. The curious human mind is anxious to know the cause of the great change. He opens a side of the animal, minutely examines the internal parts of body and comes to the conclusion that the heart is the centre of bodily organs. Next, he studies the minerals, plants and animals found in his island, learns their different sounds and imitates them. Next, he observes the atmospheric phenomena and attracted by the multiplicity present in nature endeavours to find unity in all. At length, he decides that behind all diversity, there is a unity, and this hidden power is unique, pure and invisible. He calls him the first cause or the creator of the world. Then he reflects upon his own self and the medium through which he obtained the knowledge. His objective research is changed into subjective meditation. He discovers simple elements or substances, their composition, matter, form and finally soul and its immortality. By observing a stream, and tracing its origin to a spring of water gushing out and out-flowing as a river, he is led to think that mankind also must have a common origin. He further reflects on heaven, the movement of stars, the sphere of the moon and its influence over the earth. He draws a line of conduct for himself, abstains from killing animals and is content to eat ripe fruits and

⁴² *Gazelle* : From Arabic *Ghazal* ; a small, swift, elegantly-formed species of antelope, of North Africa, Syria, Arabia, and Iran ; celebrated for the lustre and soft expression of its eyes.

vegetables and only in case of extreme necessity resorts to animal flesh. He is changed from a mere physical observer into a seeker of the Divine Spirit and instead of seeking knowledge through logical argument and conclusion or objective experiment, is lost in spiritual meditation. He regards the whole universe a reflection of the one deity and enjoys the raptures of ecstasy. There was an island close to the one inhabited by him and a learned man named Asal incidentally visits the island of Hayy, meets him and teaches him language. When they compare their thoughts, one a student of nature and the other a philosopher and follower of religion, they find that both have reached the same conclusion. Thus, the author proves that man by nature is progressive and may attain to salvation by self-discipline and the inner light, even without the aid of revealed religions. Also, that the sum total of philosophy, religion and revelation is human experience and longing after knowledge which is obtained by observation of nature and by leading a pure life. The Prophet also, according to a tradition narrated by Abu-Huraira, has said that every baby is born a Muslim but that his parents bring him up as a follower of the religion followed by them and in support, he is said to have recited the following verse from the *Quran* :—

“Then turn your face to the religion in truth, truth (which the) nature made by Allah (and) in which He has made man and there is no altering of God’s creation”.⁴³

The idea in these lines is to say that the teaching of Islam helps a man who is gifted with sound intellect, by which he may distinguish between good and bad, carve out the right path of life for himself, the path which will lead him to emancipation. Ibn-e-Tufail has also proved in this story that there is no antagonism between philosophy, religion and science. All are the same and harmonious with each other.

Shahab-ūd-dīn, an expert physician, an original thinker and a bold theologian, was born in 1153 A.D. He studied under one Ahmad at Maragha.⁴⁴ He was much respected by Malak-uz-zāher, son of the famous Salah-ud-din (Saladin)⁴⁵ and lived at his court. His bold criticism and the freedom of thought and speech he indulged in, encouraged a strong opposing party

⁴³ *Quran*, Chap. XXX. 30.

⁴⁴ *Maragha* : A town in Western Iran, 35 miles south of Tabriz.

⁴⁵ *Saladin* : (1137-93 A.D.); Sultan of Egypt and Syria ; the hero of the Third Crusade on the Muslim side ; a man of noble and chivalrous character ; rose from the position of a soldier to sovereignty (in 1174) ; captured Damascus, Aleppo, etc., and entered the Holy Land, defeating the Christians at Tiberias, took Jerusalem and laid siege to Tyre ; found, in Richard Coeur de Leon, a foeman worthy of his steel ; concluded a truce in 1192 and died the year after.

of theologians ranged against him. This party pronounced a *fatwa* (permission) for his execution and he was accordingly put to death in 1191 A.D., in the 38th year of his age. Thus died one of the most celebrated thinkers of Iran.

His works are :—

1. *Kitabun-naqihāt*, which falls under Jurisprudence.
2. *Hikmatul ishraq* (Philosophy of Light), which falls under Philosophy.
3. *Haykal*.
4. *Kitabut-talwihāt*.
5. *Balaghat-Nama*, etc.

His philosophy is based upon the theory of light, an old Iranian conception, coloured by Neo-Platonic methodology and harmonized with the doctrine of Islam. Instead of using the common term first or primal cause, he begins with that principle as the absolute light, whose very essence is illumination by which he is manifested. No argument is required to prove the existence of Light, for as the author of *Masnavi* says :— “Sunshine is the proof of Sun’s existence.” The not-Light is taken in the sense of Aristotlean matter. The spirit has no independent existence. That which is illuminated is not illumination, which for light is dependent upon illumination. The universe is not the whole but a partial manifestation of the light, which is also the cause of motion, affecting all without being moved itself. The numberless rays of the light are life and vary in the degree of illumination. The stronger illumination affects the weaker illumination by illuminating it. The illumination in its grosser aspect is of two kinds, the one abstract possessing no form and remaining always a substance self-conscious and the source of all forms differing in the stronger and weaker quantity of light owing to distance from the source. The human intellect is a distant reflection of this abstract light and the other possessing a form is named accident. The relation between the substance light and accident light is as of a cause and its effect. This does not mean that they are two separate things but the same in two aspects ; one the shadow of the other. All the Categories as asserted by the Greek philosophers cannot be known to the human mind, because the manifestation of light in the universe is partial and, therefore, human knowledge which can grasp very little of this partial manifestation must be limited too.

SUHRAWARDI

Not-Light is substituted by Suhrawardi for *hayula* or pure matter. He does not agree with his predecessors that it is a separate and co-eternal being with a first cause but a shadow of the absolute light, partly in space and partly beyond space. The diversity apparent in it is not its quality but is

due to the degree of illumination reflected on it. All bodies, though they appear different in their essence, are the same. Manifested light and apparent darkness both exist from the absolute light. The universe is composed of numberless circles, illuminated more or less by the absolute light, through the medium-lights, one affecting the other. All things, as rays of the sun, move towards the source. The not-Light is classified into permanent and momentary. The former are souls of heavenly bodies, intellect, simple elements, time and motion. The latter are all composite things. Heavens do not move in one direction. Each has its own movement. Motion is related to time and both are eternal.

IRANIAN FRAVASHI OR PLATONIC IDEAS

Suhrawardi conceives a world of ideas in which the archetype of things exists. He says that the ancient Iranian sages believed in this theory and possessed ideas of certain objects in the world, such as water with its archetype named *hvarat* (*Khōrdad*), plants *amertat* (*Mardad*), fire or heat, *Asha vahista* (*urdi-behesht*). Each species possesses its guardian archetype. The idea or archetype of human being is the "holy spirit" or the "universal intellect".

SOUL

The Soul is pure light which illuminates the body through the medium of the animal soul and descends upon the formation of the body. It makes the animal soul act through the five external and five internal senses. Knowledge, memory, imagination, vision are illuminative acts of the soul.

VIRTUE AND VICE

Every soul longs to move towards the source of light. Its advance towards the light is wisdom and virtue and inclination towards not-Light is vice. Evil is a negation of light and depends upon darkness.

ELEMENTS

The elements, according to Suhrawardi, are three in number, i.e., water, wind and earth. Fire is the burning wind. The various combinations of elements cause variety in forms. Atmospheric phenomena such as rain, etc., are the various effects of motion. The universe in the sense of being partial manifestation of the light is contingent, but eternal in the sense of the eternity of its source. There is no such thing as cause and effect. All things move towards the source of the light and in doing so, one is affected and assisted by the other. All including human beings aspire to reach the source and remain internally in full illumination.

Zoug

Zoug is a mysterious faculty in humanity through which man strives for nearness to the source of Light as a lover seeks his beloved. He may gain his object by gradual freedom from not-Light. He follows the *Sufis* in fixing stations or stages of such development. In the first and lowest stage, he is entangled with *khudi* (*ahankāra*) or love of self. In the second, he loves others but retains self-consciousness. In the third, he lives for doing service to others. In the fourth, denying himself is absorbed in Him. In the fifth, the first and second feeling of self-consciousness are lost in constant contemplation of the Universal Consciousness. Each move towards the source of light is an ascent and the opposite movement is descent.

Death is the movement towards the goal but the movement is not necessarily forward. It may be backward also and depends upon a tendency which is manifested in thought and action. When our body is exhausted, another is taken to renew the journey. If it is a forward journey, each death takes to closer station towards the beloved; if it is backward, one may return back to the world of darkness and continue to entangle himself in that chain, till awakened from his miserable condition.

God is the sum total of all existence, whether material or immaterial. He has no opposite, neither a parallel. World is real and each human soul possesses an independent existence, and, therefore, human beings are not completely similar to each other. Man's essence is light and man must return to his origin.

ETHICS

Man possesses five external and five internal senses and powers of assimilation, digestion and reproduction. His spiritual faculties, manifested through the animal soul, are:—Ambition, courage and self-defence or anger. When these harmonize and act properly, they lead to purity of conduct, knowledge, chastity and bravery. The use and misuse of a faculty makes it a virtue or a vice. Knowledge guides a man towards the light and the more he becomes wise the more he is attracted to the light.

Suhrawardi's views were adopted by the later generation, particularly those thinkers who were inclined to mysticism, and many have written commentaries on his *Hikmatul Ishraq* or philosophy of illumination. Among them are:—

Shahrazuri (1250), Shirazi (1311), N. Harwari (1300), Ibn-e-kammuna (1277), Dawwani (1501), and S. Shirazi (1640).

IBN-UR-RUSHD (AVERROES)

Abu Walid Muhammad, son of Ahmad, known as Ibn-ur-Rushd, or Averroes, was the last great Western Muslim philosopher. He was born at Cordova in 1126 A.D., and died in 1198 A.D. Among his works are the following :—

1. *Mabadi-ul-Filsafa*, or the Beginning of Philosophy, in 12 parts. Besides this, there are by him over 25 other works on different subjects in philosophy.

2. *Kulliyat*, a work on medicine.

3. Commentary on *Urjuza* of Ibn-e-Sina, a work on medicine and 18 other works on the same subject.

4. *Tasl-ul.* On *Kalam*, or

5. *Kashful-adellah.* Scholastic

6. *Destruction of Destruction.* Philosophy.

7. *On the Agreement of Religion and Philosophy.*

8. *On the Demonstration of Religious Dogma.*

He also wrote several other works bearing on theology, astronomy and grammar. He is known as the "Commentator" among European Scholastics. His philosophy is a commentary on Aristotle. He aimed at reconciling Aristotle's teaching with the doctrine of Islam. He is considered the last and greatest Muslim philosopher in the West. With his writings, Spinoza appears to have been well acquainted.

HIS PHILOSOPHY

Ibn-ur agrees with Aristotle's belief in the eternity of the world. Both pure matter and form are, to him, uncreated. God transfers to matter a pure potentiality which brings it into existence by motion, not as the other Eastern philosophers believed by gradual emanation but all at once. All the intelligences emanated at one time are not equal in perfection or simplicity. Matter, as universal potency, contains in itself the capacity of taking form. Both matter and form are eternal and necessary to each other. The highest sphere is immaterial and permanent. It does not revolve as considered by other scholars but the apparent motion is connected with the stars fixed in it. The heaven of the planets, on the other hand, has two motions ; one particular to each planet and the other its daily movement. Sun and the stars contribute to life on earth by their warmth. In these theories, Ibn-ur-Rushd differs from Ibn-e-Sina, who believed in the first principle not only as the mover of the whole universe but also as the maker of forms. He differs from Suhrawardi, who taught that sun and the stars affect the earth not by their warmth but by their light.

Each heavenly body possesses its intelligence or soul which is its form. Their intelligence is never tired. Like mankind,

they do not see, hear or touch but possess the knowledge of their own self and of the external world.

THE INTELLECT AND THE SOUL

Human intelligence is immaterial, immortal, abstract and separate from the individual. It is an emanation of the universal soul, which is temporarily individualized by connection with an individual body.⁴⁶ After death, it is re-absorbed in the Universal Soul and therefore its individuality is terminated by the death of an individual. It grasps the idea coming from the Universal Soul. It has two aspects: one is called *Feli* and the other *Infā'ale*, or active and passive. The active called *Nafse-Nateqa*, illumines the mind and is related to the universals but the passive aspect tends more towards sensible objects. One is considered as a sun and the other as vision. The last acts on sensible images as form acts on matter but does not get corrupted by such contact. It is the source of direct connection between human beings and the Universal Soul and the aim of the Sūfis as well as of Muslim philosophers is the identification through *Nafse-Natiqa* with the Universal Intellect, which is attained by knowledge and ascetic life.

HIS PSYCHOLOGY

Soul is an energy which gives life to matter. It is different from the intellect. It is the form of bodies. We may summarise the psychology of Ibn-ur-Rushd as follows:—

1. There is an Universal Intellect, independent of matter and *directly* affecting the world, and not as has been put forth by other Eastern philosophers by gradation after reaching its sphere of moon.

2. It moves the whole universe.

3. Human beings possess a ray of this intellect, which is manifested in two aspects; one remaining in its pure abstract condition with a tendency towards its original sources, impersonal and immaterial, and illuminating the other aspect which is tending more towards matter. The former is re-absorbed after death into the Universal Intellect. It is the same for all mankind, but the other materializing itself, comes to an end with the death of the body. The activity of the brain and the nerves are due to the presence of this external force.

4. The abstract intellect, even in its individual capacity, can contemplate abstract forms and ideas in the general sense. It is the source by which man can attain to higher life.

⁴⁶ Spinoza (1632-77) seems to have been deeply impressed by this idea; he owned his doctrine of extension, at least in part, to Ibn-ur-Rushd (Averroes).

Ibn-ur-Rushd believed that the recompense after death is spiritual, not physical, as thought by the majority of orthodox Muslims.

DIVINE KNOWLEDGE

The Supreme Being loves Himself and has knowledge of His own existence. In His essence, He knows all things and perceives them in Himself. His knowledge embraces the whole universe.

QURANIC TEACHING

Ibn-ur-Rushd holds that the teachings of the *Quran* must be understood in two senses:—One literal translation, restricted to illiterates; and the other, allegorical, which may be known to learned men, to whom Quranic doctrine would be in perfect harmony with philosophical realities. Ibn-ur-Rushd differs with Ibn-e-Sina on several important metaphysical and psychological points and criticises him for expounding his own theories in the name of Aristotle. He often quotes passages from the *Quran* in support of his views, like St. Thomas Aquinas, who has done the same with the Biblical teaching.⁴⁷ The thirteenth century produced a very large number of thinkers, the majority of whom were in the East, such as Imam Rāzi, whose system was experimental and inductive in character and concerned more with the concrete than the abstract. He was more a naturalist, logician and physician than a pure philosopher. He founded his philosophy on the eternity of the Creator, the Universal Soul, pure matter, space in abstract and time in abstract. Numbered time is distinct from time eternal which is called duration. The above five things are the necessary potentialities causing material existence. Matter has the capacity of acquiring form and occupying space. Imam Rāzi fixes the variety of creation, some earlier and others later; in other words, it is the measure of the various material combinations and separations. Human-intelligence and man's power of making, progressing and striving for perfection makes us believe that a perfect maker and artist exists, who inspires his created things or creatures with the same force on a much smaller scale. The human aspiration is perfection and liberation.

⁴⁷ *Aquinas, Thomas*: Came exactly a century after Ibn-ur-Rushd. He lived between 1226-74 A.D., whereas Ibn-ur-Rushd lived between 1126-98 A.D. Aquinas was born at Naples, of noble Italian parents; became a Dominion Monk; a student of Albertus Magnus; his *Summa Theologiæ*, the greatest of his many works, is a masterly production and to this day considered a study of standard authority in the Roman Catholic Church.

OTHER WRITERS IN PHILOSOPHY

Zarniji, Khavanji, Abhari, Katibi, Nasafi, Urmavi, Samarqandi, Āmedi and Sharzori were other scholars in philosophy. Mohy-ud-din Arabi was a great author on Sūfism and so was Abdul Hay, son of Sabin. Both the last-named were from the West. Musa, son of Maimun, known as Maimunid, and a number of other Jewish scholars were transmitters of Muslim thought in Western languages. Nasir-ud-din Tusi, born at Tus in 1200 A.D., is known as the author of *Akhlaq-e-Nasiri*, an important work on ethics and of *Tajridul-aqaed* on *Kalam* or scholastic philosophy. His other works are on Euclid, astronomy, prosody, etc. His extant works are enumerated by W. Brockelmann, and they number some 56, most of them being in Arabic.

LATER MUSLIM PHILOSOPHY

The subject of Muslim Ethics will be treated under the name of Jalal-ud-din Dawwani, the great classical writer on the subject. Muslim thinkers and writers of the 14th century were :—Hilli, Ispahani, Qutb-ud-din Rāzi, Shustery, Mahbuby, Bukhāri Idji, Harawi and Shirāzi ; and of the 15th century, Jurjani, Taftazani, Abhari, Fanari. The most notable name in the 16th century is that of Ghias-ud-din Shirāz Sharāni. Towards the end of that century, lived and died the great writer on ethics, known as Dawwani, the author of the celebrated work *Akhlaq-e-Jalāli*. He flourished in the reign of Abu Said, the Timurid king of Iran. He died in 1592. The more important of his other works are :—*Sharh-e-Haik-kal*, a commentary on the work of Suhrawardi ; *Isbati-wājeb*, or the proof of necessary being ; and *Risala-o-Zaura*, a work on Sūfism.

MUSLIM ETHICS

Muslim philosophers have defined Ethics as part of *Hikimat-e-Amali*, or practical philosophy. Works on morals among Muslim writers are divided into :—(1) Scientific and methodical study of virtues, with the aim of effecting refinement in individual character and building up a healthy society ; and (2) A study based on passages found in the *Quran*, the tradition, pre-Islamic sacred books of Iran, books on Morals in Indian languages such as the *Panchatantra*, pre-Islamic Arab tradition, etc.

The pre-Islamic morals of the Arabs consisted in :—Endurance of hardship, loyalty to the chief, self-respect, hospitality, generosity, faithfulness, protection of women and courage. Islam taught moderation as a virtue. It is said in the *Quran* :

Moderation : “Do not let your hand be shackled to your neck nor stretch it forth to the utmost limit.” (Chap. XVII-29.)

"Be maintainers of justice and bearers of witness even if it be against yourselves, your parents or your relatives." (Chap. IV-135.)

Humility: "Do not go about in the land exaltingly." (Chap. XVIII-37.)

Chastity: "Say to the believing men that they must cast down their looks. Say to the believing women that they must cast down their looks and guard their chastity." (Chap. XXIV-30.)

Charity: "By no means shall you attain to righteousness until you give (willingly) that which you love." (Chap. III-91.)

Forgiveness and Restraining Anger: "Those who spend (when) in good circumstances as well as in straitness and those who restrain anger and pardon men, God loves the doers of good (to others)." (Chap. III-133.) "Whose hearts are set at rest by the remembrance of God and surely by remembrance of God are the hearts set at rest." (Chap. XIII-28.)

Respect and Love of Parents: "Goodness to your parents. If one or both of them reach old age, say not to them even 'uf' nor chide them but speak generous words and make yourself humble and submissive to them with compassion." (Chap. XVIII-34-24.)

Besides these, other virtues, such as repentance, good-heartedness, self-denial, toleration towards others, religious conceptions, good-will, etc., are recommended.

Next to passages in the *Quran*, there are a large number of traditions, partly genuine and partly attributed to the Prophet. Ethics was the only subject in which the East did not imitate the West. Nor could the West attain to the ideals of the East, which has produced perhaps the greatest law-givers, reformers and moralists the world has known, such as Zoroaster, Buddha, Jesus, Muhammad, apart from quite a number of other sages and heroes whose standard of morals was very high. The only influence which the West could bring to bear on the East in connection with this subject is the method of scientific treatment, which has been followed by a few and understood by a limited number of learned men. Besides the sermons and addresses of the early Khalifs, particularly Alī, from whose sayings a fair number of moral maxims has been collected, the sayings of other sages is considerable.

IBN-E-MUQAFFA

The earliest known writer on Ethics was Abdullah, known as Ibn-e-Muqaffa, an Iranian Zoroastrian convert to Islam. He wrote a book entitled *Durra-al-vatima*, in which he has eulogized the following virtues:—Temperance, courage, liberality, proficiency, etc. He also re-translated the Indian *Panchatantra* from Pahlavi into Arabic. Hunain, or his son.

Ishaq, translated Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. The "Brethren of Purity" have included a chapter on Ethics in their encyclopædia. In their system, the moral nature of man is determined by the four causal agencies :—(1) The bodily formation ; (2) climate ; (3) education, and (4) the influence of the stars.

The next famous work on the subject was composed by Ibn-e-Maske-waih, already described under his name. Ibn-e-Sina, Ibn-ur-Rushd and other philosophers have added Ethics to their works on philosophy.

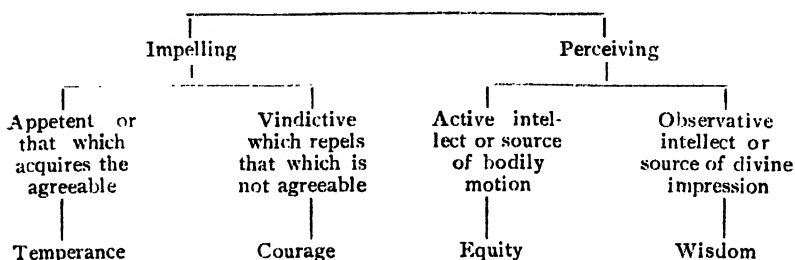
NASIR-UD-DIN TUSI AND DAWWANI

But Nasir-ud-din Tusi specialized himself in that subject and wrote a book in the style of the Greek writers, while Jalal-ud-din Dawwani improved on it in his celebrated work *Akhlaq-e-Jalali*. It is divided into the following parts :—(1) The individual state—subdivided into sources of action, genuine virtues, vices, mental diseases and their remedies, reason, human interest, etc.; (2) the domestic state—sources of income, object of marriage, choice of wife, children, their education, choice of profession, parental rights, servants and the treatment of subordinates, etc.; and (3) the political state—law, the executive, duties, good and bad civilization, sovereignty, government, its abuse, behaviour of citizens towards the authorities in intercourse, friendship, enmity, etc.

The principle of "means" emphasised in the *Quran* became the basis of Muslim ethics, both with the orthodox and the philosophic schools. The same view had been taken by the ancient sages of Greece, Iran and India.

Dawwani, after arguing the possibility of a change in human character, concludes by saying that Aristotle had long ago affirmed that bad character may become good by means of discipline, training and correction, and quotes the following saying of the Prophet to buttress his position :—"Strive ye ; for every one may attain to that for which he was constituted." Next, he explains the kinds of human intellect there are, and their various powers, which may be thus exhibited :—

REASONABLE MIND



The other classification of soul power is :—

1. Reasonable mind, paramount power, to which the other faculties must be subordinate. It is the source of thought, judgment and the desire for knowledge and knowing things as they are.

2. Vindictive power—Animal spirit, source of self-defence appearing as anger, bravery, desire for predominance.

3. Appetent faculty—source of passion, sexual enjoyment, hunger, etc.; each of these faculties, if properly worked, tends to a virtue, such as :—

Reasonable power	Vindictive	Appetent
Wisdom	Courage	Temperance and Liberality.

The harmonious work of these faculties results in justice and equity of human thought and action. By wisdom, Dawwani and other philosophers mean the knowledge of objects in their reality to the extent of human understanding; and courage means the power to act under the direction of reason under all conditions.

Temperance is the submission of the faculty of lower desire to reason and the harmonious work of the three faculties mentioned is justice. Each of these faculties, if properly worked, manifests a number of virtues, such as :—

Wisdom : Penetration; Clear understanding; Shrewdness; Right discrimination; Memory; Recollection, etc.

Courage : Self-respect, endurance; Right ambition, zeal; Dignity; Firmness; Compassion; Coolness; Humility; Boldness, etc.; Calmness.

Temperance : Good humour; Chastity; Righteousness; Patience; Contentment; Steadiness; Piety; Freedom; Generosity; Regularity; and Harmony.

Justice : Faithfulness, Keeping promise; Tenderness; Fraternity; Gratitude; Good partnership; Cordiality; Obedience; Resignation in things beyond human power; Devotion; Confession (of one's own defects).

Against each virtue, if the respective faculty is not properly worked, its misuse becomes a vice, such as :—Ignorance against wisdom, false temperance or disguised lustfulness, cowardice and tyranny against temperance, courage and equity. To make this idea more clear, we must know the ancient Iranian teaching of Zoroaster, who believed in two forces pervading the whole existence; one is called *Spenta-mainyu* and the other *Angra-mainyu*, one being constructive, good and just and the other destructive, bad and unjust. This dual phenomenon is apparent everywhere in the universe, even in human thought, intention and action. Each constructive aspect has a destructive opposite. Zoroastrian thinkers went to the extent of even dividing human speech into godly and devilish.

For instance, the divine word for the ear was *gaosa*, but in Satanic language it was *karena* (*kān* in Hindi); *puthra* is the divine word for son, but *hono* in the Satanic language; and so on. Later scholars concluded that an equilibrium between destruction and construction is the basis of material existence and harmony. Thus, the theory of "means" formed and received universal acceptance. The difference between the writers on ethics is in the methods of arrangement and expression. The fixing of true "means" is very difficult and, therefore, in theological language it is said that the bridge leading to heaven, which is suspended over hell, is sharper than a sword and thinner than a hair. It is left for man's reasoning power to find and keep the "mean" or rectitude in his character and action. For instance, equity is a force fixed in the centre of a circumference and each point to any small distance on either side cannot be in the centre. The nearer to the centre the closer to the truth. Therefore, exact justice, temperance, courage or wisdom in all intentions and action is nearly impossible, but an approach to exactness is possible and depends upon the striving and will power of an individual. The true near or the central point, keeping the true distance to both extremities is something as four between two and six. The inclination on either side takes away the doer from the centre either to excess or deficiency. Hence, each virtue has two vices at each extreme end. For instance, if we place "courage" in the centre, its two extremities would be rashness and cowardice, which means more or less use of the same. In the same manner, temperance has consciousness and indifference and justice, tyranny and servility and so on. Dawwani after describing at length the virtue of equity in the fifth chapter of his work, devotes in the sixth the order to be observed in acquiring the virtues. The seventh chapter is on the maintenance of mental health, and the eighth on the cure of mental diseases, which is a very long and interesting one. In section two of his book, he treats the subject of managing property and leading a family life. His views are, as may be expected, Asiatic and as prevalent in his time. With regard to women, he approves their seclusion and treats the use of the veil as not only necessary but also as a compliment and honour paid to them. He says that the husband must be careful to seclude his wife and keep her in veil so that she may be kept off from persons who are permitted by law to have sexual intercourse with her. He does not believe in polygamy except in the case of kings and in other such rare cases. He says that husband and wife must live as heart and body together and as one heart cannot bear two bodies, one man cannot please two wives. The wife should be provided with all provisions at home, endowed with all the ability and wealth of her

husband. She should also be treated with love and kindness by her husband. Three things, however, must be avoided by the husband, viz.:—(1) excess in affection; (2) consulting her on the most important matters; and (3) informing her of the amount of his wealth and other secrets. A good wife is one who loves her husband, is content, attentive, sincere and friendly. A man who cannot manage a home and a wife had better continue, he says, in celibacy. With regard to children, it is recommended that at the age of seven they should join a school and receive their training, they should be made just in character, next in eating and dressing and then in moving in society; and when grown-up, competent in science. Each man is qualified for a particular profession. He must study his own ability and power and accordingly select a work and live for it. Dawwani's caste system is free and selective. He makes a division of various professions, each class being allowed to follow its own. With regard to girl training, he follows the custom of the East. He says a girl should be trained for domestic needs. Rigid seclusion, chastity, modesty and other qualities are, in his view, necessary for a good wife, mother or sister. A girl need not read or write and when grown-up must be married to a suitable husband. He does not fix the age for marriage. It may range from puberty to any time possible for her parents, who have the duty cast on them to find a husband for her. In Iran, as well as in India, early marriage was appreciated and girls used to become mothers at the tender age of fourteen or fifteen. Parents must be highly respected—as much as teachers and elders. Servants are classified into three, the menial by nature and the menial by conduct, i.e., by their not restraining their passions and appetite. The first should be kindly treated; the second must be kept under control, like beasts of burden; and the third as occasion may require.

DAWWANI'S SYSTEM OF POLITICS

In his third section, Dawwani treats of politics and government. The ideal state for him is a monarchy. The king is a shadow of God upon earth, in whom all his subjects must take refuge and be protected. The Government is divided into righteous, of which the best example is the rule of the Prophet himself, in whom all four virtues are perfected; the next is illustrated by the rule of the first four successors of the Prophet; the third is that of a Prince who follows the *Sunnah*; and the fourth, if such a single person is not found, is the rule of a number of wise and pious men in co-operation and harmony. A tyrannical government tries to subjugate a country for its own pleasure or the pleasure of those constituting it, oppressing the people and appropriating the land. A government may

be kept in order by concord and unity among citizens and dissension among its enemies. In order to maintain such harmony, equilibrium should be maintained among the different classes of people. Dawwani divides the citizens of a State into :—

(1) Wise men corresponding to the Brahman caste in India ; (2) Men of the sword, corresponding to the Kshatriyas ; (3) Men of business, artisans, etc., to Vaisyas ; (4) Husbandmen ; and (5) Other inferior classes, corresponding to the Sudras.

These last are helpers and co-operate in the work of production by the higher classes. As between these different classes there should be a mutual forbearance, the position of each being fixed according to its merits and rights. The king is bound to see that (1) his treasury is in a flourishing state ; (2) he extends kindness and protection to his subjects ; and (3) he is not overtaxing the poorer people.

Writing of the mutual duties of kings and subjects, Dawwani observes that affection is of several kinds :—(1) Affection for good depends upon His knowledge. The more man knows God, the more can he feel affection for Him. (2) Affection for parents, which is divided according to the following tradition of the Prophet :—“You have three fathers, he that begot you, he that instructed you and he that gave you a wife. All these must be loved and respected.” Affection for a teacher must be very high as the Prophet has said :—“He that loveth the learned loveth me.” (3) Affection of subjects for their kings and of the kings for their subjects. (4) Affection between friends. There are, according to Dawwani, other kinds of affection also, all these being based on mutual enjoyment, interest and need. Some of these quickly arise and quickly depart ; while some are affected for a long time and continued for a long time, others are produced in intercourse extending over a long time but depart quickly, or are quickly produced but continued for a long time. In some instances, affection is a duty, as affection towards fellow-creatures, fellow-citizens and the Creator.

The other chapters of this valuable work of Dawwani are on offices and departments of administration, on the duties of friendship, etc., but they cannot be gone into here in any further detail. Suffice it to say that Dawwani as an ethical teacher stands high. While he did not always rise superior to his times in the social sphere, in other matters he was not only highly philosophical but also strictly practical.

HUSSAIN WĀEZ

The last classical writer on the subject of ethics was Hussain Wāez (d. 1505), the author of *Akhlaq-Mohsani*, in which there is nothing either original or elaborate.

PHILOSOPHY AFTER THE FALL OF MUSLIMS IN SPAIN

When the magnificent empire of the Muslims in Spain vanished and the centre of Muslim culture shifted altogether to the East, the three great rival empires of Usman in Turkey, Saffavid in Iran and Timurid in India displayed their own characteristics and pursued their own policies and interests. The Turkish Sultans, calling themselves "Khalifa", claimed suzerainty over all Muslim territory. They were patrons of learning but too busy in their offensive or defensive wars against the European powers. Among Turkish philosophers, Tash Koprizādeh (d. 1554) is worth mentioning. He was a comprehensive writer on philosophical subjects. In Iran, the Saffavid Shahs by professing the Shiah religion, not only refused to acknowledge the Turkish Sultan as the head of Islam but also intensified the belief of the Shiahs that all Khalifas from the beginning with the exception of Alī and his son Hassan were usurpers. They were openly cursed and even abused. Thus, a definite schism was effected in Islam. They not only discouraged Sūfis, majority of whom were followers of the Sunnat-Jumat sect but even persecuted and deported them, and at the same time encouraged Shiah theologians and did not oppose philosophy. Therefore, Iran during the Saffavid period is noted for a considerable number of Shiah theologians and philosophers. The last-named, however, had to adjust their views to the religion of the State. In India, the Timurids paid respect to the Sūfis but were indifferent to philosophy. Among Indians worth mentioning are Abul Fazal, the Minister of Akbar, Sialkoti and Hasan Behari. In Iran and Central Asia, the more notable thinkers were Manavi (d. 1622), Harowī (d. 1605), Ghias-ud-din Shirāzi (d. 1542), and Mir Damad (d. 1610), who was a philosopher, philologist, physician and mathematician and the author of several works on philosophy and other subjects. Among others are Mir Abul Qasem Findaraski, philosopher and poet, Mulla Mohsin Faiz Kashi, Mulla Abdur Razzack Lahiji and his teacher Mulla Sadr-ud-din Shirāzi, the greatest philosopher of this period. Of these, the last two may be considered here.

MULLA ABDUR RAZZACK LAHIJI

Mulla Abdur Razzack Lahiji, a pupil of Mulla Sadr-ud-din Shirāzi, was the author of the following among other works :— (1) A commentary on the Sūfi work, named *Fusus-ul-Hikam*, of the famous Mohy-ud-din Arabi; (2) *Goher-e-Murad*, a work on scholastic philosophy in Iranian. He was also a poet. His theory of emanation does not differ from that of his predecessors. According to him the Supreme Being emanates the *Aql-e-kul* (the universal intellect); from it the *Nafs-e-qul* or

the universal soul and the substance of the world of *aql-e-kul* are produced and this process of emanation continues till the material elements and the universe in all its diversity are framed. The *aql-e-kul* contains ideas of all existing things. These are named *āyān* or the types of all things as universals. God's almighty power *Qahiriyya* is manifested through the intelligences, which are called *angels* in theology. The world of these intelligences is called *Ālum-ul-Qudrat* (*Jabarut*) or the world of powers, and it is not bound with time and is unchangeable. The world of the universal soul is called *Mala-kut*, which is comparatively closer to the material world. The types or *āyān* become general conceptions in the universal intellect and after being specialised and limited descend into the world of *nafs-e-kul* (i.e., the universal soul). Here they are distinguished from each other and become individuals and further descend into the material world. This stage is called *Sama-ud-dunya*, or the heaven of the earth, from which beings are manifested in the sensible world called *Alumus-Shahāda*. The heavenly bodies possess a reasonable soul as other creatures.

Qaza and *Qadar* are the divine decree and divine measuring. According to Lahiji, *Qaza* means the existence of the universal types of all things in the world of the universal intellect, and *Qadar*, descent of the types in the world of the universal soul after being individualised. Providence is the divine knowledge, which means presence of Himself before himself. Man in his body is material, but in essence has an element of the divine power. Therefore man as divine emanation is free by his nature but bound by the material tendency. Matter is of two kinds: pure and impure or fine and gross. It has the capacity to join with a corresponding soul and therefore individual souls are different in character. The human aim must be to overcome this material tendency.

SADR-UD-DĪN SHIRĀZĪ

Sadr-ud-dīn Shirāzī was known also as Mulla Sadra (d. 1640). The chief among his several works are:—(1) *Asfar-e-Arba'a* in four volumes, an important work on philosophy; (2) *Kitabul-Hidaya*; and (3) Commentary on *Hikmatul-Ishraq* of Suhrawardi.

Sadr-ud-dīn built his own philosophy in which some original and independent thoughts can be traced. Being and existence are two different aspects of the same reality. Individual things are monistic. Individual beings gradually develop into perfect beings. These emanate from the Supreme Being like rays from the sun. Entity is the separation of rays and existence is the presence of light. The human soul is perfected by likeness to God, the first principle and the centre of values. The reflections of these values are things created. When we

find the various reflections of truth, goodness and beauty, we must know that these are from one common source, shining upon us and attracting us towards God, the Supreme Beauty. Thus the philosophy of Mulla Sadr-ud-dīn aims at :—(1) The identity of the subject and the object by which the object is known : (2) *Kiāal*, imagination is independent of the known and belongs to the world of soul, and (3) the element of real being is in all things, yet is none of them.

DECLINE OF MUSLIM PHILOSOPHY

The 17th, 18th and the 19th centuries are the dark ages of Asia and are noted for the general decline of culture and power among Asiatic nations and the rise of European civilization. There was not only a general decline of political power, but suspension of intellectual activity in all Muslim countries. Ignorance, anarchy, civil wars, despondency, tyranny, confusion and inertia were predominant and worse than all a deep feeling of inferiority was pressing hard and preventing higher ambitions. The Timurid Empire became a victim to internal strife and rebellions and the impotency of the ruling Emperors added to the decline. The great Turkish Empire, with her internal unrest and misrule, had to face the united efforts of European powers for her disintegration and final destruction. Instead of being aggressive, the great Sultan remained on the defensive, losing province after province. In Iran, Nadir was the last able ruler. The succeeding dynasty converted the country into a third class power and lived at the mercy of the two rival European Empires of Russia and Britain. The torch of civilization and refinement thus passed from Muslim hands to the European nations, who within two centuries made tremendous strides in all branches of science and arts and completely hypnotised the Asiatic mind with their intellectual superiority. Asiatics felt and still feel their intellectual inferiority, which is the worst disease that the mind of man could be affected by, causing despondency, sapping the foundations of all manliness, courage, ambition and political effort. Asia has become dormant to a degree. If she is apparently lost, the future may yet show that all is not so dark as at present it seems to be. As the *Quran* says :—"If a wound has afflicted you, a wound like it has also afflicted other people and we bring these days to men by turns."⁴⁸

MUSLIM PHILOSOPHY IN THE XIX CENTURY

The nineteenth century has produced very few eminent scholars in the East when compared with the great original thinkers of Europe. Among these are :—Syed Jamal-ud-dīn,

⁴⁸ *Quran*, Chap. III. 139.

known as Afghāni, Shah Vali-yullah, Haji Mulla Hadi Sabzāwāri, Mirza Abdul Hassan Jilwah, Raza Tawfiq and the last living poet and thinker Sir Muhammad Iqbal of Lahore. We may close this chapter, summarizing the thoughts of some of these more prominent writers.

HAJI MULLA HADI SABZĀWĀRI

Sabzāwāri, who was born in 1797 and died in 1878, is considered to be the greatest Iranian philosopher of the 19th century. He wrote a small treatise at the tender age of about 12. He devoted his life to lecturing on Jurisprudence and Philosophy. Among his works are :—*Israr-ul-Hikam* on Philosophy ; a commentary on *Masnawi* of Jalal-ud-dīn Rumi ; *Manzuma*, a work on Logic and Philosophy ; and *Shawahadur-Rububiyya*.

HIS PHILOSOPHICAL VIEWS

His philosophy is a mixture of Sūfism and pure philosophy and ends in a religious conception which is the general tendency of Iranian and Indian Aryans. In proving his arguments, he cites from the *Hikmatul-Ishraq* of Suhrawardi, and Ibn-e-Sina, besides passages from the *Quran*. The unity of the Supreme Being is explained from the views of past thinkers and the Sūfis. Being is a simple reality, absolute, necessary. The Universe is a mirror in which He sees Himself. The co-eternity of matter with the Supreme Being is a philosophical conception but Sabzāwāri adds that they may be co-eternal but never co-equal, because one is dependent upon the other. The one is illumination in its essence, the other is lighted, if illumined. The theory of emanation is explained in comparing with a light which becomes less luminous according to its distance from the source. The real is immovable but causes all things to move. It is a pure unity appearing in diversity from various standpoints. In its essence, it is life, power and love. These are not separate qualities, but are itself. The visible many is a different manifestation of the same One illuminating and actualizing the unreal. Its unity is found in three original principles of the essence or light, its shadow or reflection (the universal intellect) and darkness (the corporeal world).

HIS PSYCHOLOGY

Sabzāwāri has systematized the views of Ibn-e-Sina and Suhrawardi in classifying the soul faculties. The first division is the abstract Material soul. This possesses the faculties of preservation, regeneration and reproduction, assisted by ten external and internal senses. Among the external senses, sight is the most complicated, delicate and important. The internal senses are centralized in *Hisse-Mushtarak* or common sense, which is assisted by *Khiyal*, *Wahm*, *Hafiza* and *Mutasar-*

rafa or the faculties of imagination, emotion, memory and the faculty which combines or extends the ideas in memory or contracts or expands the same into something new. The abstract, or, as Sabzāwāri says, the human soul, in having a beginning, is related to matter but, as immortal, is connected with the Divine Being; it has the power of perceiving universal ideas without the aid of the senses. It is a reflection, a shadow of the universal intellect and as such does not stand in need of the body. It is the seat of all abstract ideas. Sabzāwāri explains in detail in several chapters the immortality and other characteristics of the human soul, quoting from Suhrawardi and Ibn-e-Sina for illustrating and proving his argument. He groups them under the heads of *Nazari*, or theoretical, and *Amali*, or practical intellect. The theoretical intellect develops into :—(1) *Bil-Quvvat*, or potential; (2) *Bil-Malaka*, or perceptive; (3) *Bil-fi'l*, or actual; and (4) *Mustafad*, perceptive of the universal concepts. The practical intellect is graded into :—(1) *Tajliya*, by which man follows the laws of religion and laws of nature; (2) *Takhliya*, which means purification of mind from the vices; (3) *Tazkiya*, the retention of virtuous habits; and (4) *Fana*, separation from one's lower self and unity with his higher self. Man by his nature possesses both virtue and vice but can purify himself from vice by discipline and piety. Sabzāwāri refutes the Motazala doctrine that good is from God and evil is man's own creation. He gives the following grades of descent and ascent of the soul, each descent being opposite to an ascent :—

<i>Qaus Nuzul</i> or the bow of the descent	<i>Qaus Saud</i> or the bow of the ascent
1. <i>Ikhfa</i> , or the Most Hidden	1. <i>Hahut</i> , absolute existence
2. <i>Khifa</i> , or the Suble	2. <i>Lahut</i> , world of divinity
3. <i>Sirr</i> , or the Secret	3. <i>Jabarut</i> , world of intelligence
4. <i>Qalab</i> , or the Heart	4. <i>Malakut</i> , world of Angels
5. <i>Ruh</i> , or the Spirit	5. <i>Mána</i> , world of Ideas
6. <i>Nafs</i> , or the Soul	6. <i>Sūrat</i> , world of forms
7. <i>Taba</i> , or the Nature	7. <i>Tabi'at</i> , world of material world

MIRZA ABDUL HASSAN JILWAH

Jilwah's father was a native of Ardastan, near Ispahan. He migrated to Haiderbad in Sindh and eventually settled at Ahmadabad (in Gujrat) and here his son Abul Hassan was born about 1820 (or 1822). At the age of seven, he returned to Iran with his father, where he devoted his life to the study and the teaching of philosophy. He did not leave any independent work but has written commentaries on *Asfār* of Mulla

Sadra and *Shefa* of Ibn-e-Sina (the portion dealing with logic, metaphysic and natural physic). He was also a poet and had the pen-name of *Jilwah*.

SIR MUHAMMAD IQBAL

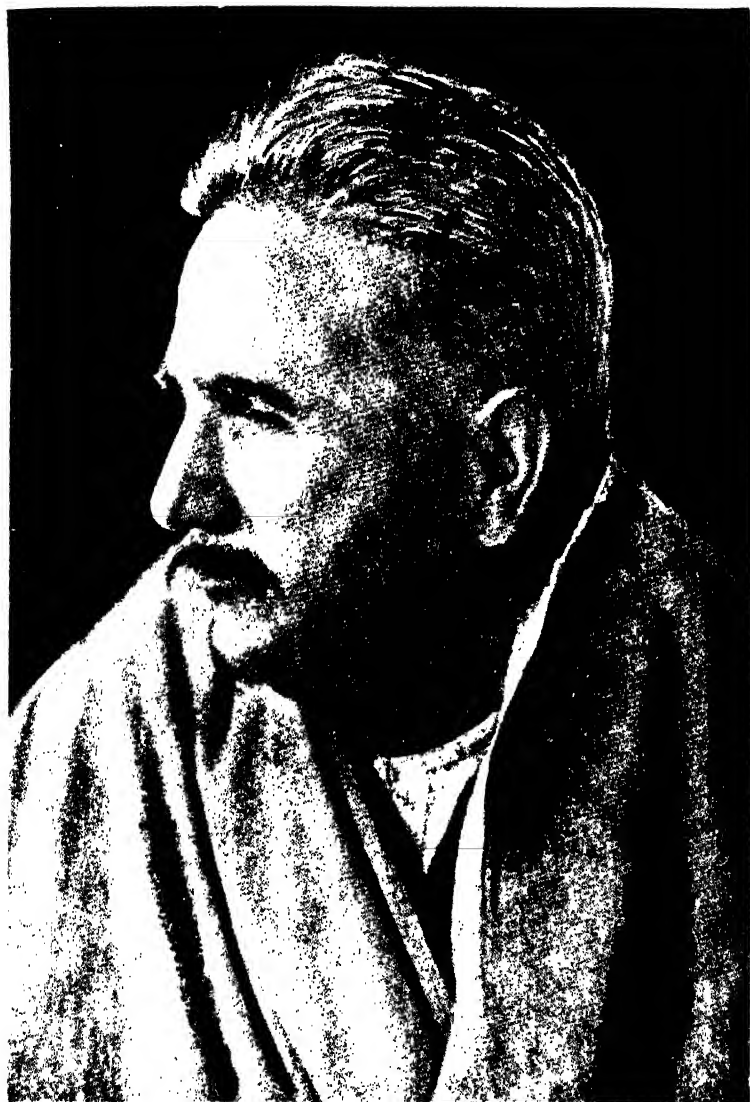
Sir Muhammad Iqbal's ancestor was a Pandit of Kashmir who embraced Islam over two hundred years ago. He was born in 1876 at Sialkot. After receiving the M.A. degree, he proceeded to Europe and wrote a thesis on Metaphysics in the Iranian language, for which he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. His works are in poetry and most of them, such as *Rumuz-be-Khudi*, *Zabur-e-ajam*, *Payam-e-mashraq*, *Javid Nama* and *Israr-e-Khudi* are in Iranian. The last has been translated with an introduction into English by Professor Nicholson of the Cambridge University. This compliment to his talents made Sir Muhammad Iqbal's name well known in the East and the West. He is to-day recognized as the expounder of a new doctrine. He has made Iranian the vehicle of his thought, a language well understood in Kashmir and the Punjab.

HIS BASIC PHILOSOPHICAL IDEA

He has founded his doctrine upon the present political, social, economic and moral condition of the Muslims in India and the surrounding countries, chiefly Afghanistan. He considers his co-religionists hopelessly devoid of courage, manliness, activity, education, self-respect, refinement and culture. Being attached to Sūfis and interested in Sūfism, he feels the doctrine of annihilation of self as understood by the majority of the Sūfis to be somewhat like the *Nirvana* of Buddhism. In this sense, annihilation means selflessness or absorption of the individual self in the universal self, which he believes to be against the true teaching of Islam and a great obstacle in his opinion to material progress.

HIS THEORY OF THE PRESERVING SELF

In order to remedy this misunderstanding and remove this defect, he has expounded the theory of the "preserving self". He does not believe, as some Sūfis believe, in self-negation, but teaches self-affirmation. The imperfect self is not perfected by self-negation but by self-perfection, which means strengthening the idea of self in himself. The Prophet says, "make your disposition (character) resembling the attributes of God", and God's chief attributes are power, knowledge, will, love and life, and not powerlessness, ignorance, hatred, etc. Therefore, Sir Muhammad Iqbal considers the theory of self-negation is poisonous and causes inertia, weakness, indifference, lethargy in society, etc. The Sūfistic term *Khudi* (from Avestan *Hva*, same as Sanskrit *Sva*) means "ego". It



DR. SIR MOHD. IQBAL, M.A., PH.D.

Poet & Philosopher

may be interpreted in two senses, one corresponding to Sanskrit *Ahankara*, or self-conceit, and the other meaning *I-ness*. Sir Muhammad Iqbal takes the meaning of *Khudi* in the latter sense, while the great Sūfis who condemned it took it in the former sense. The Sūfism of Iran was not based upon non-worldliness or renunciation of physical activity, which was against the spirit and the nature of the Iranians as a nation. In Sūfism as understood in Iran, the world does not become unsubstantial and never sinks into nothingness in the sense as understood elsewhere. The Sūfism of Iran is, indeed, neither *self-negation*, nor does it seek to abolish all relation between God and man, and point to absorption in the Universal Ego in the sense of losing the individual ego. Sūfism, on the other hand, is *positive*. It affirms the world and life in the world and seeks its ideal in *Ittisal*, or union with God in forgetting one's material aspect and contemplation of nearness with God. Sir Muhammad Iqbal admits that the greater the distance from God, the less the individuality or individual perfection of man, and this is the exact theory of Iranian Sūfism. He who comes nearer to God is the completest person, because he is absorbing the light of God into himself, or, as Suhrawardi opines, he is more and more illumined by the Divine Illumination. Professor Nicholson, in his introduction to *Israr-e-Khudi*, explains the teaching of Sir Muhammad Iqbal and says that man is not absorbed into God but absorbs God into himself, while an Iranian Sūfi will say, "Man does not illumine God but is illuminated by God". Further, as Professor Nicholson says, "The true person not only absorbs the world of matter but by mastering it, he absorbs God himself into his ego. Life is a forward, assimilative movement. It removes all obstructions in its march by assimilating them. The greatest obstacle in the way of life is matter or nature. But nature is not an evil, since it enables the inner powers of life to unfold themselves. Life is a struggle for freedom 'and the ultimate end of human activity is life'." All the above-mentioned ideas can be traced to Muslim Sūfism as it was taught by great Sūfis, such as Shebisteri, Suhrawardi, Rumi, etc. They said that the material existence is the source of spiritual development. The world is not bad but the misuse or overuse of natural desires is bad. The renunciation of the world does not mean committing suicide or vanishing in the darkness of self-annihilation, but it means self-control, self-illumination through self-purification and knowledge. It might have been practised or misunderstood by some Pīrs or Fakīrs or poets in Iran or India. But this is against the teaching of true Sūfism and undoubtedly of Islam. Sir Muhammad Iqbal's philosophy is not anything new but at the present age it is most necessary for awakening Muslims as a race from the torpidity which has conquered them.

Sir Muhammad defines love as the desire to assimilate, to absorb, which Iranian Sūfis define as the feeling of one's imperfection and a sincere and earnest desire for perfection.

In his six lectures, delivered at Madras and elsewhere, and published in the form of a book, Sir Muhammad Iqbal explains the true spirit of the Islamic doctrine. It is worthwhile for the student of Islam to read this work. The first chapter is on knowledge and religious experience. Beginning from a brief description of Greek thought, Sir Muhammad says that the main purpose of the *Quran* is to awaken in man the higher consciousness of his manifold relations with God and the universe. The affirmation of spirit sought by Christianity would come not by the renunciation of external forces, which are already permeated by the illumination of the Spirit, but by a proper adjustment of man's relation to these forces in view of the light received from the world within. The second chapter contains a list of the revelations of religious experience. With regard to *Taqdir*, or destiny, Sir Muhammad explains that destiny is time regarded as prior to the disclosure of its possibilities. It is time as felt and not as thought or calculated. The third chapter is on the conception of God and the meaning of prayer. After discussing at length the Islamic conception of God, Sir Muhammad explains the object of prayer, either individual or congregational, as "an expression of man's inner yearning for a response in the awful silence of the universe". It must not become the cause of strife, hatred or disputes. As the *Quran* says:—"To every people have we pointed ways of worship which they observe. Therefore, let them not dispute this matter with thee."⁴⁰ The choice of standing towards the *Ka'aba* is to secure uniformity in the congregation and the different postures of the body are factors in determining the attitude of mind. His fourth lecture is on the human ego, its freedom and immortality. It is in this subject that the author is particularly interested and argues from different points of view, and concludes that according to the teaching of the *Quran*, there is no complete freedom for man from his finitude. His heavenly reward is his growth in self-possession, and intensity of his activity as an ego. "Heaven and Hell are states, not localities." There is not eternal damnation for man, eternity in connection with punishment is a period of time. The fifth and the sixth chapters are on Muslim culture and the principle of movement in the structure of Islam. Both these are more connected with the social and political aspects of Islam than with its philosophical implications. This apart, Sir Muhammad Iqbal's lectures are unquestionably a valuable exposition of Islamic

⁴⁰ *Quran*, Chap. XXII. 66.

doctrine studied from a philosophical standpoint. The general tendency of modern Muslim students of philosophy is to reconcile the classical philosophical views they have inherited and cherished for ages with the present tendencies of European thought.

CHAPTER XI

SŪFIS AND SŪFISM

Early Sūfis and Their Sayings—Iranian Sūfis—Hallaj—His Doctrine—Sūfi Philosophy—Stages of Training—Sūfi Orders—Classes of Sūfi Ethics—Sūfis and Orthodox Muslims—Sūfism and Vēdāntism—Differences between Sūfism and Vēdāntism—Works on Sūfism—Kitabul-Luma-fit-Tasaawuf—Ecstasy or Wajd—Miracles—The Shariat—Fana—Spirit of Soul—Kashful-Mahjub—Fususul-Hikam—Ibnul-Arabi—Mantaqut Tair—Masnavi—Gulshan-e-Raz—Insan-e-Kamil—Nafahtul-uns—Sūfism in India—Decline of Sūfism—Possibilities of Its Revival.

EARLY SŪFIS AND THEIR SAYINGS

IN the human breast, there is love; the love of one Supreme Beauty. It is in this aspect of human aspiration that the thought of India and Iran, of the East and the West meet on common ground, as if the human mind, in longing to reach its original source, works on the one fundamental and common principle of love. The peculiar features of the East and the West, of Muslim and non-Muslim, vanish in the admiration and love of one Supreme Beauty. All mystics, whether in Iran or in India, Arabia or China, Europe or Asia, sing the same song of longing for the beloved. There may be differences in detail, in language, in expression, in description, but in the main principle, all are united as drops of one ocean. All are seekers of God and the ways leading to Him are many, but He is one. Therefore, according to Rumi, if one is sincere in his intention, he will find Him. As Sri Krishna says in the *Bhagavad-Gītā* :—

Yē 'pyanyadēvatā bhaktā yajantē śraddhayā'nvitāh |

Te'pi māmēva Kauntēya yajantyavidhiṣṭvakam ||

i.e., "He who worships other Devas (besides Me), if he does with full faith, he (really) worships Me, O son of Kunti, although (he may be acting) contrary to ancient rule." (Chap. IX-23.)

Patram pushpam phalam tōyam yā mē bhaktyā

prayacchati |

Tad aham bhaktyupahṛtam aśnāmi prayatāt manaha ||

i.e., "He who with devotion offers to Me a leaf, a flower, a fruit, water, that I accept from striving self, offered as it is with devotion." (Chap. IX-26.)

Yē yathā mām prapadyantē tāmstathaiva bhajāmi aham |

Mama vartmānu vartantē manushyāh Pārtha sarvaśah ||

i.e., "In whatever way men approach Me, so I welcome them ; for whichever path men take, it is Mine, O Partha !" (Chap. IV-11.)

What Rumi said in Iran, Śankara expounded in India, and the same was reflected in the European mind. It was the influence of the age that worked on the same basis everywhere. Each cycle, according to the sages of India, has its own peculiarity, not restricted to one country or one Continent, but, like the cloud raining without distinction on all places, benefits all sides. It is the same all over the world. The difference in quantity is due to the quality of the soil or the capacity of the people. The human mind under the influence of each cycle, works in similar directions, which indicates the inner relationship that exists between all human beings. The cause is unknown but the effect is seen. There may be minor differences in detail, expression and force, but the spirit is the same. The variation is due to each nation's social, religious, political and moral development and the standard of their intellectual progress.

The Sūfis of Islam, the great Vēdāntists of India and the Mystics of Europe lived between the 8th and the 15th centuries, which period covers the beginning and decline of Mysticism everywhere. The history of Muslim Sūfism may be divided into the following periods :—

- (1) Ascetic life.
- (2) Theoretical development.
- (3) Organised orders.
- (4) Decline.

The first period approximately begins from the time of the Prophet and ends with the rise of the Abbaside dynasty. The early companions of the Prophet, for example, the first four Khalifs, the Iranian Salman, the Socialist Abuzar, Miqdad, Ammār, Maaz and some others were noted for their intense zeal and enthusiasm for the cause of Islam, for piety and the ascetic life they led. Besides these, a number of other companions, whose extreme poverty had made them homeless, lived in the mosque built by the Prophet and were known as men of the *suffa*, or the terrace, over which they slept. They were devoted to Islam and passed their time in reading the *Quran* and discussing questions of religion. They were liked by the Prophet and respected by other Muslims. Alī, the fourth Khalif, who was a cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet and since his tender age was attached to and had been trained by the Prophet himself, was celebrated for his philosophic trend of mind and for his piety. He ruled for a short time but during that short period, found a number of admirers in Kufa and the surrounding countries. Almost all Sūfi orders consider him as their second (the first being the Prophet himself) spiritual

teacher and guide, though none of them has any direct connection with him. Among his admirers was one Ovais Qarani, respected and loved by the great companions of the Prophet, such as Umar the second Khalif and Alī himself. He was so much devoted to the Prophet that he removed two of his front teeth, because he had heard that the Prophet had lost two of his in the battle of Uhud. He was extremely pious and simple in life. When he heard that Alī was going on an expedition, he at once joined the army, and was killed in battle. Ammar Yasur, an old pious man of ninety, was killed fighting for the cause of Alī. Abuzar, an extreme Socialist, was bold enough not only to rebuke Moaviya, the Governor of Syria, for misusing the money in the treasury and living in high style, but even criticized the reigning Khalif himself, for which, he was deported. He died in exile. He was also a great admirer of Alī. In Kufa, to which Alī had shifted his capital from Medina, there were a number of men devoted to his cause. They were noted admirers of his learning and piety. Among these were Mālik, son of Hares; Kumail, son of Ziad and others. He found admirers even in distant Egypt, the birth-place of Sūfism. During his life, he was deified by some and acknowledged as an *avatar*, or manifestation of God. After his death, his name accordingly became sacred. His close relationship to the Prophet and his wise sayings, whether actually uttered by him or not, made him the right person for the spiritual leadership of the seekers after Truth. The majority of the early Sūfis were Iranians and next to them in number were Syrians and Egyptians. They remained recluses and lived an ascetic life; they visited Mecca as many times as they could; some of them had *Khanqahs*, or hermitages, outside the town and each had a small circle of followers. They either did not write or their writings have not come down to us; but their symbolical utterances and sayings are found in works composed by their biographers, who lived long after them. Therefore, the authenticity of these sayings is not certain. But admitting that a major portion of these is correctly ascribed, we may say that their ascetic life was based on Islamic doctrine and the traditions of the Prophet. They were also influenced by the life led by Christian monks and Buddhist hermits who lived in scattered groups in the extreme North and South-East Iran, i.e., in what are now Russian and Afghan Turkestan.

IRANIAN SŪFIS

A large number of early Iranian Sūfis were from that part of the country.

Among these were the following :—

Habib Ajami (d. 738 A.D.), a money-lender, who turned into an ascetic and built a monastery on the banks of the

Eupharates. He was a friend and disciple of Hasan Basri⁵⁰ known for his learning and piety. The latter is considered to have been taught directly or through another medium by Alī, the fourth Khalif. One of his sayings is :—"I devote my time in purifying my heart, while others are busy in lecturing and blackening papers."

Ibrahim Adham (d. 875 A.D.), a nobleman of Balkh (once the centre of the Zoroastrian and afterwards of the Buddhist religion) gave up, like Buddha, his worldly comfort and adopted an ascetic life. He says :—Two loves cannot exist in one heart, God and the World. Once when a stranger requested him to take him to the nearest dwelling, he pointed out the cemetery. He held that to control one's self is better than to rule over a nation.

Fuzail, son of Ayāz (d. 803 A.D.), was a native of Merv, another old centre of Buddhism, Manichæism and Nestorian Christianity. He says :—I love God and hence I worship Him. There is safety in solitude. All things fear him who fears God.

Ahmad, son of Khazruvaih, a native of Balkh (d. 854 A.D.), was another who belonged to this period. He says :—Kill thy soul so that you may give it life. God is clearly visible but if you fail to see Him, you are blind.

Abu Alī Saqiq, a native of Balkh (d. 812 A.D.), was even a more noted figure. The following is his dialogue with Ibrahim Adham :—

Abu Alī.—How do you earn your livelihood ?

Ibrahim.—I do my best and when I obtain anything, I thank God ; if I fail, I remain patient and hope.

Abu Alī.—This is done by dogs in our country.

Ibrahim.—What would you do ?

Abu Alī.—If I earn anything, I spend and help those who need ; if I fail, I thank God.

Hātam Asam also belonged to Balkh (d. 871 A.D.). He says :—A Sūfi must accept four kinds of death, viz.,

(i) White death which means hunger.

(ii) Black death, i.e., patience in distress.

(iii) Red death, i.e., controlling passions.

(iv) Green death, i.e., using rough garments.

Maruf-Karkhi of Khorassan was a disciple of Imam Reza, the eighth Shiah Imam (d. 821 A.D.). He says :—A Sūfi is a guest of God in this world and he must behave as is becoming

⁵⁰ Hasan Basri : Or Hasan of Basra. His devotion was well-known. His trust in God (*tawakkul*) was, as Nicholson puts it, as intensely real as the terrors which inspired it. Hearing mention made of the man who shall only be saved after having passed a thousand years in Hell-fire, he burst with tears and exclaimed, "Oh, would that I were like that man !" *Qutu't Qutub*, I. 101. (See R. A. Nicholson, *The Idea of Personality in Sūfism*, 8.)

to a guest. He has a right to be served but no right to demand. Love is a gift from God. Sūfism means striving to know the real and neglecting the non-real.

Abul Husain Nuri of Khorassan (d. 907 A.D.) says :—You will know God through God Himself. Intellect is a guide but helpless in guiding man towards the truth. I looked on His light and kept on looking till I became light myself. Sūfis are those whose souls have been purified of all human impurities. A Sūfi is neither a master of worldly riches nor its slave, neither attached to anything nor is anything attaching to him. Sūfism is neither performing religious rituals, nor is it knowledge of science and philosophy. It means moral perfection and purification. It means freedom, manliness, non-attachment (to worldly desires) and generosity (self-sacrifice). Sūfism means enmity to world and friendship of God.

Bashar-e-Hafī, also from Khorassan (d. 841 A.D.), whose great-grandfather had been converted to Islam by Alī, the fourth Khalif, says :—It is a terrible calamity for him who does not know God. A Sūfi is one whose heart is clear with his God.

Yahya, son of Ma'az of Balkh (d. 867 A.D.), says :—A sincere lover does what is desired by the beloved. Ascetics renounce the pleasure of this world but a Sūfi renounces those of next life also. Ascetics are strangers to the pleasures of this life, expecting as reward the pleasures of paradise, but a Sūfi is a stranger even to paradise. Whoever sees anything besides his Beloved cannot see his Beloved.⁵¹ True love cannot be increased or decreased by the Beloved's kindness or cruelty.

Bāyāzid of Bistām, in Khorassan (d. 874 A.D.), was among the earliest Sūfi authors.⁵² His works were used by Imam Ghazzali but they are not at present extant. He was a theologian, philosopher, poet and a Sūfi. His famous saying is :—"Beneath my cloak there is nothing but God. I am the cup bearer, the wine and the wine drinker. I went from God to God till I heard from within 'O thou I'. Pride of self, Virtue is the

⁵¹ Cf. this with what Sri Krishna says in the *Bhagavad-Gītā* :—

Yō mām pasyati sarvatra sarvam cha mayi pasyati |

Tasyāham na pranasyāmi sa cha mē na pranaśyati ||

i.e., "He who sees Me everywhere and sees everything in Me, of him I will never get lost nor he shall get lost of Me." (Chap. VI. 30.)

⁵² *Bāyāzid of Bistām* : One of the more famous Iranian Sūfis. He taught the negative doctrine of *fanā*, i.e., the passing away of consciousness in mystical union. He influenced Sūfism from the Shiah side. In the *Masnavi*, we have a picture of how Bāyāzid was, on his way to Mecca, met by the head of the saintly hierarchy who asked him to go no further, saying that God was not distinct from himself (i.e., the head-priest) and that as he had seen him, he may take it he had seen God. (See Nicholson, loc. cit., 57.)

worst vice. Sūfism means neglecting comfort and accepting suffering. Lovers of God are generous, loving and humble."

Sari-al-Saqati (d. 867 A.D.) says⁵³:—True wisdom is non-attachment to the self and devotion to the truth. When you say God is one, you mean your soul is one with God. The Sūfī's light of knowledge does not extinguish the lights of his piety.

Sahl, son of Abdulla of Shushtar (d. 896 A.D.), says:—You may not appreciate Sūfism in the beginning but once you know it, you will appreciate it to the end of your life.

Junaid of Nehawand (d. 910 A.D.), a theologian and philosopher, was one among the early Sūfis, who began lecturing and discussing Sūfism. He says:—Sinking ecstasy in wisdom is better than sinking wisdom in ecstasy. The highest bliss is to meditate on His unity. For thirty years, God spoke with mankind by the tongue of Junaid, though Junaid was no longer and men knew it not. Sufism holds that one must die in God and live by Him.⁵⁴ A Sufi must be like the trodden ground or like a raining cloud. Sūfism means detachment from non-God.⁵⁵ A Sūfī's internal side is God and external humanity.

Abu Bakr Shibli of Khorassan, a class-mate of the celebrated Munsur-e-Hallaj (d. 946 A.D.), says that true freedom is the freedom of the heart from everything but God. Sūfis are children of the truth. Sūfism is to guard against seeing the corporeal world as real. A Sūfī must live in this world as not born. Sūfism means control of the faculties and the

⁵³ *Sari-al-Saqati*: Was the teacher of the famous Junaid, who refused to discourse on Sūfism as long as his teacher was alive. But the Prophet bade him, in a dream, to speak, as his words would prove the means of saving a multitude of mankind. Saqati inwardly knowing this, directs Junaid to "obey" the Prophet's command. (See Nicholson, *loc. cit.*, 64-65.)

⁵⁴ A similar devotion is taught in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*:—

Manmanā bhava madbhakto madyāji mām namaskuru |

Māmēvaishyasi sat yam tē pratijāne priyōś si mē ||

i.e., "Merge thy mind in Me, be My *bhakta* (lover), sacrifice to Me, pray to Me, thou shalt come to Me. Verily, to thee I promise, thou will be dear to Me." (Chap. XVIII. 65.)

⁵⁵ Cf. *Bhagavad-Gītā*:—

Dēvāndēvayajō yānti madbhaktā yānti māmapi |

i.e., "To the Dēvas go the worshippers of Dēvas, but My devotees come unto Me." (Chap. VII. 23.)

Of Junaid, see note 53 above. His disciple was the celebrated Hallaj.

observance of the breath.⁵⁶ A Sūfī looks on all creatures as his own family.

From the above sayings, we may conclude (1) that the views of the early Sūfis had not been so far quite systematized ; (2) that the predominant ideas were unworldliness, virtuous habits, fear of and submission to and love of God, attachment to the Prophet and yearning for peace and a quiet life. Such was early Sūfism, to which metaphysical speculations and psychological theories and moral precepts were later added. The tenth and eleventh centuries are noted for philosophical, scholastic, theological and scientific activities all over the Muslim world and the Sūfis could not have remained unaffected, passive spectators to them. They naturally interpreted current philosophical and theological questions in their own light, which developed into a new thought. That thought was elaborated and systematized in the 12th, 13th and the 14th centuries. Later, however, it became mixed up with miracles and myths, more or less fictitious.

HALLAJ

Among the early Sūfis who had studied philosophy and who had definite views on Sūfism, was Husain, son of Mansur, known as Hallaj, or the carder. He was born in 858 A.D. at Tur in South Iran and studied philosophy and travelled for some time in East Iran, Gujrat (India) and Central Asia. Finally, he went over to Baghdad. His views and sayings such as *an-al-Haq*, i.e., I am the truth, were not appreciated by the orthodox class, to which political suspicion and the personal enmity of certain men of influence at the Court were added, with the result that he was executed, after much suffering, at the age of sixty-four, in 922 A.D.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Cf. the following line of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* :—

Sparsān kritvā bahirbāhyānschakshuschaivāntarē bhruvōh |
Prānāpānau samau kritvā nāsābhyantara chārinau ||

i.e., "Having removed external contacts, gazing and fixing (the attention) between the eye-brows and having made equal (harmonious) the outgoing and incoming breaths moving within the nostrils."

Yatēndriya manō budhir munir mōksha parāyanah |
Vigatēcchā bhayakrodhō yah sadā mukta eva sah ||

i.e., "With senses (indriyas), mind and reason controlled and having cast desires (such as) fear and anger, the *muni* (seeker of the truth) always seeks liberation and is liberated." (Chap. V. 27, 28.)

⁵⁷ The story of the trial and condemnation of Hallaj, as narrated by Miskawaihi, may be read by the English reader in the latter's work edited by Amedros and Margoliouth, I. 76-82. Hallaj must be read by every one interested in Sūfism.

HIS DOCTRINE

His doctrines may be thus summed up :—

(1) The immaterial and immortal divine spirit becomes limited when associated with the animal soul.

(2) The Supreme Being can in no way be expressed and thought of and compared with whatever human intellect may imagine or argue.

(3) The union with the divine will is possible through submission to suffering.

(4) Prayer may be replaced by other virtuous works.

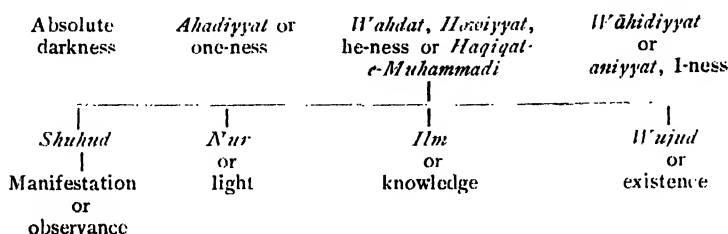
The last of these was considered the most objectionable by the orthodox class. Hallaj has left several fragments on Sūfi principles and a work called *Tawasin*.

Among non-Iranian early Sūfis was Zun-nun Ibrahim, noted as the father of the Sūfi movement (860 A.D.). He was a Nubian and lived in Egypt. He says an *Aref* (gnostic) becomes more humble when he approaches nearer to his God. *Ma'refat*, or knowledge, is the communication which God makes, in the form of spiritual light, in the depths of our conscience (mind).

SŪFI PHILOSOPHY .

According to Sūfi philosophy, Reality is the universal will, the true knowledge, eternal light and supreme beauty, whose nature is self-manifestation, reflected in the mirror of the universe. The world in comparison with the reality is a mere illusion, or non-reality or not-being. Among Sūfis, as well as in the Indian schools of philosophy, some believed in the oneness of the existence. To them, multiplicity indicated a mode of unity. The phenomenal world is an outward manifestation of the one-real. The Real's essence is above human knowledge. From the point of view of its attributes, it is a substance with two accidents, one as creator and the other as creature ; one visible and the other invisible. In its essence, it is attributeless, nameless, indescribable, incomprehensible, but when covered with *avidya* or descent from its absoluteness, names and attributes are formed. The sum of these names and attributes is the phenomenal world, which represents reality under the form of externality. The *dvaitist* Sūfi considers that the world is not a mere illusion or ignorance but exists as the self-revelation

or the other self of the reality. The circle of divine descent is imagined as follows :—



Man is the microcism in whom divine attributes are manifested in most imperfect diminutive form. God is eternal beauty and the nature of beauty is self-manifestation and desire to be loved. Thus, the Sūfis base their doctrine on the principles of love and prefer the course of love or the Indian *Bhakti* to other means of reaching God. They consider love to be the essence of all religions and the cause of creation and its continuation. God is unknowable, but may be thought through some concrete comparison. Phenomenal diversity is the reflection of the supreme beauty. The attributes are identical with him in fact, though distinct in our thought. In His absolute beauty, He is called *Jamal* and in His phenomenal *Husn*.

Man possesses three natures, viz., sensual, which corresponds to the Indian *tamas*; intellectual, somewhat like the Indian *rajas*; and spiritual or the Indian *sat*. He becomes virtuous or wicked according to the predominance of one of the three said qualities. His mind must receive gradual training, for which a guide is absolutely necessary. The selection and following of a spiritual guide is the most important duty of a Sūfi. A bad or imperfect guide may lead him to evil or leave him imperfect and bewildered. He must use all his intellectual ability and human endeavour to find out the true guide and once obtained, he must obey his direction.

STAGES OF TRAINING

The stages of spiritual training are classified into :—

(1) *Shariat*. The *Quran* says :—"Obey God and obey the Prophet and obey those amongst you who hold the command." Therefore, the Sūfi must discipline his mind first by living according to orthodox law and he must observe all religious rituals, such as, prayer, fasting, pilgrimage to Mecca, charity, etc. When in this way, his mind is fully trained to obey and to serve, he passes to the second stage named, *Tariqat*, the path in which in addition to religious observances, he must seek a spiritual guide called *Pīr* in Iranian and *Shaikh* in

Arabic and receive instruction from him on conduct, control over passion and inner purity. He must love his *Pīr* more than anything else in this world. When he is admitted by his *Pīr* into a *Sūfi* order, he must observe its rules, such as, service, humility, vigils in vacations, occasional fasts as directed by his *Pīr*, collection of alms for the maintenance of *Khanaqah* and *Sūfi* assemblies, *Zikr*, or recitation of the sacred formula, meditation, periodic retreats, etc. As a novice, he must obey all the directions of his *Pīr* without any argument, doubt or hesitation, to the extent of annihilating his will and judgment by merging it in the will of his *Pīr*. This is called *fana-fi-shaikh* or, "annihilation in the Shaikh". As the *Sūfi* poet Hafiz⁵⁸ says :— "Stain thy prayer carpet with wine if *Pir-e-Mughan* (spiritual guide) bids thee. For the *Salik* (guide) will not be ignorant of the ways and laws of the stages." When the novice has observed all the rules of *Tariqat* to the satisfaction of his *Pīr*, he is given *Khirqa*, or the *Sūfi* garments.

The next stage is :—

(2) *Marifat*, (corresponding to Sanskrit *Jnāna*) wisdom or mental illumination. The purified mind is illuminated with the divine knowledge.

(3) *Haqiqat* is the next higher stage. In this the novice sees the truth. The aim of the *Sūfi* is self-purification and union with the beloved, which cannot be gained by self-endeavour. It is a divine gift and granted to whomsoever God is pleased with. It entirely depends upon His mercy. As is said in the opening chapter of the *Quran* :—"Thee do we serve and thee do we beseech for help". Man's duty is to serve his Lord, till mercy is shown to him. God's mercy is to illumine man's heart with His divine knowledge. A *Sūfi* believes that it is by purifying one's heart and not by observance of religious rituals, or prayer and fast, one can realise the truth. True prayer and adoration is self-abnegation. Human action must be harmonious with the will of the divine being. Intellectual research, mental experience and philosophical enlightenment, according to *Sūfis*, are not adequate means of knowing the truth. It is through self-discipline, devotion, virtue and intention that one can know his God. This stage is called *fana-fil-lah* or annihilation in God, which is a new and eternal existence. As Hafiz says :—"He whose heart is moved by love, never dies."

⁵⁸ Hafiz : The great lyric poet of Iran, who lived between 1320-91 A.D. His real name was Shums-ud-din Muhammad ; born in Shiraz, where he spent his life ; has been called the Anacreon of Iran. His poetry apparently is of a sensuous character, but the images he employs must be interpreted in a supersensuous or mystical sense. Goethe composed a series of lyrics in imitation of him.

SŪFĪ ORDERS

Sūfī orders were started to systematize spiritual training from about the tenth century A.D. Gradually each order was divided into a number of branches, each having its own founder and tracing connection with other orders of the more celebrated early Sūfis and, finally tracing up a connection to the Prophet through Alī, the fourth Khalīf, and in one order (*Naqshbandiyya*) through Abu Bakr, the first Khalīf. Both men and women were admitted into the order, and *Khirqā*, or a certificate of passing Sūfī trials, was granted to ladies also. Celibacy was permitted by a few orders, but the majority of them did not approve of it. The married (novice) was admitted into the order after receiving *Bai's* (vow), in the presence of other *murids* from the Shaikh. He had to make a vow that he would undergo spiritual training by serving God and obeying the order of his Shaikh. He had to live in a monastery for a number of years observing the rules of the order. Sūfī monasteries were numerous. They were distributed all over the Muslim world, extending once from Morocco to the islands in the Pacific. The *murid* had to get up early in the morning, sweep the monastery, carry water and help co-*murids* as directed by the Shaikh. Among the Sūfī exercises were :—retreat, silence, recollection, meditation, recitation of the sacred words, etc. In the following fundamental principles, there was no difference of opinion between the different orders, though in certain matters of detail, each had its own method of training :—

(1) *Unity and Attributes of God*.—In theology unity meant the oneness of God. The creator and creatures are different from each other, but Sūfis modified this idea by saying that there is nothing real but God. In other words, creator and creature are both the same, one the real and the other the shadow or reflection of the same. Imam Ghazzali, an orthodox Sūfī, says that God is will. He is everywhere and in everything. He is the source of existence. The material world proceeds from Him, like the flowing of a river. In his absolute unity, all His attributes are dissolved and becomes one. Those who believed in *Wah-dat-ul-Wajūd*, or oneness of existence, regarded every existence as an immediate gift of God. Things emanate from the Supreme Being in whom they exist as *ayāt*. The majority of Sūfis, however, base their doctrines on beauty and love. God is the Supreme Beauty and the only deserving object of love, which means attachment to a thing, which gives a certain kind of benefit or pleasure. According to some Sūfis, love is the inclination of the soul to, or its liking for, something that suits or is agreeable to it. Love is, again, the natural inclination to one's self-perfection, which is possible by freeing the self from its defects. The strong bent for self-

perfection and freedom from all needs is inherent in everything, and it is the inner yearning of all human beings. Both good and evil are done to the same end. Beauty is harmony and perfection and therefore it is that all endeavour is to become beautiful or perfect. The Supreme Beauty is God and therefore He is the Perfect Being, and one who wishes to become perfect, must imitate Him and endeavour to become like Him. Each can reach to perfection according to the capacity and ability in his constitution. Such endeavour is called love. Beauty takes various forms : is observed in all creatures ; in some, it is less and in others it is perfect, but the most perfect beauty is one. Beauty is classified as under : (i) Physical beauty ; (ii) Mental and intellectual ; and (iii) Spiritual. All these are different reflections of the one supreme beauty, and, therefore, appreciated by lovers of beauty. *Marefat*, or knowledge, is the chief course of appreciating beauty, which is obtained by hardship and perseverance. Therefore, love needs endeavour and patience till the object is gained. There would be suffering, disappointments, trials, and all these must be met and borne by the seeker after the Truth. The world is a place of trials and only those who face them will succeed in pleasing God. The *Quran* emphasises this :—"We must certainly try you with fear (from dangers), hunger, loss of property, lives and fruits (of your action) and give good news to (those who are) patient". Those who, when misfortune befalls them, say : "Surely we are for God and to Him we return. These are they on whom are blessings and mercy from their Lord and they are the followers of the right course. Among men, (the right terms) is he who sells his soul, to seek the pleasure of God."⁵⁹ Thus, if a Sūfi succeeds in worldly trials and has full trust in God, he is drawn towards Him. Seeing that beauty has two aspects, one, the abstract, perfect and real ; and the other concrete, imperfect and a shadow of the real, if a Sūfi does not possess the capacity for appreciating the abstract beauty, he must train his mind to appreciate physical beauty. He may even start from appreciating individual beauty in man, or beautiful objects in nature and when it becomes a habit, he must change from the admiration of the unreal to the real.

The following are stages in attaining to Supreme Beauty :

- (1) When one takes delight in his thought and higher life ;
- (2) when one takes delight in repeating His name ;
- (3) when one takes delight in doing good ;
- (4) when one takes delight in submission to all happenings of the life, whether they bring pain or pleasure ;⁶⁰
- (5) when one takes delight in leading a

⁵⁹ *Quran*, Chap. II. 155, 207.

⁶⁰ Cf. *Bhagavad-Gītā* :—(See next page).

natural life ; and (6) when one takes delight in admiring the Supreme Being and concentrating his attention on Him only.

2. *Qalb*, or hearts, are three, one physical on the left side ; another called the animal soul, on the right side ; and a third between the other two, praised by Sūfis, as a spiritual faculty—a kind of mirror in which the Supreme Will is reflected. It is by keeping this heart pure from worldly attachment that human beings can approach the creator. The real knowledge is God's illumination of this heart. The divine revelation to the Prophet is impressed on this heart. As is said in the *Quran* : "The faithful spirit (i.e., the divine messenger) has descended with it (revelation), upon your heart that you may be of warners." (Chap. XXVI-193-94.)

3. *The Human Being* is, in his essence, good, and therefore he can rise to higher stages of perfection. His soul is different from his body. It is a spiritual substance created but not shaped. It is not bound by space and time but is akin to the universal soul and just as the latter is a macrocosm, it is a microcosm of the universe. It may be compared with the Universal Soul as rays are to the sun. It is not in the body, but affects the body with its illuminative attribute. It is restless because of its unnatural relation with matter and seeks union with its origin. Its restlessness is manifested in diverse human activities. As Jalal-ud-dīn-Rumi says : "Listen to the reed (soul) how it tells a tale, complaining of separation." "Ever since I was parted from the reed-bed, my lament caused men and women to moan." "Every one who is far away from his origin wishes that he were again one with it."⁶¹

Thus, the human soul is potentially good and pure. Its weakness is in its being tempted by the wrong notion of its being a material, but its immaterial nature helps it to join its true source.

4. *Eschatology* : If a man's deeds are good, his death is a birth to a life closer to God, but if they are bad, the distance becomes greater. Therefore, a seeker of the truth and lover of God, who has passed his life preparing himself for a higher spiritual stage, does not fear death but rejoices in approaching closer to God. Heaven and Hell indicate closeness or distance from the beloved. One brings happiness and the other misery.

Dukhēshvanudvignamanāḥ sukhēshu vigatasprihaḥ |

Vītarāgabhayaakrōdhaḥ sthīta dhīrmuni ruchyatē ||

i.e., "One whose mind is not agitated in *dukh* (pain) and is indifferent in *sukh* (pleasure), free from *rāga* (desire), *bhaya* (fear), *krōdha* (anger) and steady-minded, is called *muni* (sage). (Chap. II. 56.)

⁶¹ *Masnavi*, translated by Nicholson.

5. *Revelation and Miracles*: Revelation is a state in which a Prophet passes from human to superhuman condition, when he is able to hear the Divine Speech or perceive the abstract ideas hidden and unknown to ordinary individuals. Miracles can be performed not only by Prophets and sages, but even by one who, though a follower of a wrong religion, worships the deity with sincerity. Bodies in themselves are inanimate. God gives them life which is manifested in a certain form. These are momentary and are at the will of the Supreme Being. According to Rumi, the chain of causes and effects are of two kinds, viz., the seen, and known through the senses; and the unknown, invisible to ordinary individuals but known to men of higher intellectual or spiritual powers. Accordingly, the latter is natural while the former is supernatural. To the Sūfi sages are attributed the power of performing miracles and the possession of the knowledge of telepathy, thought-reading and healing diseases by mental suggestion and by the use of talismans.

CLASSES OF SŪFI ORDERS

Sūfi Orders are numerous, reaching the large number of over 175, but the most important among them are the following :—

(1) *Qāderiyya* : Developed from the school of Junaid and founded by Abdul Qāder of Gilan, North Iran. Its followers are found all over the world. Abdul Qāder was born in Gilan in 1078 A.D., and died at the age of 91, in 1166 A.D. He left Iran at the age of 18, studied at Baghdad, and was principal of a Hambelite School of law. He is particularly well known for converting a considerable number of Jews and Christians into Islam. He is respected for his piety, toleration, learning and powers of speech.

(2) *Naqshbandiyya* : Founded by Khaja Baha-ud-dīn Muhammad, who died in 1388 A.D. Its followers are in India, China, Turkestan, Java and Turkey. It claims descent from Taifuriyya School. It is based on the following eight principles :—

<i>Iranian</i>		<i>English</i>
(i) <i>Hush dar dam</i>	..	Consciousness in breathing.
(ii) <i>Nazar bar Qadam</i>	..	Glance on feet.
(iii) <i>Safar dar watan</i>	..	Journey at home.
(iv) <i>Khilwat dar anjaman</i>		Seclusion in assembly.
(v) <i>Yad kard</i>	..	Recollection (of God).
(vi) <i>Bāz gasht</i>	..	Retirement (towards God).
(vii) <i>Nigah dāsht</i>	..	Retention (or concentration of the mind in God).
(viii) <i>Yad dāsht or Khud guzasht</i>	..	Self-abnegation or remembrance.

There are three stations, which should be watched by a Naqsh-bandi Sūfi :—

- (i) The Station of watching numbers (of various desires).
- (ii) The Station of watching the time (to world or to God).
- (iii) The Station of watching the heart.

(3) *Shādhiliyya* : Founded by Abu Madyan (1197 A.D.) and developed by Ali Shādhili of Tunis, North Africa. Its followers are in North Africa, Turkey and Roumania. Mendicancy is not permitted in this Order, and Sūfis belonging to this Order have to live on their own earnings.

(4) *Nematullāhiya* : Descended from Qaderiyya and Yafaiyya. Its followers are in Iran.

(5) *Shattāriyya* : Founded by Abdulla Shattār in 1415 A.D. Its chief centres are in Sumatra, Java and India. Its chief features are :—

- (i) One should not believe in self-negation but adhere to self-affirmation.
- (ii) Contemplation is waste of time.
- (iii) Self-effacement is a wrong idea. Man must say nothing except "I am I". Unity is to understand one, see one, say one and to hear one. A Sūfi of this order must say "I am one" and there is no partner with me.
- (iv) There is no necessity of opposition to *Nafs* nor *Mujaheda* (*tapas*).
- (v) There is no such state as annihilation (*fana*), for, that requires two personalities ; one wishing annihilation and the annihilated, and the other is one in whom annihilation takes place, which is dualism and not unity.
- (vi) One should not abstain from eating certain food. He must consider his ego and its attributes and actions as identical with those of the Universal Ego. These do not believe that the animal soul is an obstacle for reaching God. These follow the literal doctrine of Islam that man's soul must serve God and God is the ruler over the universe. Sir Iqbal's philosophy is closely related to this school of the Sūfi order.
- (vii) *Tijaniyya* : A North African order, founded by Ahmad Tijani of *Ain Madi* (*Algeria*).
- (viii) *Sanusiyya* : Founded in 1837 by Shaik Muhammad, son of Ali-us-Sanusi. It is a branch of the *Qāderiyya*. Its followers are found in North-East Africa. It is a semi-military order, with ethical and political aims. It is a compromise between Wahabism and Sūfism.

- (ix) *Refāi*: Founded by Ahmad Refai, in 1175.
 (x) *Moulvi*: Founded by Jalal-ud-dīn-Rumi, noted for its whirling darwishes. Its followers are in Turkey.
 (xi) *Chishtī*: Founded by Moin-ud-dīn Chishtī. Its followers are mostly in India.

SŪFI ETHICS

Among the cardinal tenets of Sūfism, may be mentioned the following :—

(1) **Submission or Resignation**: A Sūfi novice must treat his spiritual teacher with great respect and obey him like the corpse in the hands of corpse-bearers. In the same manner and more completely, he must submit himself to the will of God and live in perfect harmony with the Divine Will.

(2) *Ikhlas*, or sincerity and devotion: This indicates the effort of moving towards the Divine Being and keeping this ideal of movement above all other desires. It is opposite to *riya*, which means hypocrisy or pretended love without the putting forth of any effort to gain the beloved.⁶² *Ikhlas* demands self-sacrifice and indifference to all other ideas. When *Ikhlas* becomes perfect, self-consciousness also is lost.

(3) *Taubā*, or Repentance: This indicates the return or conversion from the world to God. It is not only renunciation of the evil but a change from a tendency towards the world to a tendency towards God. The human soul being pure in its essence, when polluted, becomes restless and asserts its true nature by feeling repentance for its unnatural tendency.

(4) The Fear of God is repeatedly praised in the *Quran*. For example, in one place, it declares :—“And those who give what they give (find) in alms and their hearts are full of fear that to their lord they must return. These hasten to virtues and they are foremost in attaining them.” (Chap. XXIII-60, 61.) The fear of God is the deep consciousness of His sublimity and grandeur—a man in the presence of a king may not fear him, but the feeling of respect is so deep that the balance of mind is lost.

(5) **Broad-mindedness**: A Sindhi Sūfi, named Latīf, says : “When the truth is one and the beloved is the same, why should men fight over the means ?”

When one of his disciples asked him what religion he followed, he replied : “Between the two”, by which he meant, all or none.

⁶² Cf. *Bhagavad-Gītā* :—

*Karmēndriyāni samyamya ya āstē manasā smaran
 Indriyārthān vimūdhāt mā mīthyā chārāḥ sa uchyate* ||
 i.e., “One who controls *karmēndriyāni* (senses of action) but sits with his mind (concentrated) on the objects of senses, such (man) is *vimūdhāt mā* (of confused mind) and is called a hypocrite.” (Chap. III. 6.)

(6) *Tavukkul*, or Trust : A Sūfi must trust in God. Some extremists went to the extent of neither working, nor even begging, and of expecting that their daily necessities would reach them without labouring to obtain them. The idea led to quietism and degenerated into laziness and inertia.

(7) Music : As a Sūfi must train his mind to appreciate beauty and by some means to stir up his inner spiritual feeling and music is considered to be beauty and harmony in sound, a large number of Sūfi leaders, particularly Chishtis and Moulvis, approve of the hearing of songs and the playing on musical instruments on condition that the purpose must be to stimulate spiritual emotion. There is a common saying among Sūfis that earthly beauty, with its appreciation, is a bridge to the universal beauty. Music is called *sama*, or spiritual concerts, in which, one or several singers, with or without musical instrument, sing and play. The verses are erotic, and interpreted in an allegorical sense. While *Qavval*, or the musician, sings a verse and plays on the instrument, the hearers sit in silence and listen with great attention. Each man interprets the verse according to the standard of his learning and taste, till one or some are affected deeply with its meaning. They repeat those verses that appeal to them, or ask the singer to sing them over again, and feel pleasure ; while some show signs of appreciation, others who get more affected, weep, dance and even become unconscious. The musicians finding a hearer appreciating their songs, repeat again and again addressing the admirer. Some Sūfi sages and poets were themselves good singers and masters in music. Shah Latīf of Sindh was gifted with a melodious voice and used to play on the *Tambura*, and Amir Khusroe, the great poet who lived during the reign of the Khilji and Tughlaq dynasties of North India, was likewise a great musician. Sūfis believe that the state of ecstasy may be attained through music. Music which stirs animal passion is prohibited.

(8) *Kashf*, or Unveiling of the Spiritual Mysteries. This is classified into : —(a) *Mahāzerah*, in which intellect is the means of reaching to a conclusion; and (b) *Mushāheda*, in which personal knowledge is a proof of ecstasy (*wajd*) and the condition attained (*hal*). By ecstasy, Sūfis mean the true state of yearning or momentary absorption in the Divine Beloved. The state of ecstasy is higher than prayer when the Divine Will is revealed. A constant state of ecstasy leads to complete submission to the Divine Will.

(9) Spiritual Knowledge : This is of three kinds : (a) Normal (*Ilmul-yaqin*), reaching to a proof by intellectual reasoning ; (b) Abnormal (*ainul-yaqin*), loss of worldly consciousness in a state of ecstasy, or knowing a spiritual secret

by perceiving it ; and (c) Super-normal (*Haqul-yaqin*), union with the truth or seeing and feeling the quality of a thing. These three stages of knowledge are illustrated by saying that a fruit may be known by its correct description, and better known by seeing it and perfectly known by seeing and tasting it.

(10) *Hāl*, or condition, is a mental state gifted momentarily by divine grace. In this state, one is either in the form of *bast*, or expansion of heart, or by *Qabz*, or depression of the same. The *Quran* says : "Allah contracts and expands the (spiritual) food." When it is gifted continuously, it is called *milk*, or possession, and when it becomes permanent, it is named *maqām*, or station.

(11) Renunciation is of two kinds—External and Internal. It stands for detachment from worldly pleasures. A Sūfi must minimise his worldly needs and thus become harmless to other creatures. Next, he should try to free the soul from attachment to sensible objects. A Sūfi values this life as a source of training himself for a true life.

(12) Evil is imperfection and the objects which lead towards evil are the causes of making the soul imperfect. Good is perfect and Perfection proceeds from God. Evil, in other words, is a limitation of human nature.

(13) *Zikr*, or Recitation, *Murāqeba*, or Meditation : Each order has its own method of reciting a sacred word or formula. In a general sense, it is divided into :—(i) *Jali*, or loud muttering, adopted by the Chishti and Qāderi orders ; and (ii) *Khafī*, or mental muttering, preferred by the Naqshbandi order. Both are based on texts of the *Quran*.

There are different methods of performing *Zikr* and *Murāqeba*. For instance, (i) Some sit and repeat the word *Allah* by inhaling breath from left side ; (ii) Others fold the legs and repeat the word mentally from right and then from left ; (iii) Some inhale, meditating on *la* (not) from navel and draw the breath up to the left shoulder, then think on *Allah* (God) in memory (brain) and exhale saying *il-al-lah* "but God" from the left side ; (iv) Some close the eye and the lips and mentally repeat *Allah*, the hearer, *Allah*, the seer, *Allah*, the knower ; (v) First, from the navel to the breast ; then upward ; then imagine it in an abstract sense beyond the body ; (vi) *Allah*, from the right side, then from the left ; (vii) *La ilaha*, exhaling, and *il-lal-lah*, inhaling ; and (viii) By counting a number of times on a rosary, while meditating or repeating a sacred word. The attention must be fixed on that word till it is so much impressed on the mind that all other thoughts and sensible images disappear. Among the words selected for recitation are *la ilaha il-lal-lah*. *There is no God but Allah*,

and hu-he. Each order observes a particular formula for *Zikr* and keeps a particular posture or corresponding to Sanskrit *Āsana* or peculiar inclination of the body and limbs.⁶³

Among some Sūfī orders, while meditating on the sacred words, the tongue is made to touch the roof of the throat. Others close the teeth, each row against the other. The Egyptian Sūfis sit on a mat in a circle. Next, they stand and recite verses incessantly. Their Shaikh sits at one end. The musicians with flutes sit behind. The ceremony is started by reciting the opening chapter of the *Quran* and by slowly chanting the sacred formula. Then they stand and recite incessantly, till one or more are overpowered by emotion and become unconscious. Musicians join them. In India, the word *Om* is adopted by a certain class of Sūfis in Sindh, for example, the followers of Shah Latīf.

(14) *Fana* (annihilation) and *Baqa* (affirmation) are the two highest stages of spiritual development. By *Fana* or annihilation, the Sūfī means self-negation, or negation of earthly tendency; and *Baqa*, retention of spiritual existence, or extraction of evil qualities and retention of virtue or permanency of mind from sensible objects to spiritual reality, the extinction of material desires and the loss of selfish consciousness. *Fana* of *fana* is the highest stage when individual consciousness gives place to universal contemplation and the Sūfī's heart becomes a passive medium for the divine will. He lives, acts and does everything as a second person without selfish interest. According to Fārābī, God cannot be realised unless a man passes from multiplicity to oneness.

SUFIS AND ORTHODOX MUSLIMS

The differences between the Sūfī and the orthodox Muslim views may be briefly set down here :—

- (a) The Orthodox depend upon external conduct while the Sūfis seek inner purity ;
- (b) The Orthodox believe in blind obedience to or observance of religious rituals while the Sūfis think love to be the only means of reaching God ; and

⁶³ Cf. *Bhagavad-Gītā*:—

Śuchau dēśe pratishṭāpya sthīramāsanam ātmanah |
Nātyucchritam nātinicham chēlājīnakushōttaram ||

i.e., "In a pure place, having seated on a firm seat of his own (which must be) neither very high nor very low, covered with a cloth, skin and grass, one over the other." (Chap. VI. 11.)

Samam kāyaśīrōgrivam dhārayannachalam sthīrah |
Samprēkshya nāsikāgram svam dīśaichānavalōkayan ||

i.e., "Holding the body, head and neck straight, steady and immovable, looking fixedly at the tip of the nose, with unseeing gaze." (Chap. VI. 13.)

- (c) The Orthodox say that good deeds are a sign of inner goodness but the Sūfis assert, that without a pure heart, the apparent good deeds have no value.

SŪFISM AND VĒDĀNTISM

The following points of similarity between Sūfism and Vēdāntism may be mentioned :—

- (i) Both observe the restraining of breath ;
- (ii) Both observe meditation ;
- (iii) Both observe service and submission to a *Pīr* or *Guru* ;
- (iv) Both observe fast and penance ;
- (v) Both observe *zikr* or recitation of sacred word ;
- (vi) Both adopt the use of the rosary ;
- (vii) Both believe in union with the Supreme Being ;
- (viii) Both believe in the toleration of other religions ;
- (ix) Both believe in universal love and *bhakti* ; and
- (x) Both believe in the two aspects of the Supreme Being.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SŪFISM AND VĒDĀNTISM

(a) Yōgis and Sūfis both believe in ascetic life but Sūfi ascetics, with few exceptions, do not live in celibacy ; (b) Sūfism is based on Islamic teaching and its principles are supported by passages from the *Quran*, while Vēdāntism is connected with earlier Indian thought and teaching of the great Rishis of India ; (c) In Islam there cannot be a descent of the Deity in the sense of an *avatar* but there is an ascent of man towards God ; (d) In Sūfism God's attributes and names cannot be materialised into statues, portraits, etc., but they may meditate on the form of the *Pīr* ; (e) The knowable and unknowable aspects of Deity are divided in India into *Mūrta* and *Amūrta* or *Saguna* and *Nirguna* ; among the Sūfis, it is called the *Utter darkness* and *Tayyunat*, limitation or emanation, the manifested aspect of the Supreme Being ; (f) though both Sūfis and Yōgis have recourse to devotional exercise and *Āsan* or postures, the postures are different in form and practice ; (g) Sūfis go through experiences of fear, weeping and longing, but Vēdāntins seek peace of mind and complete separation from the world. The former prefer attachment to God and the latter detachment from sensible objects ; (h) Sūfism is a mixture of Aryan-Semitic spiritual ideals, while the Vēdāntism is purely Aryan.

WORKS ON SŪFISM

Sūfism has been explained both in prose and poetry. Among the more important works in prose are :—

- (i) *Kitabul-Luma fit-Tasaawuf* by Abu Nasr. Sarraj.
- (ii) *Resala-e-qushairiyya* by Abul Qasem Qushairi.

- (iii) *Kashful Mahjub* by Ali, son of Usman, Hujviri.
- (iv) *Ihyaul-ulum* by Imam Ghazzali.
- (v) *Futuhāt-e-Makkiya* by Ibnul Arabi.
- (vi) *Fususul-Hikam* by Ibnul Arabi.
- (vii) *Awarif-ul-maarif* by S. Suharawardi.
- (viii) *The Perfect Man* by Abdul Karim Jili.
- (ix) *Dictionary of Technical Terms* by Abul-Razzack.
- (x) *Ilmul-Kitab* by Mir Dard.
- (xi) *Lawaiih* by Jami.
- (xii) *Iniftahul-Ghaib* by Sadr-ud-dīn Qunavi, with its commentary entitled *mibtā-nul-uns* by Ibn-e-Fanari.

Almost all these works have been translated into one or more European languages.

In verse form, there are numerous books, particularly in Iranian, including quatrains, odes of celebrated philosophers and saints. Among the most important are the following:—

- (i) *The Masnavi* of Jalal-ud-dīn Rumi, the most authentic poetical composition on Sūfism in Iranian.
- (ii) *The Mantaqut-tair* of Farid-ud-dīn Attar (Iranian).
- (iii) *The Hadiqa* of Sanai (Iranian).
- (iv) *The Gulshan-e-Raz* of Shebshetri (Iranian).
- (v) Five celebrated *Masnavis* of Nizami, and their imitation of Jami, Amir Khusroe and other poets are saturated with Sūfistic thoughts, philosophic meditations and stories illustrative of the maxims. Ethical poems of Nasir, Khusroe and other Iranian poets also contain Sūfistic ideas.

Of the above, a few will be described in more detail below :—

KITABUL-LUMA-FIT-TASAAWUF

First among these comes *Kitabul-Luma-fit-Tasaawuf*, by Abu-Nasr, known as Sarraj or Saddler, a native of Tus in Khorassan and a pupil of Abu Muhammad Murtaish of Nishapur, a great traveller and an enthusiastic Sūfi, who died in 988 A.D. He was the author of several works on Sūfism; among them, the abovementioned is the most important in which among other subjects in connection with Sūfism, the following topics have also been explained :—(i) The relation of the Sūfis to Islam. The author divides the Muslim learned men into : (a) The Traditionists, who devote their life in collecting the tradition from the Prophet. They take pains to investigate and select the genuine and correct tradition. (b) The Theologians, who base their knowledge in religion on the *Quran*; *sunna* (tradition), analogy, on which a majority of

the companions of the Prophet agree and have acted. They explain the law of Islam as deduced from known sources. (c) The Sūfis, who accept the tradition as verified and given by the traditionists and the code of Islam, as explained by the theologians and in addition to these practise devotion and self-culture, renounce worldly objects of enjoyment and confine themselves to self-purification and search of the knowledge of the Supreme Being. They are particularly attached to the ethical teachings of the *Quran* and extract from its passages what are called mystical ideas. They strive to attain certain spiritual states and aim at self-training. Their fundamental principles are derived from the *Quran* and the sayings of the Prophet. They imitate his life, which is the best and most perfect. They appreciate and strive to possess the qualities of abstinence, patience, repentance, fear of God and hope in Him. While the activity of the traditionist and theologians is confined to a limited subject, the Sūfistic science is unlimited.

The term "Sūfi" is derived from the woollen garment worn by the Sūfis.⁶⁴ As a system, it was not evolved by Sūfis but has been long prevalent among ascetics, even in the pre-Islamic period.

The main topics of description in *Tasaawuf* can only be briefly referred to here. Among these are the following:—

Unity.—Its definition as given by a number of prominent Sūfis is noted and commented on by the author. Zun-Nun says that the Supreme Being creates everything from nothing. No cause can be given for creation. There is no other ruler in heaven or earth but He. Junaid says that a man who believes in unity must investigate the perfection of the idea of unity in one which neither begets nor is begotten, which is without parallel or opposite and he must serve Him, as one which has none similar in quality to Him. He is one without equal, peculiar to Himself, and there is nothing like Him. He is the hearer and is sure of everything. Shibli says that he who knows not an atom of the science of "unity" (considers himself so insignificant) cannot bear the weight even of a *baqqa* or gnat. Again, he says that he who possesses one atom of the knowledge of "unity" can bear the weight of all heavens and earths on his eyelash. By this statement he meant to suggest that to a person whose heart is illumined with the knowledge of "unity", the whole universe becomes very insignificant.

None can know His essence, as it is said in the *Quran*:—"And they cannot comprehend anything out of His know-

⁶⁴ Some derive the word from *Safavi* and others from *Safa*, which means purity.

ledge except what He pleases"—(Ch. II—255). But one must contemplate on His name and his attributes as manifested in creation. A wise Sūfī aspires for steadfastness in his virtuous activities, which makes him a perfect human being. The evil things become evil by His veiling Himself and good things become good through His illumination.

Wisdom is of three kinds:—(a) Wisdom in acknowledging Him; (b) Wisdom in realising Him; and (c) Wisdom in seeing or contemplating Him. The Sūtis believe in *Maqām*, spiritualisation and *hal*, spiritual state. Each of these stations is gained by means of ascetic practice but the *state* itself is felt by devotion. There are the following *stations*:—*Tauba*, or repentance, is classified thus:—(i) In the case of disciples, one must not forget one's shortcomings; (ii) In the case of Elected men, they must repent forgetting God. *Vara*, or abstinence, is of three kinds:—(a) Abstaining from acts doubtful as being good or bad; (b) abstaining from whatever one's conscience does not permit; and (c) abstaining from anything which diverts attention from God.

Zuhud, or renunciation, is virtue and vice is attachment to the world. It means voluntary renunciation of those things which give physical enjoyment. The highest form is that in which one does not possess, nor does one wish to possess any worldly thing. The second is that in which one investigates what ought to be and what ought not to be given up while the lowest is that in which one renounces something expecting name and fame. There are also those seekers of the truth who have understood the vanity of worldly enjoyment and look on them with contempt.

Faqr, or poverty, is classified into:—(a) The poverty of one who neither possesses nor seeks it. (b) The poverty of one who does not possess but if anything is offered does not decline; (c) The poverty of one who does not possess and in extreme need seeks the help of his friends.

Sabr, or patience in distress and in trials from God, is classified into:—(i) Patience in God, i.e., of one who can endure distress at some time and at another time lose patience; (ii) Patience in and for God, i.e., of one who is not moved and who does not complain of his hard circumstances; and (iii) Patience in, for, and with God, i.e., His equilibrium of mind is not lost in any adversity.

Tawakkul, or trust in God, is divided into:—(i) The Trust of the faithful; (ii) The Trust of the elect; and (iii) The Trust of the elect of the elects.

Raza, or tranquillity, is of three kinds:—(i) Equanimity of heart in all conditions; (ii) Of those whose only care is

to please God ; and (iii) Of those who surrender themselves eternally to His will.

Muraqaba, or the state of Contemplation, and *Ahwāl*, it is said that God knows man's innermost hidden ideas and one who believes in this fact guards his thought from being polluted. Contemplation is of two kinds :—(i) Of beginners ; and (ii) Of those that see God and seek His help, and fix their attention only upon Him.

Of the state of *Qurb*, or nearness, it is said in the *Quran* that God is nearer to man than his life vein. (Chap. L-16.) Persons that seek his nearness are of three kinds :—(i) those who approach Him by devotion, i.e., by doing virtuous acts ; (ii) those who feel Him so close as to feel they are one. Abdul Qais has said that such men see God nearer to them than anything else ; and (iii) those who are absorbed in feeling His nearness so much that they are not conscious of nearness itself.

Under *Mohabbat*, or Love, we see that lovers are classified under the heads of (i) those who love Him for His mercy and kindness, which is selfish ; and (ii) those who are more sincere, because they possess the knowledge of His greatness and omnipotence and omniscience.

Under *Khauf*, or fear, we see that there are men who fear God because of His punishment and those who are in fear of Him because of His separation and distance. His nearness produces joy and awe.

Of *Rija*, or hope in God, in His mercy and in His recompense, *Shauq*, or longing, we note that there are (i) those who long for his blessing ; (ii) those who long for Him because they love Him ; and (iii) those who contemplate Him and remain unconscious of longing for Him.

Uns, or intimacy, is to rely upon and seek His help. *Mushāhedah* is a state explained according to a tradition from the Prophet, who said :—"When you pray to God you must consider that you are in His presence and that you see Him." *Yaqin*, or certainty, is a state of revelation of knowledge. *Adab*, or good manners, is considered one of the essential means of nearness to God. There are men of external good manners, who, by their firmness of speech, refined manners and high bearing, attract people. Others are an orthodox religious class who abstain from possession and try to please people by their piety and good deeds, but Sūfis endeavour chiefly after refinement and purity of heart, and to keep their promise.

The author has, under this chapter (i.e., *Adab*) discussed at length the Sūfi manners in regard to prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, giving of alms, mutual intercourse, food and dress ;

also while listening to music and dancing, travelling, begging and collecting funds, receiving gifts from wealthy people, earning a livelihood, conversation, married life, in sickness, hunger, etc. As to reading the *Quran*, the author gives illustrations from Abu Sulaiman, who said that once he passed five nights in pondering over one verse in it, while he says that another Sūfi became unconscious when he heard a passage from it. The Sūfis have their own way of interpreting the *Quran* and the tradition and deducing Sūfistic ideas from them. They appreciate sweet melodious voice, particularly when combined with verses from the *Quran* or with deep and beautiful Sūfistic poetry. They even permit adepts to listen to music, so that their ears may be trained to harmony and beauty, but in the higher states they are not attached to music or singing. If it is not listened to in the proper sense and with a self-purifying attitude, it may mislead a beginner and it may, instead of benefiting him, become a source of sensual pleasure and a distraction. Accordingly, they hold that it must be listened to under strict discipline and with a spiritual object in view.

ECSTASY OR WAJD

Ecstasy or *Wajd*, according to Junaid, is a state of revelation from God. In some people, it causes a strong emotion and in others calmness. It may be interrupted owing to worldly inclinations, but it remains undisturbed in those who lose their worldly consciousness.

MIRACLES

Miracles are attributed by theologians only to prophets. But the Sūfis believe that any virtuous man may perform them. The difference between the miracle of a Prophet and that of a saint is that the former performs it to convince others while the latter to convince himself, so that, he may strengthen his faith and trust in God. The greatest miracle is the expulsion of evil and the substitution of good in one's own self.

THE SHARIAT

The *Shariat*, or the science of religion, consists in the study of tradition, jurisprudence, scholasticism and Sūfism. By specializing, each class of student becomes independent of the other but the highest is the Sūfi, who must be well informed in the three other subjects, of which the first three may not be known to Sūfis.

FANA

Fana, or annihilation, does not mean the loss of the ego. The Prophet has declared that "those who seek God by good

deeds, God draws them towards Himself". He also has said : "When I love you, I am the eye by which you see and I am the ear by which you hear." When sensual love can produce the feeling of oneness and harmony with the object of love, spiritual love must produce the same effect to a much greater extent. Hell, according to the celebrated Sūfi Shibli, is separation from God and heaven nearness to Him. The Prophet says that four things within the natural limit are not considered worldly. These are food, garment, house and wife and children. Anything beyond these is declared a luxury and is termed worldly and becomes an obstacle between man and God. A seeker of the truth must regard the plenitude and littleness of the things of this world with equal satisfaction. As luxury is bad, so is extreme asceticism, which must be practised as a means of self-discipline and not as an end in itself. Man must only seek a livelihood, absolutely trusting in God. Those who do not earn their livelihood but believe that God will grant their needs are mistaken. Some imagine that hunger is the best means of animal mortification. But they are also wrong, as human weakness cannot be destroyed by abstaining from food. On the other hand, hunger may produce physical inability and thus make impossible the performance of sacred duties of greater value. Some believe that seclusion may illuminate their heart, but in this also there is no truth, as evil arises from within (and what is within is not excluded from him even in his solitude) and, therefore, it cannot be cured by any external remedy. Some condemn Sūfis for listening to music and practising dancing but music is not enjoyed by Sūfis for the sake of passion or by way of material enjoyment. It is considered a means of ecstasy. No one can seek God unless his heart is free from all that which is not of, or God. There are some among the Sūfis who believe in the idea of incarnation, but God is *distinctly separate* in all respects from *everything*. Therefore, His true essence or attributes can be manifested in things of a nature different from Himself. The universe is a manifestation or an index of his creative power. Power itself is different from the acts of power, which are its manifestation. Human beings do not possess divine attributes but they may gain knowledge and true faith in Him. The possessing of human nature does not mean change in his essence, but illumination under the light of the Supreme Truth. Therefore, *Fana* does not mean self-destruction and self-absorption, but self-illumination. The vision of God attributed to Sūfism is not seeing God but contemplation of Him and real faith in Him. A man may become free from evil but his nature, in its essence, may remain subject to occasional weakness or worldly tendency. Therefore, in any stage

of his perfection, he is dependent upon God and must pray for His forgiveness. The Prophet himself used to ask pardon of God many a time every day. The Divine Light, which illuminates every pious heart, is considered by some Sūfis as an uncreated light, which is wrong, because the Divine Light cannot be explained or made known to the human mind. Therefore, illumination of mind means right knowledge gifted by God, so that the possessor may distinguish between good and bad, true and false. A Sūfi, while recognising that all things proceed from God and subsist in God, must not forget his moral and religious obligations. It argues a wrong conception of Christianity to say that man, as in the case of Jesus, can pass away from human nature. He may pass away from his individual will and enter into the universal will, when he may not regard his individual wish but remain entirely devoted to God. Some Sūfis consider that in ecstasy one loses his senses but even the feeling of such loss is a sense perception; hence, sensation is never lost, but temporarily overpowered by other experiences, such as disappearance of the light of the star and the stars themselves when there is sunshine, in which the light of the stars is not really lost but is outshone by sunlight.

SPIRIT OR SOUL

With regard to the "spirit" or the "soul", there are various views, for instance:—

- (i) The spirit is a part of the Universal Light.
- (ii) The spirit is a part of the Divine Existence.
- (iii) All spirits are created.
- (iv) Some spirits are created, while others are not created.
- (v) The spirit is eternal and immortal.
- (vi) Some say that non-believers possess one soul, Muslims three and Prophets five.
- (vii) Some believe in two spirits, one divine and the other human.

The author's opinion is that all souls are created. He also holds that there is no connection between souls and God, and that souls are not immortal.

Such, in brief, are the contents of the book *Kitab-ul-Luma-fit-Tasaawuf*, by Abu Nasr Sarraj. It has been partly translated by Reynold A. Nicholson of the Cambridge University.

KASHFUL-MAHJUB

Abul Hassan Ali, son of Usman Hujviri, was the author of *Kashful-Mahjub*. The centre of Muslim learning in the East during the eleventh century was in the courts of Samā-

nian, Khvarasmian, Buvaihid and Ghaznavid rulers. Ghazna had, in particular, become a great centre for Iranian poets, writers and mystics. Among the last-named were such poets as Sanai and his predecessor, the writer Hujviri, who was a contemporary of Sultan Muhammad and his sons Masud and Muhammad. His native place was Ghazna, and the locality where he lived was Hujver in Ghazna. Hence, he was called Hujviri. His tutor in Sūfism was Muhammad, son of Hasan, who is known as *Ganj-Baksh*, or distributor of (spiritual) wealth. He belongs to the school of Junaid. He died at Lahore in 1072 A.D. He wrote several works on Sūfism, but the most important is entitled *Kashful-Mahjub*, which was, perhaps, his last work. Though composed on the plan and arrangement of *Al-Luma*, above mentioned, it is an improvement on it.

Kashful-Mahjub is divided into twenty-five chapters, each supported by a section or more in which some detailed explanation of the subject is given. To refer, by way of example, to one of these, under Chapter XXII which is on "Alms", a section on the Sūfistic conception of liberality and generosity together with the views and sayings of prominent Sūfis on it is added. Topics which have already been dealt with in connection with what we have detailed about the contents of *Al-Luma*, will not be repeated here, excepting where new theories or more striking explanations of some of them are made available by Hujviri.

The first chapter is devoted to "Spiritual Knowledge", by which Hujviri means the knowledge of God. His unity, attributes, His creative activity, wisdom and knowledge of religion as taught in the *Quran*, Tradition and the united opinions of the companions of the Prophet and the early theologians and traditionists, are dealt with in it. The second is on Poverty in the spiritual sense; the third, on Sūfism; the fourth on *Khirqah*, or Sūfi garments; the fifth, on various opinions concerning *Safvat* (purity) and *Faqr* (poverty); and chapters six to thirteen deal with the *Imams*, or spiritual leaders, companions known as *Ashab-e-Suffa*, and early and contemporary Sūfis, more or less celebrated. Chapter fourteen gives a description of different schools of Sūfism. They agree in their fundamental principles, though they might differ in matters of detail, particularly in the interpretation of certain Sūfi technical terms. Of the schools mentioned by him are:—

(1) *Muhasibi school*, founded by Haris, son of Asad Muhasibi, who believed in *Raza* (satisfaction), a word which can be used as meaning *Maqām* (station) as well as *Ahwal* (state). According to Hujviri, *Raza* is understood in two senses:—

(i) *Raza* of God with human beings, which means the divine reward for man's endeavour in doing good.

(ii) The *Raza* of human beings with God which consists of their submission and service to God. Man's *Raza* depends upon God's satisfaction with Him. It is a divine gift and is associated with the attribute of patience. Its possessor regards favourable and adverse events in his life as two divine manifestations of *Jamal*, or beauty, and *Jalal*, or majesty, and, therefore, he takes both pain and pleasure with patience and balance of mind. *Raza* is considered higher to *Zuhd* or renunciation, as the former is the result of love to God and the latter indifference to worldly enjoyments. Concerning *station* and *state*, the two Sūfī terms, Hujviri says that the former means stationing on the way leading towards God, and fulfilling the duties connected with that station until the seeker is able and is fit to proceed to the next station. Among such stations are the qualities of repentance, conversion towards God, renunciation, trust in God and so forth. These are the stages of human perfection in virtue and must be accomplished regularly, one after the other. *State*, or *Hāl*, is not attained by self-discipline, but is a gift from God. The former is connected with human action and the latter with divine mercy. Among the different degrees of *state* are the feeling of sincere longing for God, spiritual contraction or depression, and expansion or delight. When these feelings are constant and genuine, they become an attribute of man. Muhasibi includes satisfaction in this category.

(2) The *Qassari school*, founded by Hamdun, son of Ahmad, who based his teaching on keeping secret one's virtues and apparently leading a life subject to public objection and criticism, so that one may not feel proud of his virtuous deeds and acquire the bad trait of self-conceit. Such men were also called *Malamatiyya*, or the blameworthy. The *Qassarīs* believe that man's goodness is known to God and need not be known to his fellow-beings. Hamdun's followers were indifferent to public opinion and apparently also to the laws of religion and to social customs. Though they were rejected by the public, they did not quarrel with any one. They believed this method as the most effective for subduing and curbing the lower self.

(3) The *Taifuri school*, founded by Abu Ziyad Taifur, of Bistam in Khorassan. He laid emphasis on spiritual rapture and exalted the state of intoxication, by which, he meant selflessness. His school became popular for poetical expression. As the intoxicated man is bold, indifferent and even careless in respect of his affairs, so a Sūfī intoxicated with divine love, becomes heedless of and indifferent to the world. The opposite term for intoxication is sobriety and Sūfīs differ in preferring either of these—intoxication or sobriety—as their

ideal. Taifur believed intoxication as higher than the sobriety, because it destroys human qualities and is the nearest state to self-annihilation, as the Prophet himself was often affected by it and the following passage from the *Quran* was revealed to him when he was in that state:—"You did not slay but God slew them, and you did not throw pebbles or smite but God threw." (Chap. VIII-17.) In such a state, man becomes an instrument of the Supreme Will. He acts and yet he does not act.

Some Sūfis like Junaid gave preference to sobriety on the ground that intoxication is an abnormal state of mind and a temporary cession of senses. The state of intoxication is classified into:—(i) *Movaddut*, or intoxication with affection; and (ii) *Mohabbat*, or intoxication with love. Sobriety is also of two kinds:—(i) Sobriety in ignorance or indifference; and (ii) Sobriety in love. The former is bad but the latter is praiseworthy.

(4) The *Junaid school*, founded by Junaid, which emphasises the state of sobriety. According to Junaid, sobriety is the normal spiritual condition, whereas intoxication is abnormal.

(5) The *Nuri school*, established by Hasan Ahmad Nuri, whose fundamental principle was self-sacrifice. He preferred the welfare of others to his own. Thus, it is declared in the *Quran*:—"And they prefer them (others) to themselves, although they may be afflicted with poverty." (Chap. LIX-9.) Nuri believes that Sūfistic training is superior to the ordinary status of *Faqr*, which involves only renunciation of worldly enjoyment and possession of spiritual wealth. The idea of preference or service to others is common among Sūfis.

(6) The *Sahli school*, founded by Sahl, son of Abdullah of Shushter, has for its basis *Mujahida* (*tapas*) or ascetic discipline. His followers insisted on self-discipline by austerities, while the school of Hamduni paid more attention to service and that of Junaid to self-purification by contemplation. The doctrine of the Sahlis aims at resisting the desire caused by the animal soul and controlling it.

Hujviri has given the various views of Sūfis concerning the human soul and its different aspects. He says that *Nafs* or spirit, is interpreted by some in the sense of virility, source of blind desires (evil); to some it is in the body; while to some others, again, it is one with the body. A few also hold that it is the evil tendency in human beings, as is declared in the following passage of the *Quran*: "Most surely (man's) *Nafs-e-Ammarah* commands him to do evil." (Chap. VII-53.) *Nafs* can be controlled and brought under discipline by *Mujāhedah* and repentance, which means one's knowledge of one's

own weakness and faults. It is called animal, or lower, soul and considered by some a subtle substance existing in all creatures. Besides this, there is a higher soul, by possessing which human beings are distinguished from other animals. *Riyāzat* is the resistance to desires caused by the lower self.

The essence of reality in man is considered by many as a divine mystery. Man is composed of (a) 'spirit', with the attribute of intelligence; (b) 'soul', with the attribute of passion; and (c) 'body', with the attribute of sensation. All Sūfis are united in the opinion that the animal soul can be brought under control by discipline, though its nature is never destroyed. When this soul's activity is modified and regulated, it leads to right contemplation, as service leads to *Taufiq* or divine blessing. *Hawa*, or passion, is the characteristic of animal souls, and it is metaphorically called the devil or *Satan*. One must free himself from passion by renouncing this world and leading an ascetic life or resist the same and live in society. The latter is superior to the former.

(7) The *Hakimi school*, founded by Muhammad of Tirmiz, whose chief teaching is centred in the belief that man should be guided by a *wali*, or saint, and receive spiritual training from him. *Wilayat* means friendship and a *wali* is a friend. A *wali* can perform marvels by his spiritual power, such as praying for rainfall or healing a disease without prescribing medicine. He is free from sensual affections. There are many saints unknown to the public, and among them, the selected are called (a) *Akhyār*, whose number is not more than 300; (b) *Abdāl*, of the higher grade, whose number 40; (c) *Abrār*, still higher, who are 7 in number; (d) *Autad*, or *Nuqoba*, who are 4; and (e) *Qutob*, or *Ghous*, who stands by himself.

According to Juzjani, the saint remains absorbed in his own state and in the contemplation of the truth. He is *Ibnul-waqt*, or son of his time. He has neither hope for anything nor fear of anything and remains in the state of *mawafiqat*, or equanimity.⁶⁵ He is not sinless by nature as Prophets are, but God protects him from evil. Miracles are worked by Sūfi saints belonging to these classes, sometimes in the state of sobriety and at others when intoxicated with the love of God.

⁶⁵ Cf. *Bhagavad-Gītā*:—

Sama duhkha sukhassvasthaḥ sama lostāhśma kāñchanah |
Tulya priyā apriyo dhīrastulyanindātma samstutiḥ ||

i.e., "Balanced in *duhkha* (pain), and *sukha* (pleasure), is self-confident, same (to him) a *lostā* (lump of earth), a *asma* (stone) and *kāñchana* (gold) (his treatment) is same to (his) *priya* (loved) and *apriya* (not loved), he is *dhīra* (firm) (his soul afflicted in the) same (manner) by *ninda* criticism and *stuti* (praise)." (Chap. XIV. 24.)

(8) The *Kharrāzi* school, founded by Abu Sayid Kharrāz, is based on the theory of annihilation and subsistence. The latter is classified into (i) those having a beginning and an end, such as the universe (matter); (ii) those having a beginning but no end, life being continued in the next world; and (iii) those having neither beginning nor end, which is the divine existence. Subsistence and annihilation are two Sūfi terms which mean annihilation of ignorance and subsistence in the state of knowledge. The following other interpretations of the same are given by Hujviri:—(a) Annihilation from individual will and subsistence in the will of God; and (b) A human being in any state of spiritual development is not changed in his real nature. His change will be somewhat like that of the iron, which, being placed in the fire, till it becomes red hot, appears like fire and even possesses the quality of fire but all the time it is only iron and not pure heat.

(9) The *Khafifi* school, established by Muhammad, son of Khaif, of Shiraz, who expounded the doctrine of absence and presence, or *Ghīflat* and *Huzur*, which means, absence of heart from all things including one's individuality and presence with God. As is declared by Hafiz, "Man's concentration of attention on his individual self is the greatest of all veils between him and God."⁶⁶

(10) The *Sayyari* school, founded by Sayyari of Merv, is based on the Sūfi ideas of *Jamā* (union) and *Tafriqa* (separation). The former means divine mercy, gift or contemplation, and the latter is the virtue gained through self-discipline. Muzayyin says that *Jamā* is the state of *Khususiyyat*, or privilege and closeness, and separation is a state of *Ubu-diyyat*, or service. One leads to the other. Union is classified into:—(i) *Jamā salamat*, or sound union, produced in the state of ecstasy; and (ii) *Jamā Taksir*, or broken union, in which one is bewildered. Union is neither a state, nor a station, but a concentration of thought upon a certain point. The Prophet was in a state of union, as is testified to by the following passage from the *Quran*:—

"His gaze swerved not, nor exceeded the limit." (Chap. LIII-17.)

Ibn-e-Arabi refutes the theory of the eternity of the soul or the co-eternity of the soul and matter.

Chapter XV is devoted to the knowledge of God, *mārefat*, which, according to the theologians, is the right knowledge of God and the law of Islam. The Sūfis, however, insist on right feeling towards God. Some imagine that by

⁶⁶ *Huzuri gar hami khvahi az u, ghāeh ma shan*, i.e., If you wish presence never be absent from Him.

reasoning knowledge is obtained, while others think that logical arguments and conclusions are the true means of gaining knowledge. Sūfis, however, consider that both of these views are not satisfactory. They are not, in their view, adequate means to right understanding. God's knowledge must come from God, as the fourth Khalif, Alī, said, "I know God through God". As the body is dependent upon the spirit which animates it, so man's *dil* (heart) or real self is dependent upon God alone.

The body is illuminated by the animal soul and the real self by God. Therefore, God alone can guide the way leading to Him. Philosophical reasonings and logical arguments are dependent upon man's intellectual powers and cause him to turn away from dependence on divine illumination. They are useful in investigating concrete things but God is beyond all senses, and, therefore, His knowledge is supernatural and super-sensible. It may be gained not by reasoning, but by the admission of one's bewilderment, and it must come as a gift from God. To infer the existence of God by making him resemble a certain idea is called *tashbih*, or assimilation, and to deny his existence by such means is *Tā'ilil*, or nullification, and both are absurd. Some believe that knowledge may be attained by *Ilhām*, or inspiration. If that was the case, the conclusion of all such men would have been similar. Some say that intuition is the sure basis of knowledge, but even this must be common to all, which, in its practical aspect, is just the reverse. Some deny God, others believe in His existence and give various explanations. Suluki says that divine knowledge may be obtained in the start by intellectual pursuit and gradually by self-purification and intuition. In brief, such knowledge is dependent on divine guidance.

Shibli says that true knowledge (*mārefat*) is continuous amazement (*Hairat*), which is of two kinds :—(a) *Hairat* at the essence ; and (b) *Hairat* at the attributes of God. The former is bad and fruitless, because none should doubt His existence (and none can know Him in His essence). The attributes of God, as manifested in things in this universe, must be the object of human search and admiration.

Unity, or *Tawhid*, is classified into :—(a) Unity, or His one-ness as known to Him ; and (b) His decree as to how creatures may know His unity, i.e., Unity as known to man's understanding.

There are five means of acquiring knowledge of concrete things, viz., hearing, seeing, testing, smelling and touching. Of these, some are more useful than the others for animals, such as the senses of touch and smell. But for men, who are gifted with the intellect, hearing is the most important,

by possessing which they attain to knowledge. A deaf man cannot enjoy the recitation of the *Quran*, nor can he appreciate the subtle points raised by the learned. One who possesses ears can hear and enjoy the beauty of the *Quran* in words and in meaning. Next to hearing is the power of sight. It is said that every tree in paradise produces melodious music. Animals are affected by good sounds. In Khorassan, the deer is captured by beating brass basins, which attracts them and they stand and listen. In India, snakes are charmed by playing on certain kinds of flutes. Children, whose actions are innocent and natural, are attracted by music and those among them who are more fond of hearing good sounds are considered healthy and intelligent by physicians. There are traditions in favour of and against music. It is said that once the Prophet, in company with his wife Aisha, was listening to the songs of a slave girl. When Umar entered the house, the girl ran away. The Prophet smiled, which caused Umar to ask the reason why he did so. The Prophet explained, and Umar requested that she may be called back, so that he may join with them in listening to her singing. The appreciation of musical voice among the Sūfis existed from the time when the *Quran* was recited and heard by others. They believe that the *Quran*, and mystic songs, when recited or sung in a melodious voice, produces ecstacy and, therefore, singing is permitted. According to Zun-nun, good sound stirs the heart to seek God and becomes a means of penetration into reality. For those who are not gifted with spiritual inclination, music becomes a source of sensual enjoyment. It is dangerous and of bad effect to those who are vulgar, but permissible to the elect. Hujviri quotes the sayings and opinions of different Sūfi authorities on this subject.

In Chapter XVIII, repentance is classified into (a) Repentance leading from wrong to right; (b) Repentance leading from right to something more right; and (c) Repentance leading from self to God.

In Chapter XIX, the object of prayer is explained. It is said that it is essential to purify the heart from lust. Before going to prayer, one must keep his body, dress and place of worship clean. He must stand for prayer with physical strength and consider himself standing in the presence of God and remain in a state of awe and humbleness. There are two terms connected with prayer, i.e., presence and absence. The former means attaining nearness to God and the latter absence of the individual self while in prayer. Love must be the cause of prayer. According to Hujviri, love is defined by theologians as restlessness to obtain the desired object. Sūfis are restless to see and to know Him, and in remembering Him, he says

Zikr. When love is for a like thing, it is sensual ; but when it is for a thing which is unlike, it is admiration of that thing. It brings rapture and longing.

In the chapter on *Zakat* or alms, generosity and liberality are explained and liberality is given preference over generosity. The chapter on Pilgrimage contains an explanation of contemplation as the spiritual vision of God, both in society and in seclusion. Shibli⁶⁷ says : "I never see anything but God." With regard to companionship, Hujviri follows Sarraj and mentions the varieties of companionship known. For instance, he speaks of companionship with woman, which means, marriage, and quotes the following, a tradition associated with the Prophet :—Four qualities must be sought in a woman, i.e., beauty, nobility, wealth and religion. There are weak points in celibacy, such as possibility of yielding to temptation and of neglect of any custom approved by the Prophet. There are also weak points in married life, such as occupation of mind with things other than God and the unhealthy effects of sexual connections on body and mind. Marriage is good for those who wish to move in society and celibacy is preferable to those who seek seclusion.

All seekers after the truth can attain their goal by degrees which are termed stations (*maqām*), or states (*hāl*). The great Prophets were noted for particular stations, such as, Adam for repentance, Noah for renunciation, Abraham for resignation, Moses for conversion to faith in God, Jesus for hope, and Muhammad for *Zikr* or praise. The highest spiritual stage reached after passing all stations and states, is *tamkin* (*śānti*) or rest and repose. The seeker in all stations must have one object in view and move towards it. In this chapter, Hujviri gives the meaning of various Sūfi terms, such as :—

<i>Mahr</i>	.. Effacement from self.
<i>Sahr</i>	.. Sobriety or consciousness of one's spiritual progress.
<i>Lahq</i>	.. Attainment.
<i>Sukr</i>	.. Intoxication with divine love.
<i>Mahq</i>	.. Destruction (of inner vices).
<i>Fana</i>	.. Annihilation (of lower self).
<i>Baqā</i>	.. Subsistence (of virtue).
<i>Wujūd</i>	.. Existence.
<i>Ādam</i>	.. Non-existence.
<i>Qabz</i>	.. Spiritual contraction.
<i>Bast</i>	.. Spiritual expansion.
<i>Hijā'</i>	.. Veil (unexposed to material sight, both physical and intellectual).

⁶⁷ Shibli, the Sūfi sage, should not be confused with Shibli, the Indian author.

<i>Kashf</i>	Revelation.
<i>Uns</i>	Intimacy.
<i>Haybat</i>	Awe.
<i>Qahr</i>	Divine violence.
<i>Lutf</i>	Divine kindness.
<i>Istiqāmat</i>	Divine steadfastness.
<i>Karāmat</i>	Miracle or divine grace.
<i>Nafy</i>	Negation (of individual self).
<i>Isbāt</i>	Affirmation (of higher self).
<i>Istighrāq</i>	Absorption.
<i>Kulliyat</i>	Universals.
<i>Lawam'e</i>	Spiritual light.
<i>Mohdith</i>	Non-eternal—created.
<i>Qadīm</i>	Ancient—eternal.
<i>Azal</i>	Beginning.
<i>Abad</i>	Endless.
<i>Zāt</i>	Essence.
<i>Sifāt</i>	Attributes.
<i>Jauhar</i>	Substance.
<i>Araz</i>	Accident.
<i>Ikhityār</i>	To choose which is chosen by God.
<i>Balā</i>	Affliction from worldly trials.
<i>Tajalli</i>	Divine manifestation and illumination of the heart.
<i>Shurb</i>	Drink or delight in virtue.
<i>Zauq</i>	The state of longing in which both pain and pleasure are enjoyed.

FUSUSUL-HIKAM

Muhammad, son of Alī known as Ibnul-Arabi and called Shaikh-ul-Akbar, or the Great Shaik, was a native of Spain, to which his fore-fathers had migrated from Arabia. His father lived in Seville. But Ibnul-Arabi was, however, born at Murcia in 560 A.H., or 1165 A.D., and so he was a contemporary of Farid-ud-dīn Attar, Shahb-ud-dīn Suhrawardi, Najm-ud-dīn Rāzi, Jalal-ud-dīn Rumi and other great Sūfis in the East. He lived in what may be called the golden age of Sūfism when it was at its zenith. His writings are usually stated to be as many as 300. Of these, 150 are said to exist. Among his more important works are:—(1) *Futuhāt-ul-makkiyya*, in 566 chapters, of which Chapter 559 is an abridgement of the whole. This book is an encyclopædia of Sūfism; and (2) *Fususul-hikam*, in 27 chapters. This work is also on Sūfism. It has been commented upon by Abdul Razzak of Kashan, and translated into English, Urdu and other languages.

IBNUL-ARABI

In theology, Ibnul-Arabi followed the Zāhiri school, but as a Sūfi, claimed discipleship of Khizar, an imaginary saint who is mentioned in more detail elsewhere in this work. He also claims to have carried on imaginary conversations with all the past Prophets, and to be gifted with inner light. Ibnul-Arabi died in 1240 A.D., and lies buried near Mount Qusur, now called Sāliha, in Syria.

His views are based upon the common Sūfi principles, which are much elaborated and treated of in a speculative manner. His *Fususul-hikam* is divided into twenty-seven chapters, each chapter being named after a Prophet, somewhat like Hujviri's chapters which bear the names of prayer, fasting, etc. In each chapter, an appropriate aspect of Sūfism is discussed. The method is somewhat rather artificial and not a little confusing and even difficult to follow for a man not well acquainted with the subject. Many ideas are also repeated by him, which makes the work a little prolix. The first chapter is named the Wisdom of Ādam and, in consideration of Ādam being called the Vicegerent of God on earth, the position of a human being as such is explained in it. Man is the microcosm of all divine attributes and in this respect unique among the creatures of the world. Divine manifestation is called cosmos and man is an epitome of the universe. God is the first in reference to creation and so He is the last. He is the beginning and also the end. Man is a perfection of world-creation and a perfect man is the cause of world's safety and peace. Angels are powers, each representing the name of God and possessing the attributes and knowledge of that name alone. The cosmos cannot be self-conscious but it is known to God. In its external aspect, it is created; and in its inner reality, it is in the knowledge of God. The multiplicity of bodies does not mean diversity in their essence. Humanity is one in its origin, as the following passage from the *Quran* declares it:—"O men! fear your Lord who created you from a single (*nafs*) essence and (from that) created its mate, and spread from those two, many men and women." (Chap. IV. 1.)

The third chapter is named after Noah. The subject treated in it is the theory of *Tashbih* (similitude) in which the existence of God is explained by comparing it to something concrete or by saying that His attributes are other than His essence and *Tanzih* (purity or attributelessness) in which He is explained as other than the Universe. According to the author, Noah had expounded one aspect of the Deity, which is His separateness from the Universe, but the Prophet (Muhammad) explained the aspect of His one-ness also. Thus, the middle and right path is between *Tanzih* and *Tashbih*.

God cannot be separated from the Universe, nor can be identified with it. He is related and yet not related. The Universe is appearance and God is its reality ; as in man, the body is his external aspect and the soul is his inner real self. The Creator and the created are not two different beings. They are one, yet separate. Thus, in separation, there is one-ness and in one-ness there is separation.

The fourth chapter is called the Wisdom of Idris (Enoch). The subject treated of in it is spiritual elevation of man. In it, man is elevated to higher perfection, though he does not become one in nature with God. His reality remains human. God is the essence of things. His name as manifested appears in multiplicity, but in the total reality all this multiplicity is one. Abu Sayid Khurāz says :—"God is known by contrary aspects, but this does not mean loss of His one-ness." The *Quran* declares :—"He is *Zāher* (manifested), *Bātin* (hidden), *Arrul* (the first), and *Ākhar* (the last)." He sees Himself in the mirror of the Universe, but the Universe cannot see Him. He cannot be compared with anything in the Universe. He is one and the cause of many, as the one when repeated and counted becomes the many. Reality is one reflected in various mirrors. Man becomes perfect by his deeds but God is perfect by His nature and by His essence.

The fifth chapter is related to Abraham, known for his hospitality and capacity for feeding. God is accordingly explained in this chapter as nourisher of the Universe. He is the beloved and he is the lover ; he is the hidden and he is the manifested. If man can possess knowledge of himself, he may know God also. By reflecting on oneself and on creation, one may have an idea of creation and the Creator. God is true existence and the existence of the Universe is in God and from God. Man is for God in manifesting His names, and God is for man in manifesting His benevolence. This idea has been illustrated by Abraham, who manifested his love to others by feeding them, and they by receiving his hospitality. Abraham saw God in everything, as it is declared in the *Quran* :—"Surely, I turn myself wholly to Him, who originated the heavens and the earth." (Chap. VI. 80.)

The sixth chapter is the Wisdom of Ishāq (Isaac), in which the subject dealt with is the *Ālam-e-Mithāl*, or intermediary world of similitude or thoughts. In dreams, the human faculty of imagination is active. In some dreams, the forms are actual ; in others confusing and unknown ; while in some others, they are imaginary. The actuals cannot be interpreted by other meanings, as seeing the Prophet, or as it happened in the case of Abraham who dreamt that he was sacrificing his son and next day he actually wanted to sacri-

fice him. Man's creations are imaginary forms but God's are actual.

The seventh chapter is the Wisdom of Ismail, in which the author deals with the divine names. Each name is an aspect of the Divine Being and represents that name in its meaning, and is potential in its meaning. There is nothing in the universe that does not manifest the numerous names of God ; all bad and good, even Satan is included in this list. The reality is hidden in Him.

The eighth chapter is the Wisdom of Yaqub (Jacob) and the subject dealt with is religion, taught by all great teachers and called *Islām*, which means submission to His will. It comes from God but abides in man, and is proved by human action. If man obeys religious commands, he attains self-discipline. There are religions fabricated by human misconception, as, for instance, ascetic life. The reward for a virtuous life is the illumination of the heart by the Divine Being. As a physician studies the physical condition of man and the nature of the disease to which the patient is subject, and treats him so as to reconcile the law of nature with the patient's physical defect, in the best manner possible, a religious teacher guides humanity according to the will of God and the condition of the age in which he lives.

The ninth chapter is entitled the Wisdom of Yusuph (Joseph) and the subject treated of in it is the unreality of universal existence. The author says life is but a dream (*Māya*) and the dreams are dreams within dreams. A dream may be actualised at the time of awakening, but even that is a dream, such as the one dreamt by Joseph who saw the stars, sun and the moon bowing before him and the interpretation of it was his elevation to the rank of minister in Egypt, when his parents and brothers prostrated before him. The Prophet (Muhammad) called this world a dream, and in the *Quran* it is said that life in this world is a play. Human awakening from this dream-life will be in the next life. The universe, in comparison with reality, is a shadow or its reflection. The *ayan* or reality of a thing exists in God's knowledge, or in the darkness of non-existence and, so long as it is not manifested and illumined, it remains in nothingness. As it is said in the *Quran* :—"Do you not perceive, your Lord's working, how he extends the shade : and if he willed, he would make it stationary ; then we have made the sun an indication of it. (XXV. 45.) Shadow is not the substance reflected, but it cannot be separate from it. Thus, the universe is a reflection of the Deity and as such, it may be called a separate thing, though really it is not ; as shadow, it has no real existence. Life is *māya*, a dream."

The tenth chapter is the Wisdom of Hud, and the subject treated of in it is the unity of names in their diversity, and the Almighty divine power over all things existing. As the following passage occurring in the *Quran* says:—"There is no creature except that its forelock is not in His hand, surely my Lord is on the right path." (XI. 56.) All things are in His power (which corresponds to *Shakti* in Indian Philosophy). Sin by which man makes himself deserving of God's displeasure is not permanent. His mercy will finally pervade over all beings and everything will reach its perfection which is salvation. Hell is remoteness from God, but even there, a human being is within His power and as such, is near to Him and will finally hear Him. As the *Quran* says:—"And the East and the West are of God, (therefore) wherever you turn there is the face of the Lord and God is extended and knowing." (XI. 115.) Sin is bewilderment in a wrong action for which the doer must naturally suffer till his ignorance is removed, or is a disease. As in disease, though one must suffer, yet he will recover his health, there is recovery from sin. Good and bad, both must pass the stage of suffering (hell) and both are emancipated, one earlier and the other later. In the latter case, time is required for self-enlightenment. The Divine names (called by the ancient nations as Gods), have powers over things manifesting them or as the *Quran* says, "They are grasped by their forelock and are in the complete power of the Divine Being".

The eleventh chapter is the Wisdom of Salch and the subject dealt with in it is the unity in Trinity. The Divine Being possesses the true aspects of the being, will and command. And creatures also possess the three qualities of not-being, hearing or submission, and devotion (worship).

The twelfth chapter is the Wisdom of Shuaib and the subject treated of in it is the gnostic's heart which contains God. It is said to be more extensive than Divine Grace. Having God in heart, it is undeserving for man to give room to anything besides Him. Ba-Yazid of Bastam says that a Sūfī's heart is so extensive that the *Arsh* (Throne of God) and all beneath it can find a place in a corner of it. As the Divine manifestations are numerous, so the heart of a gnostic passes according to the quality of forms into the states of contraction and expansion. It is like a bezel of the ring in which the jewel is set and the bezel must be of the same size and shape as the jewel which must be set in it, which means, the heart is illuminated by Divine Light according to its capacity to receive the illumination. Divine illumination is of two kinds, i.e., the external or *shahādat*, and internal or *ghaib*. The latter is also called *Faiz-e-Aqdas*, which frames and prepares the

heart and gets it ready for receiving the Divine Light and the attainment of Divine knowledge according to one's frame of mind and spiritual development. A man possessing such a heart is a man of thought and contemplation. The essence is a condensing of extension into a mass. The Divine manifestation (flow of life) is continuous. *Fana*, or annihilation, means disappearance of one manifestation to be succeeded by a fresh *Baqa*, permanence or existence. The universe, which appears permanent, is due to such continuous appearance and disappearance of Divine manifestation. The heart is intermediate between the higher and the lower, or the external and the internal worlds.

The thirteenth chapter is the Wisdom of Lut and the subject treated in it is the *Himmat* or will power. Man has three stages in life, i.e., weakness, strength, and again weakness. In the process of spiritual perfection, three stages are manifested by ignorance, self-assertion by gaining knowledge, and humility and meekness by knowing oneself as an insignificant part of the Supreme Whole. Human will power in the last stage is surrendered to the Divine Will and subsists in Him. As the *Quran* says:—"The Lord of the East and the West—there is no God but He—therefore make Him your guardian." (LXXXIII. 9.) In another passage, it is said:—" (Say Muhammad) that I just follow what has been revealed to me." (XLVI. 9.) The Prophet's mission is to convey the Divine message to his creatures and leave its working to them. Those whose heart is framed and is ready to receive the light, receive it immediately (without argument or demanding miracles), as God says in *Quran*:—"You cannot guide whom you desire, but God guides whom He pleases." (XXVIII. 56.) The human being, in his nature, is weak and the strength is gifted to him from God.

The fourteenth chapter is the Wisdom of Ezra and the subject dealt with in it is knowledge and the meaning of *Qazā*, or Divine decree, and *Qadar*, or measuring. Knowledge is classified into what is acquired by (a) intellectual reasoning or human experience, and (b) by Divine illumination. The second is attained by *Zauq*, or aptitude towards virtue. According to Ibn-e-Arabi, *Qazā* is the command of God affecting the creatures; *Qadar* is the time for its taking effect. Ezra is considered a Prophet who wanted to reason the idea of resurrection and so he prayed to God for its explanation. But the subject was to be felt and not argued. In reply, God made him die and after 100 years granted him a new life. Thus, God showed him in action the meaning of death and resurrection. The author's object in furnishing the above illustration is to demonstrate that spiritual realities cannot be known by

reasoning. They must be felt and such feeling is a gift from the Divine Being to sages in a state of ecstasy, and revelation to the Prophets, when their minds are blank from all worldly tendencies and in a condition to receive the Divine reflection. There are two stages of such perfection, one is called *Wilayat*, or friendship of God, and the other *Risālat*, or prophethood. Every Prophet is a *wali*, but every *wali* need not be a Prophet.

The fifteenth chapter is the Wisdom of Jesus, and the subject considered is the Trinity of matter, spirit and divinity. The author explains this by illustrating the birth of, and the human and Divine aspects of Jesus. He says that the quality of the spirit is to make an object alive when it has the capacity of receiving it. The natural process of making matter capable of receiving life is slow and gradual, but in the case of Jesus, it was immediate and supernatural. Gabriel appeared to Mary in the form of a young man and breathed into her heart the word of God. Jesus was born. The *Quran* says that Jesus was the word of God and also His spirit. Thus, Jesus was material in his being born of Mary, and thought immaterial, being breathed by Gabriel and being the spirit of God. As the son of a human being, he was humble and, therefore, taught the ideal of extreme forbearance, when he said, "turn your left cheek when slapped on the right". His other aspect was the breath from Gabriel by which he could also breathe and give life to the dead. He was Divine, being the word of God. The word is not restricted to Jesus. Each thing in the universe is a word of God, because the *Quran* says that God commands "be" and things "become". The whole cosmos in this way is a breath of God and exists by His word.

The sixteenth chapter is the Wisdom of Solomon and the subject dealt with consists of the two kinds of Divine benevolence—one general, by which the whole creation receives existence; and the other, special, through which man is gifted by spiritual perfection and knowledge.

The seventeenth chapter is the Wisdom of David and the subject considered is Prophethood, which is gifted to those with whom God is pleased. Such persons are detached from the world and attached to God. Among the Prophets, David was gifted by such a melodious voice that, while singing sacred hymns, Nature as a whole joined him.

The eighteenth chapter is the Wisdom of Yunus and the subject dealt with is teaching man how to respect life in all creatures. Man is composed of soul, body and spirit. His real self is an image of God and must be respected. Those who destroy life are wicked, because they destroy that which the Divine Being desires to live. God's creatures must be treated with leniency and kindness; even when teaching what is held

to be true religion, care should be taken to see that it is not enforced upon an unwilling individual nor severity used in such a connection.

When David (who had fought with the enemies of the truth and had killed a number of them) wanted to erect a temple, it collapsed again and again. David complained to God and the revelation came to him that God's temple cannot be created by one who has taken the lives of His creatures. When David prayed *that it was done in His way*, for the destruction of evil, the answer came forth that nevertheless those who were killed had received life from God. The temple, therefore, was built by David's son Solomon. Leniency must be shown to creatures in all conditions, even in enforcing the Divine Law, as God, while permitting the killing of a murderer, says:—"And there is life for you in retaliation that you guard yourselves" (*Quran*), which means that even in such a case, the taking of life is evil and therefore God rewards the kinsmen of the murdered person, if they pardon the murderer and receive ransom from him.

The nineteenth chapter is the Wisdom of Ayyub and the subject dealt with in it is patience in calamities. One must refer the trials in this world to God and seek His assistance. Worldly calamities are signs of human helplessness and, when they occur, one must pray to God alone.

The twentieth chapter is the Wisdom of Yahya or John the Baptist, whose name is selected for illustrating the following virtues:—(a) Renunciation of worldly pleasures; (b) Fear of God; and (c) *Ilme-Zauqi*, which means ecstasy or knowledge gained through intuition or natural inclination and purity of nature.

The twenty-first chapter relates to Zacharyya, in which the mercy of God is explained as pervading over His displeasure. His grace penetrates everything in the universe. Thus, it is said in the *Quran*:—"My grace embraces all things." (VII. 156.) It is increased when man faces God and seeks His divine help.

The twenty-second chapter is the Wisdom of Ilyas (Elijah) and the subject to which it is devoted is the realisation of God in all forms. In the chapter dedicated to the Wisdom of Noah, the author discusses *Tashbih*, or similitude of God. In this chapter, he takes the other extreme view of *Tanzih*, or the Divine Being, in His attributeless essence. Both of these aspects are mentioned in the *Quran*, as may be seen from the following passages:—(a) Attributelessness—Nothing is like Him; and (b) Similitude—He is the hearing and the seeing, etc. Those, who follow the first idea, do not admit the explanation of the words used in the *Quran* with refer-

ence to the attributes of the Divine Being even in metaphorical language. Nothing can be compared to Him. He is above human conception. The author emphasises that dissimilarity in similarity and similarity in dissimilarity must be the belief of a Sūfī. This conception was clear to such minds as that of Ilyas, who realises God in all forms. The Prophet says: "I love courage even if it may be in killing a serpent". The serpent is human passion, which must be curbed, if not killed, and when it is curbed and controlled, man attains spiritual ascent as Elijah was lifted up to heaven, and again sent down to guide humanity. Man's first ascent is his self-purification, by which he attains the rank of pure intelligence and his descent from that state is voluntary to guide humanity. Knowledge, as already mentioned, is of two kinds, i.e., the one gained by study and the other attained by natural delight in spiritual purity, which is gifted by God. Concerning this, Ibn-e-Arabi says that he was gifted and in that state he could not utter a word. He was satisfied in the Self.

The twenty-third chapter is devoted to Luqman and the subject is Wisdom, which has been mentioned in the following passage occurring in the *Quran*:—"He grants wisdom to whom He pleases and whoever is gifted with wisdom, indeed, he is given a great blessing, and none but men of understanding appreciate it." (II. 269.) Wisdom is classified into:—
(a) Wisdom in speech or the one which is expressed; and
(b) Wisdom in silence. The second is higher than the first. Polytheism is to believe in two existences. Existence is one and indivisible.

The twenty-fourth chapter is devoted to the Wisdom of Harun (Aaron) and the subject dealt with is idolatry, which means, seeing God in one or several of His attributes. The author says that two similar things may not hold similar ranks but may be necessary for each other, such as, the king and his subjects, the Prophet and his followers, etc. Both serve each other in different capacities. Even God works for His creatures in bestowing existence to them and they work for Him in glorifying Him by their prayers and worship. The *Quran* says:—"Every moment He is in a state." (LV. 27.) Every worshipped object may be an attribute or a manifestation of God. It may be in the form of a stone, a tree, or anything else. Such a form of worship is to limit Him to one of His particular aspects, but He must be worshipped in His totality and oneness. The heathen Arabs were worshipping Him in His various attributes and when the Prophet of Islam invited them to convert their many gods into one, it was a surprise to them, as the following passage from the

Quran shows :—"What ! does he make (many) gods a single God ? This is a strange thing." (XXXVIII. 5.)

The twenty-fifth chapter is the Wisdom of Moses and the subjects to which it is devoted are :—(a) Smaller virtues or souls are absorbed or sacrificed for a higher soul, such as, the death of many infants for the sake of Moses ; (b) Pharoah, the King of Egypt, who claimed Divinity for himself, was saved at the last moment by submission to God. (This idea is peculiar to Ibn-e-Arabi and some other Sūfis. The orthodox believe that his repentance was too late and fruitless); (c) Salvation is obtained through action and no soul can work up the body through the body alone. The soul of Moses was placed in the ark (body) and left in the water (of knowledge) and nourished by Pharoah (self-assertion) and his wife ; and (d) Destruction of the bodily desires is the salvation of the soul.

The twenty-sixth chapter is the Wisdom of Khaled, son of Sinan, a pre-Islamic sage of Yeman. The subject to which it is devoted is that good intention is not equal to the realisation of the truth.

The twenty-seventh chapter is the Wisdom of Muhammad and the subjects to which it is dedicated are woman, fragrance and prayer which were dear to the heart of the Prophet. The author says that as man is created in the image of God, so woman is created in the image of man. Therefore, man loves God and woman. Her relation to man is the same as God's relation with Nature, and if woman is loved in this sense, such love is divine. God has breathed into Nature and God's breath must be deemed the most fragrant, and woman being created out of man, woman is man's best fragrance. Man should, therefore, take delight in the Divine fragrance in Nature, in the same manner as he is delighted with his own purest fragrance, woman. The prayer, beloved of the Prophet, is communion between God and man, such communion marking the best moment of man's life. There cannot be any better enjoyment than to speak with and hear from God. Prayer is the vision of the Supreme Being and the highest stage of spiritual elevation for a human being. Prayer among Muslims is offered in three postures, resembling the movement of the plant, the animal and the human being. The first is *qiyām* or standing, a human posture ; the second is *ruku*, or horizontal, resembling animals ; and the third is *sujud*, or prostration, which resembles plants.

This is a brief but inadequate summary of *Fususul-hikam*. Though not literal, as a free rendering of the essential topics discussed in it, it may prove useful. I have taken care to give a correct exposition of the author.

MANTAQUT TAIR

Ibn-ul-Arabi's elder contemporary was Farid-ud-dīn Attar, the great Sūfī and poet of Iran.⁶⁸ He was born in a village named Kadkan, near Nishapur, in the year 512 A.H., or about 1118 A.D. He was killed during the Mongol invasion that occurred in 1229 A.D. He was a disciple of Shaik Majd-ud-dīn. He was a voluminous writer. All his works, numbering about thirty, are in verse, but the most important is entitled *Mantaqut Tair*, or speech of the birds, an allegorical poem of about 4,600 couplets, in which the author symbolises the Sūfī seekers of the truth as birds seeking *Si-murgh* (Sanskrit *Cæna*), the known but unseen bird (the reality). This work has been translated into the chief European languages and much appreciated by all Sūfīs. It comprises of 45 discourses and a conclusion.

Farid-ud-dīn Attar begins with the assembly of all birds who wanted a king for themselves. Hoopoe was selected to conduct the meeting and the assembled birds started discussion on the selection of a king. The Chairman (Hoopoe) explained that there was already a great king of birds, named *Si-murgh*, who lives in the mountain of *Qaf* which surrounds the world. They must pass through seven most tedious and impregnable valleys to enjoy his presence. After much questioning upon the usefulness and necessity of such an extremely difficult task and receiving explanations from Hoopoe, they decide to make the hard journey and enter the first valley, known as the *Quest*, in which one has to devote himself to searching the right path, for which determination and patience are essential conditions. Many fail in persevering through and renouncing attachment to all objects left behind and others proceed and enter the second station, or valley of love, a place much more difficult to pass than the first, because here one has to exist not for himself but for his beloved. One has also to suffer and bear all the hardships and trials coming to a lover. Human reason could not guide or help, because love is indifferent to it. Where there is love, there can be no reason. Many cannot endure the hardship and therefore collapse. But those who were true lovers and sincere in their heart become intoxicated with the wine of love and lighted with the fire of devotion, enter into the third station, called Knowledge, which is not one that can be acquired by intellectual argument and experience but obtained as a gift from the beloved. It is beginningless and, at the same time, endless, illuminating the heart of its possessor, according to his or her capacity and expansion. Those, whose heart is illuminated by it, see the Supreme Beauty manifesting in every atom.

He was the biographer of Abu Hamza Bhaghdadi.

Many cannot bear the illumination, but those illumined advance to the fourth station of detachment from worldly tendencies. They become independent of physical needs, neither desire any possession nor feel sorry for losing anything, and passing the difficult examination of complete renunciation, they enter into the fifth station entitled Unity. Here they see all plurality absorbed in oneness. Distinction between quantity and quality, white and black, high and low, is lost. Many are squeezed into oneness, as a honeycomb possessing various shapes when pressed becomes a mass of wax. Passing this valley, some advance to the sixth station of Amazement, where one could not distinguish between *I* and *Thou*, one and many. They did not even know what they are, whom they love, and why they love, nor could they say what religion they follow. Their heart is full and yet empty of all attachment and love. Passing from this wonderful station, the place of utter confusion and bewilderment, a few enter the seventh station of Annihilation. Here, what remains of self-consciousness is lost. They become dumb, deaf and completely detached from everything except the beloved. They were and they were not, reduced in physical body and purified from all material impurities. Their mortal aspect becomes extinct and only the immortal aspect is left, and stands before the great light of the Eternal Sun. They are only thirty such out of hundreds of thousands who are blessed by the presence of the King and these few find, to their amazement, that the much sought-after King is no other than themselves. They are transformed into the great bird, the unknown *Si-murgh*. More than this, looking again, they see that they are not thirty but one. Then, they hear that "I am the Mirror and whoever looks into Me sees himself. Even your good deeds since acted under My will, are Mine. You see yourself as *Si-murgh*, but I am the essence of the *Si-murgh*. If you annihilate yourself in Me, you remain in Me. The shadow is vanished in the Sun." They find themselves and also the *Si-murgh*. The great enigma of existence and the vexed question of *I* and *Thou* is solved.

MASNAVI

Sanai, the great mystic Iranian poet, was Farid-ud-dīn Attar's predecessor, and Jalal-ud-dīn, known as Rumi, was his great successor. Jalal-ud-dīn, son of Baha-ud-dīn, was born at Balkh in 1207 A.D. He was the younger contemporary of Ibn-ul-Arabi. The jealousy and suspicion of the reigning King was the cause of Baha-ud-dīn's move towards West Iran and the Mongol invasion forced him to continue his journey till the family reached Syria. After visiting Mecca, he returned once again to Syria. Finally, the family settled down

at Qunia in Asia Minor. Jalal-ud-dīn was a great scholar in theology and philosophy and, at the suggestion of his friend and disciple Husam-ud-dīn, he composed his celebrated work, the *Masnawī*, in six volumes, and a seventh volume as a supplement, whose authorship is, however, somewhat doubtful. This work is one of the greatest mystic poems in the literature known to the world. In Oriental philosophy, it stands high. It contains about 47,000 verses, in which a complete teaching of Sūfism is given and illustrated by means of apoloques, anecdotes, fables, legends, etc., quoted from tradition and from passages taken from the *Quran*. Jalal-ud-dīn is more logical in his treatment of the more important tenets of the Sūfis. His arguments are illustrative, which makes the subject very clear and helps to convince the reader of the truth underlying it. His style is peculiar to himself and difficult to follow for a reader of ordinary abilities, if he aims at reaching the real depth of his teaching. Rumi, while explaining a subject, uses so many other philosophical, psychological and Sūfistic points of view, that the main subject is often left far behind, with the result that the reader is hardly able to trace the links between them. Rumi's mind is quick in converting the meaning of an ordinary word, which happens to have been used in a verse, into a philosophical or theological fact. Such words occur again and again and they are never left without being expanded allegorically into a Sūfi sense. Among the very large number of subjects treated of in the *Masnawī* are the following:—(1) The soul; (2) The heart; (3) Intellect; (4) Passions; (5) Animal soul; (6) Senses; (7) Supplication; (8) Sympathy and confession; (9) Generosity; (10) Justice and Tyranny; (11) Obedience, Contentment; (12) Speech; (13) What is a Sūfi; (14) A Sūfi guide; (15) Annihilation and permanence; (16) Observance and contemplation; (17) *Uns* or familiarity; (18) Nearness; (19) Patience; (20) Submission; (21) Destiny; (22) Trust in God; (23) Sincerity, gratitude and forbearance; (24) Hope and fear; (25) Meditation; (26) Seclusion, remembrance and self-mortification; (27) Poverty and renunciation; (28) Repentance and sincerity; (29) Love; (30) Faith; (31) Unity; (32) Knowledge, etc.

According to Jalal-ud-dīn, the greatest virtue is love, by which spiritual sentiment is purified and the vision of the Supreme object of love attained. Religious rituals and prayers are good, but the dwelling of the beloved is not in the mosque, temple or church; it is in a pure heart. The essential object is self-purification through faith and prayer. Evil is in creatures and not in the Creator. Man's chief idol is his animal soul. He sees his own evil reflected in others and with-

out looking at the evil in himself is ready to criticise the evil in others. He admits that man in a way is free-willed, though his will is subordinate to the Divine Will. If human action was not his, he would not have felt repentance and shame. Perfect love is perfect freedom, causing the union of human will to the Divine Will. Jalal-ud-din is at his best while describing love or unity of the Divine Being, and appears as inspired by higher sources. No reader can doubt the sincerity of his attachment not only to the Creator but even to his friends and disciples. Many commentaries have been written on the *Masnavi* in various languages, but his ideas are so numerous and interwoven into each other that many more can be easily written. Among English translations and commentaries are the following :—(1) Translation of certain selected anecdotes by James W. Redhouse ; (2) translation of the second book with a separate commentary by C. E. Wilson ; and (3) translation of Books I, II, III and IV by R. A. Nicholson. The last of these is perhaps the best.

It is beyond the scope of this work even to attempt a brief summary of even the more important topics of Sūfism, discussed and illustrated by Jalal-ud-dīn but a few will be indicated to particularize its importance in any study of Sūfism.

The *Masnavi* begins with the lamentation of the reed (soul) for its separation from the reed-bed (origin). All see its manifestation through body, but none understands its real nature. Its activity is longing for union. A man without such longing or love is like a bird without wings. The union is attained when the mirror of the heart is purified from the rust of the passions. The training of the animal soul is illustrated by the story of a king (the true-self) falling in love with a slave girl (animal soul), who, in turn, was secretly in love with a youth (object of desire). She could not be cured with any medicine (intellectual reasoning). At last, the king seeks Divine help, by which the author means to say that spiritual knowledge is a Divine gift. The king meets a holy physician (guide), who cures the girl by asking the king to permit her to live with her lover (the object of desire). They live together for six months and, in the meanwhile, the physician gives the young man a draught by which he becomes sick and loses his physical beauty and attraction. The girl, who was in love for his beauty, becomes indifferent and, when finally he dies, she forgets her lover. Thus, the author's view is not to kill the animal soul or the creative faculty of desires, but to regulate the same by constant contemplation on the futility of the material objects. He classifies love into :—(a) Love of the dead, i.e., material objects ; and (b) Love of the living, i.e., spiritual realities. Man must choose one which is eternal, true

and perfect. Human action also is classified into (a) those that take effect under the Divine Will ; and (b) those which take effect under the individual will. The first of these, even if they appear unlawful, are right and the second may or may not be right.

To attain the truth, a guide is necessary who must be selected with extreme care ; for, though there be many, there are but few real guides to the truth. A true guide works for the common welfare of the creatures and a false guide for his own gain and vanity. The true guide brings union and harmony, while a false guide discord and hatred. The idea is illustrated by the story of a Jewish king, whose minister was apparently a Christian, but really a Jew, and an enemy of Christians. By false piety, he produced the impression upon them of being a holy man. When he satisfied the people and they fully believed in his piety, he caused discord and hatred among them. Many important lessons are taught in this story. The next subject is trust in God, explained by the story of the lion and the hare. The ideal is that after self-exertion, one must trust in God, i.e., after doing his best, he must leave the fruit of his action to God.⁶⁹ When wrong is done, one must confess his guilt and should not refer it to providence, as *Satan* did when he exclaimed, "Oh God ! thou had seduced me". The stage of annihilation is described by the story of a pet Indian parrot kept in a cage by an Iranian merchant. When the merchant wanted to make a journey to India, he asked his parrot what present it desired. The parrot requested him to carry a message to the parrots in India, that a parrot is confined in a cage and longed to meet them. The merchant agreed. While in India, he came across a number of parrots enjoying themselves in a forest and recollecting his promise, halted there and delivered the message. Hearing him, one among the parrots trembled and fell dead. The merchant returned home and related that wonderful accident to his pet bird. The parrot in the cage at once trembled and died. The merchant was extremely sorry, but, finding no remedy that could bring about its recovery, he took it out of the cage and cast it outside. Thereupon, the parrot flew out and sat on a high branch of a tree and obtained her freedom.

Like other Sūfis, Jalal believed that human will is subordinate to the Supreme Will. He illustrates this idea by the story

⁶⁹ Cf. the *Bhagavad-Gītā* :—

Yuktaḥ karmaphalam tyaktvā śāntim āpnoti naiṣṭi kim |

Ayuktaḥ kāmakārēṇa phalē saktō nibaddhyatē |

i.e., "The united one abandons the fruits of action and attains to *śānti* (peace), (but) not-united (with reality) is impelled by *kāma* (desire) and so is attached to *phala* (fruits of his action) and is bound." (Chap. V. 12.)

of Moses and Pharaoh, in which he says that though opposite to each other in their views, both of them were subject to the Divine Will. Though under the Supreme Will, man is not free from responsibility for his deeds. He is rewarded or punished within his limits of responsibility. The Sūfi accepts poverty, which means that, in his essence, man does not possess existence and therefore he is in need of receiving the same from God. The virtue of selflessness is illustrated by another story. A man knocked at his friend's door and, when asked who he was, replied, "It is I". His friend did not open the door and so he was forced to go. After some time, he again knocked the door and on enquiry replied that "It is Thou", and the door was opened for him. Those who oppose a holy cause or a holy person, really oppose their God. A true friend is like a mirror, in whom one finds himself exactly as he is. Man's action must be for God and not for selfish objects, for hatred or pleasure. The idea is illustrated by a story which carries its own moral:—Ali, the fourth Khalif, vanquished an infidel and, while lifting his sword to slay, the infidel spat on him. Ali, instead of hastening the infidel's death, did not advance. The infidel was surprised by this unexpected effect, and asked the reason. Ali said, "I am opposing you in the way of God, and when you spat, the thought of revenge became mixed with the idea of duty and I could not act with unselfish motive."

Jalal, like other Sūfis, believed in the importance of the heart, an immaterial luminous essence, lower than the real self and higher than the carnal soul. It is faced in its inner aspect towards the real self and towards the carnal soul in its outer aspect. It is illuminated by one and in turn illumines the other. Jalal illustrates its position from the following passage occurring in the *Quran*:—"God is the light of heavens and the earth: for illustration, His light is like a niche on which is a lamp, the lamp is in a glass and the glass is, as it were, a bright shining star lit from a blessed live-tree, neither Eastern nor Western, the oil gives light (as if lit) though fire touch it not, it is light upon light." (XXIV. 35.) The real self is compared to the bright star of the light in the lamp, the heart to the glass through which the light shines, the carnal soul to the oil, being the principles of life, sensation and voluntary movement and the body to the niche. As the sea remains one, though appears agitated and multiplied by the rise and fall of waves, so the true existence is one, though it seems to be various by being individualised in forms.

The vexed question of *Tashbih* (similitude or likening God to sensible objects), and *Tanzih* (exempting Him from the universe) is discussed in the beginning of the second part

of the *Masnavi*. The Supreme Being is above human imagination, therefore, those who believe in *Tashbih* and assert His immanence in form, as well as those who deny this and assert His transcendence are wrong. He is formless in external appearance and yet is manifested in all forms. Those who have attained freedom from sense perception, whose heart is pure and is like clean mirror, for Divine reflection, see the Divine Reality with their spiritual eyes. God is beauty and loves beauty. Those who love His beauty, stand firm in all trials coming from the beloved and are delighted with whatever is received from Him. True love and sense of gratitude are illustrated by the story of Luqman and his master. The former was a slave loved and respected by his master. It happened that once a melon was presented to his master and he, out of kindness, cut a slice and gave it to Luqman, who ate it with pleasure. His master perceiving his delight over the fruit, gave him another slice, and, finding him much pleased, continued to cut and offer, till one slice was left and, out of amazement for its taste, he ate it himself, but, to his great disappointment, found it extremely bitter. He asked Luqman the reason for showing so much delight over the bitter fruit. Luqman said, "I have eaten so many sweet things from your hand and I felt ashamed not to eat one which was bitter." Following up the anecdote, Jalal praises love and says that through love, the nature of things is changed. He says it is love which makes bitter taste sweet, turns copper into gold, transforms the king into a slave (of his beloved), converts the lion into a mouse, and the devil into a fairy and so forth. Love is the result of knowledge. God is pleased with love and sincerity rather than with the performance of religious ceremonies and rituals. Once Moses passed by the side of a shepherd boy on his way towards the mountain where he used to pray and speak with God. He heard the shepherd who was addressing God as follows:—"Oh! God, where art thou, so that I may serve you, sew thy shoes, comb and kill lice in thy hair, wash thy clothes and bring thee milk, kiss thy hands, rub thy feet and sweep thy room. May all my goats be sacrificed for thee" and so forth. He continued to address in this manner, and though an illiterate and ignorant, he was a sincere lover and devotee of God. When Moses asked him whom he was addressing in such manner, the shepherd replied that he was speaking to one who created man and yonder heavens. Moses became angry and said, "Thou art an infidel", and, after rebuking him, proceeded to the place of worship. A revelation came from God to Moses saying, "You have parted My servant from Me. You have been sent (as messenger) to unite and not to separate (My lovers) from Me. Do not sever My creatures from Me, because the

most hated deed is to cause divorce (separation). I have granted each man a certain way of action and each has a particular form (of prayer). That which you think is the best way to address Me may be worthy of blame in other's views. You take it as honey and the other man thinks it to be poison. I am beyond purity and impurity, praise and criticism. I do not see (external) language, but look to the inward state (of the mind). My object (by creating this universe) is not profit but generosity and kindness. Hindus (pray to Me) in their own selected way and so do the Sindhis. Each follows his own method and I am above their praises. I see their heart (while you attend to their words), because, heart is the substance and speech is accident. I want a burning heart, burnt with (the fire of) My love. When love is perfect, forms are insignificant. O Moses! those who care for external formalities are different from those whose soul and heart burn for Me. Inside the Ka'aba, there is no (particular side to turn for prayer) *qibla*, which means that a lover, absorbed in God, is indifferent to religious forms, because religion is a means of attaining union, which a true lover has already attained. If you see a lover (of mine) impious, call him not guilty, because a fighter when killed in battle is buried along with his bloody garment. His blood is more clean than water." When Aisha, the wife of the Prophet, asked him why he prays everywhere, without minding the impurity of the place, the Prophet replied, "God makes the place of my worship pure and clean for me".

Every one seeks the same goal and yet quarrels with others. This idea is illustrated by the story of four persons, a Turk, an Arab, an Iranian and a Roman, who got a *dirham* from a man, but did not know each other's language. So, they quarrelled with each other in spending that money. The Iranian said, 'I desire *Angur*', and the Arab that he wanted *Inab*; the Turk pressed that he wanted *Uzum*, while the Roman said that he loved *Istifal*. They were quarrelling and striking each other, when a man passing from their side happened to be acquainted with their different languages, offered himself as arbitrator, took the money and bought grapes and showed to them. All came to know that the quarrel was due to ignorance of each other's language. Jalal-ud-dīn agrees with other Sūfis in believing that intellectual experience and philosophical argument are insufficient means for knowing God. It is by spiritual discipline, contemplation, purification of the heart and devotion that knowledge of God is obtained. Life or forms are gifts from the Supreme Reality and are impressed upon matter corresponding to each other and in each the life activity is peculiar. A human being undergoes a number of intermediary stages or forms until he develops

perfection necessary to appear in human form, and continues further development till he reaches his maximum development. This theory of human evolution is explained in several places in the *Masnavi*. Jalal says that man experiences the different states of the mineral, plant and animal lives, passing from the lower to the higher grades till he reaches the highest summit of material development, in which he is distinguished from other creatures by his powers of judgment and foresight. He proceeds still further to higher and unknown states. According to him, man first came into the world of inorganic things and ceasing to be there, reappeared as a plant and lived for many years in that state and forgot all about his previous life, and then was raised to the animal world. He did not remember his experience in plant life, excepting an inclination towards it, especially at the time of spring, like the inclination of children towards their mothers or of a novice towards his guide. Passing from the animal state, he appears as a man. Thus, he advances successively from one state of being to another, till he becomes intelligent, strong and perfect. He does not remember his former life at each translation. In another context, Jalal adds that after death a man comes to life again as an angel and, transcending even that stage, becomes something which no man has seen or can conceive in this life; and at last, he returns to the source from which he originated. It is to that stage the following words apply:—"I shall be the mote in the sunbeam, the glow of the morning, the breath of the evening," etc.

GULSHAN-E-RAZ

Sad-ud-dīn Muhammad Shahbistari was born at Shahbistar, a village near Tabriz, in northwest Iran, in 1250 A.D. and died at the same place in 1320 A.D., at the age of about 70 years. He was a younger contemporary of Jalal-ud-dīn. His chief work is *Gulshan-e-Raz*, which contains 1,000 couplets. Next to the *Masnavi* of Jalal-ud-dīn, this work is the most authentic work on Sūfism in the Iranian language. It has been translated into Urdu, German and English (by E. A. Whinfield). It consists of fifteen questions and answers, with illustrations to each answer. Shaikh Muhammad, son of Shams-ud-dīn, has written a commentary in the Iranian language, which has also been translated into Urdu. The following is a brief summary of each question and answer:—

Question I.—What is *Tafukkur* (thinking or contemplation)?

Answer.—*Tafukkur* means to pass from unreality and to see in particulars the universal truth.

Question II.—What are the right and wrong thoughts? And how do they become lawful and unlawful?

Answer.—Right thought is to meditate on His names and attributes and wrong thinking is an attempt to know His essence. This idea is further illustrated by gazing on the sun, which is beyond the power of sight ; but one may form an idea of it, in seeing its reflection in water, which diminishes the intensity of its light. In the same manner, the universe is a mirror of the Absolute Being in which unity appears in diversity, as by counting one becomes many. One who attempts to know Him through the universe, the same becomes the book of the most high truth, in which consonants are substances and vowels are accidents. The first or opening line (emanation) is the universal reason : the second line is the Universal Soul ; the third, the highest heaven ; the fourth "the throne"; then the seven heavenly spheres ; next the three kingdoms of nature ; and last is man. He is the soul or kernel of the world.

Question III.—What is "I" and what does it mean ?

Answer.—Man expresses "I" to indicate absolute existence. "I" and "you" are accidents of that existence. When we say "I", we mean our reasoning soul, when we must mean the reality which is the essence of all realities and of which both body and soul are manifestations. "I" is higher than the body and soul. Necessary being is paradise and the contingent world is hell and "I" and "you" are between them. When there is no "I" and "you", mosque, synagogue and temple are all alike.

Question IV.—Who must be a traveller (i.e., a seeker of the truth, the perfect man) ?

Answer.—A traveller is one who passes in haste and purifies himself like fire from smoke. His progress in journey is to pass from contingent to the necessary. In the beginning, he was an inanimate thing ; then, by the addition of the soul, became sensible ; in the next move, he became possessor of a will, developed in particulars and felt the universals from a knowledge of compounds ; then, there appeared in him the faculties of anger and passion ; and from them were produced greed, self-conceit and avarice. Thus, his evil disposition appeared in full. This was the extreme limit of his descent, directly opposite to his origin. If he remains in that state, he is equal to animals ; but if he is saved by being illumined from the world of soul, retraces his steps towards ascent and gradually being purified, once again becomes one with his origin.

Question V.—Who attains the Mystery of Unity ?

Answer.—One who does not halt at stations (of spiritual perfection) till he attains the secret of unity. A knower is one who sees real existence in His manifestation. He recognises only being and knows no other besides Him. When your

low individuality leaves you, the reality displays His beauty in you.

Purification must be (a) from non-eternal and unclean objects; and (b) from bad dispositions. And it signifies (i) a purified *sīr*, i.e., heart; and (ii) non-attachment from everything other (than God).

Question VI.—If the knower and known are one, then what does this handful of dust (man) aspire to?

Answer.—Besides Him, there is no knower or known, but this dust (man) must also draw light from the sun. There is no wonder if a mote hopes and desires for the sun's light. If you can see his attributes on this day (life), you may also see his essence to-morrow (in the next life). In addition to intellect, man possesses a faculty by which he can perceive spiritual mysteries.

Question VII.—What point speaks *Anul-Huq* (I am the truth), and how do you say that so and so was a liar?

Answer.—*Anul-Huq* is a revelation of the Supreme Truth and besides Him, none can say *Anul-Huq*. You may take all atoms, like Mansur (who said *Anul-Huq*), intoxicated (in the love of God), pray and praise Him in those words; and in that sense, even a tree says "I am God"; and when a tree can say that it is a God, why not a virtuous man? "I", "We", "Thou" and "He" are all one thing, because in Unity, there is no distinction of persons.

Question VIII.—Why do you call a creature (man) *wāsel* (united)? How can he achieve the path (to the truth) and journey on it?

Answer.—Non-attachment with the world is union with God and strangeness from self is friendship with Him. When possible existence loses its contingency, nothing but the necessary is left. The existence of both the worlds is like imagination, which, even in its performance, has no real existence. The heavens and stars at an appointed time are lost in the *not-being*, and none or nothing but the truth remains. Man attains His nearness when he is without himself. The union is the passing of the (worldly) dream, but this does not mean, that the contingent becomes the necessary, or the necessary the contingent.

Question IX.—What is *Wisāl* (union) and what is the meaning of distance and nearness?

Answer.—Near is he on whom the Divine Light is poured and distant is that *not-being* which is in distance from (the light of) God. The body is like a horse and the soul like a rider, and the reins of the body are in the hands of the soul. If a man does not possess real existence, he is neither good nor bad in his own essence. The ignorant man says "I" or

"He" and attributes action to himself or to the other, which is imagination. Man has nothing of himself; his deliverance is in the power of "The All" and his richness is in the truth.

Question X.—What is the ocean, of which the shore is speech, and what is the pearl in its depth?

Answer.—Being is the ocean, speech is its shore, letters are the shells and pearl is the knowledge. The (possessor of) true knowledge has no love of the world, the tablet of his heart is clean so that you may read the book of truth in it and yourself be adorned with all virtues. Knowledge, long-ing, virtue, physical and heavenly beauty, all descend from the unseen world.

Question XI.—What is the part which is greater than its whole and how can one find it?

Answer.—Absolute Being is the part, greater than its whole, which is actual being. The actual being, by multiplicity, contains the Absolute Unity. The existence of the whole is plural as well as singular. The universe becomes continuously non-existence and receives existence. There is a new heaven and a new earth every moment. They perish continuously and so they are continuously re-born. Every object contains form and reality. The first is temporary and the second endures for ever in God.

Question XII.—How do the eternal and created become separated, and how did the one become God and the other the world?

Answer.—They are not separate from one another, but God is all in all and the world is like *Anqa* (an imaginary bird having a name but no existence). Duality is a pure delusion and plurality is a production from attributes (of the being in its various aspects) but the being in all of them is one.

Question XIII.—What do you mean by eye, lip, cheek, curl, mole? What are stations and states?

Answer.—Cheeks and curls are similes of those (two aspects) of a truth, i.e., *Jamāl* and *Jalāl*, or mercy and majesty, light and darkness, beauty and 'Almightiness, etc.

Everything in its place is good (and for the purpose it was created beautiful).

The world's beauties are likened to curl, mole and brow.

The states are:—Burning of love, intoxication and annihilation. They are not illusions (but facts) which are known by revelation and faith. Eye is languishing and intoxication; lip, the essence of being; mole represents a single centre in the circle of the two worlds.

A question regarding wine, torch, beauty and haunter and taverns is thus answered:—Wine and torch are light of the knower. Beauty is His greatest sign. In the *Quran*, we read:—

"Certainly he (Muhammad) saw the greatest signs of his Lord." (LIII. 18.) A drunkard (in love of God) is better than the self-righteous. The (various) forms are like bubbles (on the ocean of being). The whole universe is a tavern and the heart of every atom is His wine-cup. Angels, reason, souls, earth and heaven are all drunken, and drink wine from the cup of the "face that endures". We read in the *Quran* :—"Every one on it passes away and there will endure for ever the person of your Lord, the Lord of glory and honour." (IV. 26-27.) When the heart drinks up existence at one draught, it becomes free from affirmation and negation, devotion and empty rites. The tavern-haunters live in it, neither infidel nor Muslim, renouncing evil and good alike ; sometimes, hearing the song of longing for the beloved, become like heavens. For, every time which they hear from (*Mutrab*) singer, they in ecstasy reach the other world. Are they not songs in praise of beloved, composed of words and sounds ? In each tune, there is a Mystery. By drinking a cup of pure wine, Sūfis become pure in character. Then hold to the skirts of a drunkard and hate teachership and discipleship. Devotion and piety mean bondage. If you face all—low and high—idols and girdles are better for you.

Idol worship is proof of love and unity, girdle is binding one's self to divine obedience, Christianity is purification from self and freedom from the yoke of *taqlid* or blind imitation. Idols, girdles, Christianity and Church bells (are Sūfi metaphors and) indicate the renouncing of name and fame.

These questions, it will be seen, are devoted to developing ideas about contemplation ; the meaning of contemplation ; the reality of "I-ness" on the searcher after the truth, called the traveller ; on unity ; on investigation in the endeavour towards unity ; on the investigation of the perfect man ; on *states* ; on the union of the contingent with the necessary ; on the ocean (Being) ; on the part (Absolute Being) ; on the existence of things ; on the investigation of the realities, etc.

INSAN-E-KAMIL

Abdul Karim, son of Ibrahim Jili (a contraction of Jilani or Gilani, name of a province in North Iran), was born in 1365 A.D. and died sometime between 1406 A.D. and 1417 A.D. At the age of about 23, he states, he was in India. He had also been in Yemen and probably in other parts of Arabia as well. Twenty of his works on Sūfism are known and extant, among them being one entitled *Insan-e-Kamil*, or the Perfect Man. It has been translated into English by R. A. Nicholson. An Urdu translation of it is also available. A brief summary of the same is all that is possible here.

Being, according to Jili, is one in pure thought. Its external aspect is world. In its dual aspects, it is God and crea-

tures, hidden and manifested. In His various aspects. He is called by different names, such as :—(1) *Wujud-e-Mutlaq*, or pure existence, divided into (a) His inner aspect called *Ama*, utter darkness beyond any description : (b) His outward aspect called *Ahdiyyat*, or abstract oneness ; (2) *Wahdat*, or unity, divided into (a) attributelessness ; and (b) reality of multiplicity. (3) *Wāhidiyyat*, or oneness, in which one is many and manifested through His names and attributes, and the result is the appearance of the universe. Thus, universe is the union of being and *not-being* and must be the subject of human study and source of his perfection. Attributes are realities objectified into the universe. Each divine *Ism* (name) and *Sifat* (attribute) has its own peculiar manifestation and one who is fully illuminated by it, attains its true knowledge, and as the effects of human qualities are seen but the qualities in themselves are not visible, so the *Musamma* (named) is hidden but known through the *Ism* (name). Below the aspect of *Wāhidiyyat*, there are two other descents, i.e., (4) *Rahmāniyyat*, or mercy, which is the direct course of creation ; and (5) *Rububiyyat* (Sanskrit, *Īśvara*), rule or providence which upholds existence. Being and *not-being*, God and universe, are not two independent existences, but one and the same, as water and ice, one the make-up of the other. The universe is a collective manifestation of His names and attributes, represented in the most diminutive form in the human being. It may be called accident, if God can be considered a *hayulā* or substance. He is beyond any limitation, even in attributes and names excepting in the external aspect, in which He appears limited and in diverse forms. There was no beginning of creation as considered separate from the creator. Time is born when the reality is considered in its two aspects of (a) beyond human conception : and (b) manifested aspect. Everything is God in the sense that it exists by Him. One may explain Him in *Tashbih* or as revealing in the forms of the universe, or *Tanzih*, as considered above any likeness, but He cannot be separated from His creatures. He manifests Himself upon Himself. His chief attributes, as seen from different standpoints, are :—(i) *Jamāl*, beauty—by which everything in the universe is beautiful ; (ii) *Jalāl*—power, majesty ; (iii) *Kamāl*—perfection ; (iv) *Hayāt*—life ; (v) *Ilm*—knowledge ; (vi) *Irādah*—will, divided into nine manifestations, the last being *Isq*, the purest love in which lover and beloved become one ; (vii) *Qudrat*—power ; (viii) *Kalām*—speech ; (ix) *Samī*—most hearing ; (x) *Basir*—most seeing.

Each divine name gives a certain illumination to the human heart, by which that aspect of the human being is purified and changed into the effect of the divine name. In the higher stage, attributes affect the heart, and illumine it accord-

ing to its capacity and purity. Some are affected by the attributes of life and become one with life in the universe, others with knowledge, and so forth.

The perfect man is present at all times under different names ; in him, all divine attributes are manifested. He is illumined by divine names and in his turn illumines the world with life and virtue. He is the divine copy, or image, a mirror in which divine attributes are fully attributed. He is intermediate between the Creator and creatures. The divine attributes reflected in man are called *trust* and are thus mentioned in the *Quran* :—"We offered the trust to the heavens and the earth and the mountains, but they declined to bear it, and were afraid of it, but man (accepted) and bore it and he was cruel (to himself) and ignorant (of its great value)." The perfect man, in brief, is the life and soul of the world. He need not make himself known to the people of the world but his very existence brings virtue and harmony in the world. He is the pole round which revolves the universe. In his essence, he is *ruh* (soul), called by various epithets, such as *Haqiqat-e-Muhammadi* (the essence of Muhammad), *Alqalam* (the pen), *Aql-e-awwul* (the first intelligence), *Ruh-ul-Quds* (the pure soul), etc.

Man is composed of (a) Body or form, as his outer self ; (b) Spirit, or soul, as his inner life ; (c) Consciousness (*Sirr*) ; and (d) *Ruh-ul-Quds*, the divine aspect, which is thus referred to in the *Quran* : "I breathed of my *ruh* in him." The consciousness of self with *Ruh-ul-Quds* is the spiritual perfection of man, and the meaning of *Know Thyself*. The Divine Throne (*Arsh*) is considered to be borne by eight angels, and so are the eight human faculties. *Aql* (intelligence) is divided into :—(1) *Aql-e-awwul*, or the first intelligence, or *Aql-e-Kulli*, or the universal intellect ; (2) *Aql* or ordinary intelligence, which is possessed by man ; (3) *Wahm*, emotional faculty or judgment ; (4) *Fikr*, reflection ; (5) *Khiyal*, imagination or retention of forms perceived ; (6) *Mussavverah*, form perception ; (7) *Hafizah*, memory ; (8) *Zākerah*, recollection ; and (9) *Nafs*, soul.

Heart is the throne of God in man. It is the temple or Ka'aba, the receptacle of His reflection, the faculty by which the human being is distinguished from other creatures. It is like a mirror, one side facing the Divine Being and reflected by His illumination, and the other, its unillumined portion, is called its back. Man's highest spiritual perfection is attained when the face and the back of his heart become illumined. It is the only faculty which is capable of attaining the knowledge of God. Jili's classification of the human soul in its various aspects is the same as stated by other Sūfis, viz.,

(a) *Nafs-e-Haivani*, animal soul : (b) *Nafs-e-Ammārah*, commanding soul (the cause of passions); (c) *Nafs-e-Mulhama*, inspired soul : (d) *Nafs-e-Lawwānah*, self-reproaching soul : and (e) *Nafs-e-Mutma-innah*, tranquil soul.

An astrological comparison of the human faculties is given in detail by Jili, but it is more a fiction than anything like logical truth. Thus, according to him, Mercury corresponds to *Fikr* or reflection ; Venus is *Khiyal* or imagination ; the Sun is heart ; Mars corresponds to *Wahm* or emotion ; Jupiter is *Himma* or meditation : while Saturn is created from the light of the first intelligence. Besides these, there are heavens of *Hayula* (matter), *Habe* (atoms), *Anasir* (elements) and *Tabia* (Nature).

Jili mentions the following religions or schools of intellectual and spiritual development :—Idol worship, element worship ; philosophical belief ; Dualists ; Magians (fire worship) ; Naturalists, Brahmins, Jews, Christians and Muslims. All these believe in God in some aspect. Even those who say that they do not believe in God, really believe Him in some other name. Idol worshippers worship Him in all His forms and believe that He pervades everything. Each is satisfied in his own way. The following passage from the *Quran* bears testimony to this fact :—"Each party rejoices in that which is with them." (XXIII. 53.) Thus, all in reality worship Him alone and, therefore, they will finally be saved. One sooner, perhaps, than another, who is misled and succeeds after a period of suffering.

NAFAHATUL-UNS

Nur-ud-dīn Jami (1414-1492), was one of the greatest poets, theologians and Sūfi scholars of his time. His ancestors migrated from Dasht (near Ispahan) and settled at Jam in Khorassan. He was a voluminous writer and has written on various subjects both in prose and poetry. Among his numerous works are the following :—

(1) *Nafahatul-uns*, a biography of Sūfi saints, often quoted by European and Eastern authors.

(2) *Ashatul-Lama'at*, a commentary on Iraqi's *Lama'at* (on Sūfism).

(3) A book on Music.

(4) *Baharistān*, a work in imitation of Sadi's *Gulistān*.

(5) *Silsalutaz-Zahab*, a work in imitation of Sanai's *Hadiqa*. This is a work on Sūfism and morals.

(6) *Lawam'e*, a commentary on *Fususul-Hikam* of Ibn-e-Arabi. This is another work on Sūfism.

(7) *Naqdun-nusus*, a commentary on *Nusus* of Sadr-ud-dīn Qunavi—another work on Sūfism.

(8) *Lawā'eh* which has been translated into other languages, of which an English translation has been issued by E. H. Whinfield and Mirza Mohammad Kazvini. It is devoted to Sūfism, in which Jami was most interested. It is divided into thirty *Lawā'eh* or flashes.

Muslim philosophy is divided into *Ishraqi*, or those who emphasise intuitive reason as the chief source of knowledge, and *Mashshai*, or those who depend more on the senses and intellectual reasoning. In the same manner, the Sūfis are divided into the school of *Hama-ust* (All He is) and *Hamaaz-ust* (All is from Him). The methods of expounding the Sūfī doctrine are as indicated below :—

(1) Through parables, anecdotes and illustrative stories, in which the most celebrated authors are Sanai, Farid-ud-dīn Attar, Jalal-ud-dīn Rumi, etc.;

(2) Through long lyrics such as *Nizami* ; and

(3) In a systematic, philosophical and speculative manner in which Ibn-e-Arabi, Shabishitari (the author of *Gulshan-e-Raz*). Jami and Qunavi excel.

Jami's *Lawā'eh* is based on passages taken from the *Quran* but treated in harmony with philosophy. Muslim Sūfism is distinguished from the mysticism current in Europe and India, by indicating its close relation to the *Quran* and the tradition from the Prophet. Its ascetic teaching is shown as resembling exactly neither Christianity nor with the Vēdānta of India, both of which believed in celibacy. Muslim ascetics, though they lived in seclusion, yet had families and children. Among the most celebrated Sūfis was Abdul Qāder Gilani, who is known to have been the father of a very large number of children.

The following is a summary of the *Lawā'eh* :—

Lāyeha I (or flash I).

God has given man a single heart so that he may love one God alone.

Lāyeha II.

Tafriqa (distraction) means attachment to the objects of the world, and *Jam'ayyat* (collection) is non-attachment from all and contemplation of Him alone.

Lāyeha III.

Do not turn your eyes from Him and fix on other than Him.

Lāyeha IV.

Everything besides Him must decay and come to an end. Passions and desires are vain. Detach your heart from them and attach yourself to Him, because He alone is eternal.

Lāyeha V.

God is the absolute beauty and every beauty and perfection visible in any form is a ray of His beauty and perfection.

Lāyeha VI.

Although man as possessing body is most material, but having a soul is most pure and, therefore, to whatever aspect he turns, he becomes one like it (either most material or immaterial and spiritual). The philosophers say that when *Nafs-e-Nātiqa* (human real self) is illumined with realities, it becomes one like Him, and Jalal-ud-dīn says in his *Masnavi* :

“O brother ! thou art thought, if thine thought is a rose, thou art a rose bouquet, and if a thorn, thou art (fit to be) fuel for fire.”

Therefore, you must strive to hide yourself from your own sight and turn to an existence to which the whole existence is nothing but a reflection of His beauty and mirrors His perfection. You must face Him till you are lost in Him and your *Awul-Haq* (I am the truth) becomes *Hu-vul-Haq* (He is the truth).

Lāyeha VII.

Your heart never be empty of His thought. Think of Him in going, coming, eating, speaking, hearing and sleeping.

Lāyeha VIII.

Not only in action you must remain one with Him but also in spirit by detachment from the world, till your self-consciousness is lost and nothing but He alone remains in your heart.

Lāyeha IX.

Annihilation is the complete passing of your inner self under the light of the true existence, so that the consciousness of other than Him is lost and annihilation of annihilation is the loss of the consciousness of annihilation.

Lāyeha X.

Unification is the purifying of your heart from all things other than truth. It does not mean believing in one God. It means identifying yourself as one with Him.

Lāyeha XI.

So long as you are attached to the objects of the world, the communion with Him cannot be attained. When you give up (passions), you will enjoy contemplation.

Lāyeha XII.

When the true seeker begins to feel pleasure in meditation of the Supreme Being, he must endeavour to strengthen such feeling in him (so that it may become his nature in course of time).

Lāyeha XIII.

The essence of *Haq* (the truth) is being, unaffected by manifested plurality, unknowable, beyond human perception,

even the eyes of the heart cannot contemplate on His perfection.

Lāyeha XIV.

Existence means :—

- (i) The state of being, or existing in thought.
- (ii) The real being, the truth, and in this sense, the life substance, is His accident, because existence is due to Him, and if not renewed unceasingly, universe becomes nothing.

Lāyeha XV.

The divine attributes are separate from Him in thought but one with Him in reality, in the sense that they do not form a separate existence or, in other words, His names and attributes are His various aspects.

Lāyeha XVI.

The real being is pure unity. In His first manifestation, when He revealed Himself to Himself, the attributes of *Ilm* (knowledge), *Nur* (light), *Wujud* (existence) and *Huṣur* (presence) were realized. In the second and third descent, they were multiplied. Their multiplicity caused perfection of the manifestation and concealment of the essence, which is more concealed when manifestation becomes more diverse and visible.

Lāyeha XVII.

The first *tayyīn* (descent), named *Ahdiyyat*, is simple potentiality. When considered as conditioned by modes and qualities, it is called *Wāhidiyyat* or singleness, in which the attributes of *Ilāhiyyat* (divinity) and *Rububiyyat* (sovereignty) are predominant and the forms in which the real being is conceived with these names are *Haqāyaq-e-Ilāhiyya*, or divine realities. The apparent covering of the reality by them does not cause multiplicity of existence. Substances are parts of the whole *Wāhidiyyat* (unity), whether manifested in *Ālam-e-arwāh* (the world of spirit), or *Mithāl* (ideas), or *Ghaib* and *Aql* (or unseen and abstract), or *Hiss* and *Shahadat* (sense and observed), in the past, present and future. The sum of all qualities manifested in any form, spiritual or material, is contained in His unity.

Lāyeha XVIII.

When we subtract the various individual characteristics, the individuals are distinguished in their particular species, these, if further subtracted, are grouped into the genus *animals*, and they into bodies having the capacity of growth, and they again into a substance, and substances including accidents into contingent, and the same together with "necessary" into one absolute, existed by itself. All the said distinction becomes His aspects and modes, as ideas in His knowledge

and as forms in the sensible world. There is one real being ; when clothed in the attributes, it is manifested in diverse forms (such is the realistic view of Jami).

Lāyeha XIX.

What we see in multiplicity does not indicate parts of one whole, but the qualities inherent in it, which do not affect its oneness. The Supreme Truth possesses knowledge of all beings as cause must know its effect.

Lāyeha XX.

Manifestation or concealment does not affect its essence, (just as the sun illumines both the clean and unclean objects, without being itself affected).

Lāyeha XXI.

The Absolute does not stand in need of the relative, except for its manifestation, but the relative needs it for its existence.

Lāyeha XXII.

Existing things are either emanations of the Being in relation to external colouring or the very Being Himself with the same relation in a way that realities are always hidden in the inner depth of the Being and their sensible qualities are manifested to the outward sense. Thus, everything is either Being itself or Its accidents manifested. In the case of the latter, it must be the quality of the manifested Being and, though it may look different from the thing qualified, really both are same.

Lāyeha XXIII.

The Supreme Being affects the whole existence, though His names may be different and His attributes may exist in different degrees, just as the sun shines in different degrees of heat and light. Some rays are more intense while others are weak, and in each degree, a name may be given for distinguishing them. Among His great names, if one uses the (sacred) names *Allah*, *Rahman* or *Rahim* (merciful) to any other than Him, which must remain special to the Supreme Being, he would be committing a sin. In the same manner, the names applied in grades of creatures must not be applied to God, which is delusion.

Lāyeha XXIV.

The true Being is one, but considered in His various degrees, is distinguished by different names such as the following :—

First, He remains unmanifested, pure and abstracted from all relation. He is in the dark and cannot be explained in any way in this stage.

Second, called the first *Taayun*, or emanation, or *Aql-e-kul*, or the Universal Reason, possessing in Himself the active and necessary manifestation.

Third, called *Ahdiyyat*, *Nafs-e-kul* (the Universal Soul) contains the active manifestation which is called *Ilāhiyyat* or divinity (corresponding to the Vēdāntic *Īśvara*).

Fourth, manifestation in detail, called *Wujub*, necessary, when names are manifested.

Fifth, passive manifestation, called *Marateb-e-Kauniyya-e-Imkāniyya*, in which impressions (or forms) are received and is called the degree of contingency.

Sixth is the detail of the above and is called *Ālam*, or the world.

The last two are the exterior aspects, in which the Supreme Being is revealed in form of substances.

Lāyeha XXV.

The different aspects, when viewed as beyond limitation and multiplicity, is the one Truth, but if considered in different views, appear diverse and in variety. Thus, the world is the exterior manifested aspect of the Truth, while He Himself is unseen in the reality of the universe. The Truth is identified with the Universe after its manifestation and the world is identified with the Truth before its appearance.

Lāyeha XXVI.

The Shaikh (Ibn-e-Arabi) says that the world is composed of accidents related to a single substance. Everything in the universe is continuously changed and renewed (though the true substance remains unchanged). The *Ashari* school (of scholastic philosophy) agrees that nothing is permanent in the universe, while the *Hasbaniya* school considers that the true substance is present in everything: it may be a substance or an accident. The views of both these schools are not correct. The *Asharis* are wrong in holding the independent existence of numerous substances, on which accidents depend, while the *Hasbaniyas* are not correct in denying divine manifestation in forms and accidents. The truth lies in His continuous revelation, which is fresh at every moment (and gives a new life to the world). The first revelation is not the second and so on with the others. Every revelation is new under the guise of His names of *Jamāl* (beauty) and *Jalāl* (glory or terribleness). These names are manifested without cessation and on the whole appear as formed in one continuous link. Thus, every moment the universe is born, annihilated and re-born again. It is a continuation of accidents (manifesting from a single essence). Everything appearing as substance to an accident, finally becomes accident to the single Truth. Hence, there is only one real substance which is the Supreme Beauty, concealed in the thick veils of various emanations, with the qualities of *ayān-e-thabetah*, or fixed ideas, dwelling in His knowledge. The exterior objects are reflections

of these fixed ideas, and always remain a *not-being*. Real existence and its manifestation is the One Truth, clothed with the qualities and effects of *ayān-e-thabetaḥ*, and it remains unaffected in His essence which is Perfect Unity.

Lāyeha XXVII.

All apparent qualities, states and actions must be assigned to the Being manifested in those aspects. If any imperfection (evil) perceived in them is due to deficiency of good or something which ought to have existed in it. The philosopher believes evil to be a relative term, as in the case of a murder, the murderer deprives a man of his life, which means he prevents the perfection of his life.

Lāyeha XXVIII.

According to Shaikh Sadr-ud-dīn Qunavi, the difference in the degrees of knowledge is due to the difference in quantity received by a substance, i.e., a substance which receives existence in a perfect degree, can possess the knowledge in the same degree of perfection. It depends upon the strong or weak influence of necessity or contingency. If the influence of necessity is stronger, existence and knowledge of that substance become better manifested and the same is the effect of the influence of contingency. Some Sūlis believe that all existent things possess the quality of knowledge, which is classified into :—(a) *Ordinary*, found in natural objects, for example, water, which flows always in descent (from the higher level to lower) and finds its way out by flow; and (b) *Higher knowledge*, gifted to human beings. Thus, all existent things possess knowledge in some form.

Lāyeha XXIX.

The truth is within the substance of all existent things and so the substance remains in truth. In like manner, His attributes are inherent in the qualities of substances, for example, knowledge is known to the knower. The *Wijdani* (ecstatic) and *Zauqi* (mystic) knowledge are identified with the same kind of knowledge. The essence, in this way, pervades all entities.

Lāyeha XXX.

The divine mystery is revealed in :—(a) Inward and subjective revelation called *Faiz-e-Aqdas* or *Aql-e-kul* (the Universal Intelligence); and (b) Outward or objective revelation, called by Sūfis as *Faiz-e-moqaddus* or *Nafs-kul*. The second revelation is the emanation of Being into the substances and is His manifested aspect.

Such, in brief, is a general view of *Lawāḥ-e-Jamī*, which, in its summarised form, may not be quite clear to the reader, though it is to be hoped that enough has been said to create an interest in it.

SŪFISM IN INDIA

India is one of the five great centres of Sūfism, the other four being Iran (including Central Asia), Mesopotamia, Syria and North Africa. Among the earliest Sūfī saints of India was Moin-ud-dīn Chishtī, who, born at Chisht in Seistan (East Iran), lived for a long time in Khorassan. He was a great traveller and had met a large number of Sūfī saints, such as Shaikh Abdul Qader Gilani and others. He followed the army of Shahab-ud-dīn Ghouri in 1192 A.D. and settled at Ajmer, where he founded the famous Chishtī order. Among his famous successors were Bakhtyar-e-kaki, (who died at Delhi), Shaikh Farid-ud-dīn Shakar Gung (who died at Pakpatan), Nizam-ud-dīn Aulia, the Pir of Amir Khusroe, Ala-ud-dīn Ali Ahmad Saber, and Shaikh Salim, the contemporary and most respected Pir of Emperor Akbar who died in 1572 A.D. and whose name was bestowed on Prince Salim, afterwards Emperor Jehangir. The order declined for sometime, but was revived under the leadership of Nur Muhammad (who was originally a Rajput) towards the end of the eighteenth century. Other popular orders of Sūfis in India, as already stated, were :—Qaderi, Suhrawardi, Shattāri, Naqshbandi, with their numerous branches, and the so-called *Be-sharā* order, whose peculiar features are indifference to religious rituals and a low type of ascetic exercise. Among the Princes of the Timurid family, several were interested in the Sūfī movement, for instance, Prince Dara Shukoh, son of Emperor Shah Jahan (who was executed in 1659). He was a devoted husband, a sincere friend, an earnest seeker of the truth and a lover of his motherland (India). He studied Sūfism and Indian Vēdāntism and endeavoured to show the similarities existing between them. He caused translations to be made of the *Rāmāyana*, the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, the *Upanishads* (under the title of *Sirr-ul-Israr* or Secret of the Secrets) and the *Yōgavasishta*. He declared the difference between Sūfism and Vēdāntism as verbal and that in their higher aspects, they were practically identical. He compared both the systems in his work entitled *Majmaul-Bahrain* (The Meeting of the Two Oceans). He considered the *Vēdas* as sacred, and as a divine work, and engraved the word *Prabhu* on his ring. After his execution, his friend and guide, named Sarmad of Kashan (Iran), was also executed by order of Emperor Aurangzeb. The next Sūfī was Princess Zibun-Nisa Begum, daughter of Aurangzeb, who was followed by the last of the Moghal Emperors known to history, Abuz-zafar Bahadurshah, who has left several volumes of Urdu verses, most of them enumerating, or giving expression to beautiful and high Sūfī principles. His views are melancholy and pessimistic. Indian Sūfism is a mixture of Muslim-Hindu

thinking and, sad to state, it has, in the last two centuries, degenerated largely into superstition. The spirit has been lost ; only the shell remains.

DECLINE OF SŪFISM

The Sūfī movement started with ascetic and pious life ; developed into a system of philosophy in which ethics was greatly stressed ; and it gradually degenerated into speculation, semi-religious ceremonics, a kind of brotherhood, a source of inactive and easy life, a means of begging, a cause of revolution, a way of deceiving gullible, illiterate and simple-minded people. Of course, this description is subject to large exceptions. Sūfism reached the zenith of its influence—organization and systematisation of thought—between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries A.D. Among the causes of its decline are :—(1) It could not go beyond a certain limit of thinking, which reached its highest stage under Ibn-e-Arabi, Rumi, Shibashtri and other Sūfis, who flourished in the thirteenth century A.D. Their successors had to elaborate or repeat the same ideas in their own language. (2) Later speculation, in which imagination had large play, made the subject far too difficult and confusing for ordinary students to follow. (3) The rise and spread of Western civilization over the East, which encouraged scientific research and correspondingly discouraged speculative thinking, and theorizing. (4) The rise of the Safavids and the social and religious revolution that occurred in Iran. (5) The advance of Russia into Central Asia and the break-up of the Muslim power in Bokhāra and Khiva, the two great centres of Sūfism on the Continent of Asia. (6) The march of European influence in North Africa, Egypt, Syria and Turkey, which had given scope for the spread of Sūfī thought. (7) The collapse of the Moghal Empire in India and the introduction of English education, which has had an adverse effect on the growth of the older types of learning.

POSSIBILITIES OF ITS REVIVAL

There are, however, possibilities of a revival of Sūfism to-day. The extreme type of materialism is bound to end in a reaction towards spiritual and ethical life.⁷⁰ In Iran, the Bahai movement, in its true spirit, was a kind of Sūfism. But

⁷⁰ Cf. with what Sri Krishna says in the *Bhāgavad-Gītā* :—

Yadā yadā hi dharmasya glānir bhavati Bhārata |

Abhyutthanam adharmasya tad ātmānam sṛjāmy aham—

i.e., "Whenever there is decay of dharma, O Bhārata, and rising up of adharma, then I myself come forth." (Chap. IV. 7.)

there are signs to-day of the revival of Sūfism in a purer form and in a more modern form. A few books on Neo-Sūfism have already been published, such as *Rahbar-e-Nizad-e-Nau* by Husain Kazimzadah, an Iranian scholar, who, since the Great World War of 1914, has been settled at Berlin. This type of Sūfism, based as it is on pure philosophical argument and moral purity, without attachment to any creed or religion, may become popular in the future. There is a small work by Zaka-ul-mulk (Mirza Husain Khan) entitled *Kulba-e-Hindi* (Hindu Home), in which the observation of an English traveller giving expression to Hindu thoughts is narrated in the form of a story. India may lead the whole of Western Asia, provided the vast moral and philosophical treasure, lying hidden in Sanskrit, is translated, commented upon and explained in Iranian and Arabic and other more important Asiatic languages.

CHAPTER XII

MUSLIM SCHOLASTICISM

Scholasticism in its First Stages—The Murjite School—Subdivisions among the Murjites—Later Progress of the Murjites—Subjects Treated by the Scholastics—Two Schools of Scholastics—The Motazala School—Some Other Motazala Schools—Still Other Motazala Schools—Their Vicissitudes and Final Disappearance—Motazala Theology—The Ashāera School—The Position of the Ashāera School—Their Doctrine—Their Fundamental Principles—Four Other Fundamental Principles—Exponents of the Ashāera School—Abul Hasan Ali—Abu Bakr Baqilani—Abu Ishaq Isferaini—Abdul-Malik Juvaini—Muhammad Sharastani—The Mataridiya School—Imam Fakr-ud-din Rāzi—Hujjatul-Islam Imam Muhammad Ghazzālī—His Differences with the Philosophers—His Views and Doctrines—His Conception of God and His Attributes—His Great Popularity—Abdul-Razzāk—Shah Valiyullah of Delhi—The Basis of Scholastic Teaching—The Service Rendered by the Scholastic Scholars to Islam—Subjects Dealt with by the Scholastics—Other Miscellaneous Scholastic Schools and Sects—A Review of Scholasticism.

SCHOLASTICISM IN ITS FIRST STAGES

The life of the Prophet, after the announcement of Islam is divided into two periods :—(1) The Meccan period, in which he and his followers were oppressed by the Quraish ; and (2) The Medinite period, when the Prophet was engaged in the double task of crushing the aggressive Quraish by the force of arms, and in subduing and pacifying the Jews and the anti-Muslim party of Medina, partly by the use of arms and partly by persuasion, kindness and argument. He used to discuss with them various subjects such as prayer, fasting, *Qublah*, or the direction to face in prayer, freedom of will, the soul, resurrection, certain Jewish and Christian legends, law of inheritance, punishment for fornication, etc. The mosque of the Prophet was both a place for offering prayer and for holding meetings. When Syria, Egypt and Iran were conquered and a large number of Muslims settled there, they lost direct touch with the two great centres of Islam, i.e., Mecca and Medina. The inhabitants of these two cities, particularly the companions of the Prophet, who had devoted their time to the study of religious questions in the light of the teaching inculcated in the *Quran*, became authorities on the subject. Muslims from distant countries accordingly came to them to

solve their difficulties in problems relating to religion and religious practice. Gradually, a school of traditionists came to be formed in the two sacred cities. When later Baghdad, Basra and Damascus also became centres of learning, this school became bifurcated into :—(1) Pure theologians, who confined their studies to the *Quran* and the tradition. These interpreted the *Quran* with the help of tradition, generally in a literal sense. (2) Scholastics, who made their formal appearance, when Muslims came into contact with the non-Muslims of Syria, Egypt and Iran. They came to be grouped into different political parties, each condemning the other. With the rise of philosophical studies among Muslims, *Kalam* became what may be called philosophical theology.⁷¹ Its beginning was due to different motives. It was meant to defend Islam against the criticism of non-Muslims and heretics, but it became a semi-philosophical study under the influences of the time. The subjects usually treated under this head became gradually more metaphysical than religious. Like Sūlism, the start was made from the good intention of knowing the truth, to which reconciliation of faith and reason was later added. The future Kharijites' earliest appearance took place, under the leadership of Musailama, as an anti-Muslim movement, or as a protest against the Quraish ascendancy, just before the death of the Prophet. But it was put down by the first Khalif. It appeared, a second time, as a movement with the same motive, but apparently as a protest against the excesses and usurpation of authority by the Umayyads. The result was the murder of the third Khalif. The third rising took place against the fourth Khalif. He defeated the ringleaders, but after a short time was himself assassinated in his mosque by a Khariji. The Kharijites continued to oppose all the Umayyad Khalifs but never succeeded in the attempt to overthrow them, as the Muslims in general were not inclined to support their views. The movement, which originated with a political aspiration, developed into a religious body with the following as its guiding principles :—

(1) The Khalif must be elected and be responsible to Muslims. He need not be of the Quraish descent. Any Muslim, even a slave, can be elected and remain Khalifa, so long as the people were satisfied with his rule ; if not, he might be deposed or even killed. Some extremists among them did not like to have any common head and were content with a dictator whenever they needed.

(2) A Muslim who does not perform regularly his prayers and observe the fasts and other rituals is no better than a *Kafir* (infidel).

⁷¹ *Al-Kalam* may be translated as Scholasticism.

(3) A Muslim, if he has committed a sin and dies without repentance, deserves eternal punishment in Hell.

(4) All those Muslims who do not agree with Kharijites ought to be considered as infidels, whom the Kharijites must fight and destroy.

Against the Kharijite extremists, a new sect was formed under the name of Murjites, in Syria and Mesopotamia, and this sect attracted to itself a great number of followers. The original Kharijite movement gradually shrank to a corner of South-east Arabia, but re-appeared in the modified form of Zahirites, whose chief writers were Ibn-e-Hazam in the West and Ibn-e-Taimiyya in the East. Both these were celebrated scholars. The present Wahabis may also be said to belong to the Zahirite school. They may be termed the Puritans of Islam. Though, on certain points, the Murjites did not differ from the Kharijites, they held independent views and are therefore classed to-day as a separate sect and treated as opposed to the Kharijites.

THE MURJITE SCHOOL

The principal articles of faith of the Murjite sect may be stated briefly to be :—(1) Muslims must worship and serve God alone and must not associate any being with Him ; (2) All Muslims are members of Islam ; (3) All non-Muslims are equal in their wrong beliefs ; (4) Doubtful questions such as disagreement between the early companions and the claims of several men for the office of Khilafat, etc., must be left to Divine judgment. Those companions, whom the Muslim public consider sinners, may be forgiven by God or in truth may not be guilty, though misunderstood by others ; (5) A Muslim must not fight against a Muslim, except in self-defence ; (6) Good intention, though followed by wrong action, will have its own reward ; (7) God's will is above human will ; (8) The first four Khalifs were all good. (This statement is against the Kharijite version, who condemned the third and the fourth Khalifas) ; (9) Man must be judged by God alone for punishment or reward ; (10) The apparent submission to the laws of Islam with no faith in Islam, is of no use ; (11) If there is faith, sins may be forgiven, except *Shirk* (infidelity).

SUBDIVISIONS AMONG THE MURJITES

The Murjites were divided into several subdivisions with minor differences between them. According to Abdul Kathir of Baghdad, they were divided into :—(1) Believers in faith and free-will such as Ghailan of Damascus, Abu-shāmi and Muhammad, son of Abu-Shabib of Basra ; (2) Believers in

faith and *Jabr* (or compulsion), i.e., those who hold that man does not possess freedom of will ; (3) Believers in faith, who hold faith as most essential and above action, i.e., faith is pre-eminent to action. Imam Abu Hanifa was inclined towards this last school. He rejects eternal punishment and holds that faith consists in expressing with the tongue and believing in the heart.

LATER PROGRESS OF THE MURJITES

Jahm, son of Sifwan, who was killed in 748 A.D., was among the noted leaders of Murjites. Murjite ideas were taken up by other schools of theology, and reached their greatest complexity during the Khilafat of Abbasides, when Muslims in general were divided into :—(1) Those who sought the truth through *Naql*, or tradition, and devoted their time to collecting traditions and studying the *Quran* in a literal manner, thus becoming orthodox theologians; (2) Those who combined *aql* and *naql* (reason and dogma) and endeavoured to reconcile these two. These became known as *Mutakallamin* (speakers) or scholastics. Some of them were deep scholars and original thinkers ; (3) Those who followed *aql*, or reason, were called *Hukama* or philosophers ; (4) Those who were content with piety and ascetic life and devoted their time to self-purification and sought the truth through *Kashf* (revelation), *Jazba* (raptures) and *Wajd* (ecstasy). These became Sūfis. All these schools were affected by the characteristics of their age, i.e., philosophy, which was studied by all educated classes. Each endeavoured to reconcile its views on the one hand with philosophy and on the other with Islamic teaching, and sought support from texts found from the *Quran*, which each interpreted according to his own standpoint. None of these movements, however, originated under any foreign influence. They were, each of them, the result of activity of the human mind, which is found in all countries, among all nations and followers of all religions.

SUBJECTS TREATED BY THE SCHOLASTICS

According to Sharastani, the following subjects were dealt with by Muslim scholastics :—

1. The universe is not eternal.
2. Existing things have a beginning.
3. Unity of God.
4. Denial of anthropomorphism.
5. State of things.
6. Matter.
7. Divine attributes.

8. Divine will.
9. Divine knowledge.
10. Divine speech.
11. Divine hearing.
12. Divine seeing.
13. Divine vision (by man).
14. Meaning of the terms, 'commendable' and 'culpable'.
15. Divine action.
16. Prophetic office.
17. Miracles.
18. Mission of the Prophet (of Islam).

Besides the above, they also wrote on the eternity of the *Quran*, the resurrection, Divine justice, inspiration or revelation, faith, predestination, repentance, promise and threats (in the *Quran*).

TWO SCHOOLS OF SCHOLASTICS

On all these subjects, the scholastics were divided into two chief schools of thought and these two were again subdivided into a larger number, these mostly differing on minor points. The two chief schools were:—(1) Motazala; and (2) Ashāera.

THE MOTAZALA SCHOOL

The Motazala called themselves the party of unity (*Tauhid*) and justice (*Adl*), and based their doctrine on knowledge, discernment and reflection, supporting themselves on texts of the *Quran*.

The following are its fundamental principles:—

- (1) God alone is eternal.
- (2) His attributes are identical with His being.
- (3) The words—face, hands and eyes of God and His sitting on the throne—must be taken in a metaphorical sense.
4. Divine speech (the *Quran*) is created and expressed in letters and sounds and revealed to the Prophet in time, in place, and in the local language. The miracle of the *Quran* is in its teaching and not in its language.
5. Thing is a concept that could be known.
6. *Wujud* (existence) is a quality in matter. It may or may not be in it, but by its addition *madum* (non-entity) becomes *maujud* (entity). Thus, things are either entity or non-entity, state or relationship.
7. God must not be described by any concrete quality, in any form.
8. Man has free will and is the author of his action and, therefore, liable to punishment in hell, if he does evil, and is deserving of reward in paradise, if he acts virtuously.
9. Evil cannot be referred to God. It is human.

10. God is just and justice is indispensable with Him. Towards man, justice is His animating principle.

11. God does good alone.

12. There are no eternal laws for human action.

13. Knowledge is attained through reason, which is a power distinguishing between good and bad, between the real and the not-real. If reason judges an action to be good, it is good, and if evil, it is evil. Distinction between good and bad is within the power of human reasoning.

14. Knowledge of God is attainable through the intellect.

15. Excepting God, everything is subject to decay, change and destruction or death.

16. That which accords with reason and wisdom is justice.

17. God does not predestinate man's action.

18. A Muslim guilty of great sin and dying without repentance, will be eternally damned.

19. One must not obey the law of religion without reflecting and knowing its truth. Theology should be subject to investigation and based upon rationalistic foundations and logical conclusions.

20. They did not agree with orthodox Muslims in the exaltation of seven chief divine attributes of will, power, knowledge, life, hearing, seeing and speech, as separate qualities, because they considered such differentiation a sort of polytheism.

21. They rejected the idea of the *wali* (sage), which involves belief in one Muslim enjoying special privilege by performing miracles and wonderful deeds, on the ground that if one Muslim can do this, the others must be able to do the same.

22. They deny the vision of God as believed in by orthodox Muslims.

23. They did not recognize the idea of intercession of the Prophet on behalf of guilty Muslims on the day of resurrection, and considered that man does not stand in need of a mediator to reconcile him with God and that each man will be judged according to his deeds.

24. They admit that Moaviya, the first Umayyad Khalif, including Talha and Zubair and other companions of the Prophet, who rebelled against the fourth Khalif, were wrong in their action.

25. The Muslims agree that a man who commits great sin deserves to be called *fājir*, i.e., an unchaste man or adulterer, but differ on the significance of this word. The Kharijites considered a *fājir* equal to an infidel, while the Muri-jites admitted him to be a believer but a sinner. Wāsil, the leader of the Motazala school, said that a *fājir* is neither a

believer nor an unbeliever. Such a man must be placed in a special category. *Etizal* (from which the word *Motazala* is derived) means seclusion, i.e., those who differ and form a separate class from other schools of Muslim theology.

The *Motazala* school was divided into a large number of subdivisions, such as :—

1. *Wāsiliyya*—the followers of Wāsil, son of Ata (753 A.D.), of Iranian origin. He expounded the following doctrines :—(i) The attributes of God cannot be considered in any way as separate entities ; (ii) The Prophet (and not God) was the author of the *Quran*, though he uttered it under Divine influence ; (iii) Reason is higher than tradition ; (iv) Man possesses free-will. The position of a Muslim, who commits a grave sin, is between that of an infidel and a Muslim. Among Muslims who fought on the side of Alī and those who took the side of his opponents, one party must be on the right side and the other wrong. Both cannot be right as suggested by some theologians.

2. *Huzailiyya*—the disciple of Huzail-al-Allaf of Basra, who lived for about a hundred years and died in 857 A.D. He is considered the earliest among the *Motazilite* scholastics who has left a very large number of works bearing on the tenets of the school. Most of his works are lost. He was gifted with the power of speech and was a well-known dialectician. He could argue and convince a very large number of non-Muslims about the truth of Islam. He was receiving a pension of sixty thousand *dirham per annum*, which he used to distribute among scholars. In his views, he differs from other *Motazala* scholars, including his teacher Wāsil, in a number of disputed points, such as theodicy, free-will, morals, etc. The following, in brief, is his doctrine :—(i) God.—Against the common *Motazala* views, he recognises the Divine attributes, not as separate entities, but as identified with God's essence. He is known through knowledge and knowledge is his essence. His will to create is creation itself and distinct from the created objects. (ii) Divine speech, i.e., the word *kun* (be) is the same with creation, but not limited to any place. (iii) Human free will is admitted only in this world, but not in the eternal life. (iv) Every being must have a beginning and an end. The world is a process of changes. Its end is unchangeableness, which means rest. It was at rest in God and again must end in eternal rest. All motions will cease and men reach a state of repose, which will be happy for some and painful for others, according to their deeds. (v) Man must die at a distinct hour. (vi) It is man's duty to reflect and know God and virtue is attained by rational argument. Those who fail in this deserve punishment.

(vii) Knowledge, though imparted by a teacher, must be instilled into the mind of a pupil by God. (viii) The power of action is granted to man by God, at the time of action. (ix) At all times there are men and women gifted by Divine mercy and protected from committing sin, and these may be trusted and followed. (x) Among his works, there is one entitled *Five Fundamentals*, i.e., justice, unity of God, promise, the *vāḍ* of the *Qurān*, and warning or threat (*vāḍ*), and the intermediate state. Under these, freedom of will, the Divine speech (*Qurān*), the Divine attributes, predestination, the state of a Muslim sinner, etc., are discussed.

3. *Nazzamiyya*—followers of Ibrahīm, son of Sayyar, known as Nazzām (died about 835 A.D. or 845 A.D.), a theologian, philosopher and a voluminous writer. He is considered a great authority on scholastic philosophy. He studied *istidlāl-bil-aql min jihat-al-qiyas-wan-nazar* (i.e., Speculative Theology) under Abu Huzail, and soon established his own school. He opposed alike Naturalists (*Dahri*) and Manichæists, but in doing so he himself had to agree with certain philosophical principles which were not acceptable to orthodox Islam. Therefore, he was accused of being a *Dahri*. His arguments on religious problems are intellectual. The *Dahris* are Naturalists taught the eternity of the world. According to An-nazzām, however, God is the creator and mover of matter, though He himself is immovable. God cannot be compared to anything. He is *Munazzah* and above everything. The office of the Prophet is not restricted to a nation. It is universal. He did not agree with the Hanafi school of theologians who based their opinion of theological problems on *qiyas* (analogy) and *rai* (opinion). Nazzamiyya's doctrine, in brief, is:—(i) Without seeking help of a revelation, man can recognise the Creator and distinguish between good and bad by reflection and self-study. (ii) The human spirit is a fine substance flowing in body, resembling the existence of oil in flower. (iii) God can do only good for His creatures, either in this or in the next world. He cannot do evil because He is not Himself evil. (iv) God's will is His knowledge. (v) Man lives above Nature. (vi) God created things at once, but they are manifested in time. Therefore, things which appear in future exist hidden in Nature. (vii) The miracle of the *Qurān* is in its precepts and in its description of the unseen world, and not in the beauty of its style, which could be imitated by others. (viii) The successor of the Prophet (Muhammad) must be appointed by God. (ix) Certain accidents may be considered as substances, such as, light in a body or fragrance in a flower. These, when separated, extend beyond the body to which they are attached. (x) He denied the existence of *Juze-*

la-yatajazza, or indivisible things (atoms) and believed in the unlimited divisibility of matter. (xi) Substance is a compound of several accidents. (xii) Existence is a quality bestowed by God on lifeless atoms.

SOME OTHER MOTAZALA SCHOOLS

Mámar, son of Abbad (d. 842 A.D.), was also a great Motazala scholar. He holds that human conception cannot be true in defining or explaining God's attributes. What we may think is not necessarily true. The universe is created as a whole by God, which means God has created substances, and accidents spring naturally from them and are permanent in the several species of things to which they belong. His followers are called *Ashab-e-maani*, or idealists. Thumameh, son of Ashras, considered matter as eternal. God, according to him, created the world by His nature, which means, the Divine Being, by His nature, is compelled to produce the world as the light of sun shines by its nature and not by intention.

Bishr, son of Mutamir (d. 848 A.D.), says that infants are not liable to punishment in hell, because they could not act on free-will. He was the first known Muslim scholastic who expounded the theory of *Tawallud*, i.e., action through an agent, or interaction of bodies, such as, the movement of the key in the hands, which is the result of the possessor's will. Thus, in effecting a result, there may be one agent or a number of agents. He also believed that people who could not meet a Prophet and had no knowledge of revelation could guide themselves by the light of nature.

Ahmad, son of Haet, a pupil of Nazzām, admitted that Jesus would judge men on the Day of Judgment. He divides men into those who are virtuous, who will be rewarded with Paradise; and those who are wicked, who will be punished in Hell; and those whose deeds are a mixture of good and bad, such people being made to return to this world either as men or as some animals till they are purified. This is the Muslim theory of transmigration which some other schools of Motazalas accepted with certain modifications. He thus divided life into:—(1) The world of senses; (2) The first Paradise or the state in which souls exist before taking the form; (3) The world of punishment; (4) The Paradise in which the virtuous enjoy physical pleasures; and (5) The Paradise in which the virtuous enjoy spiritual happiness.

Abu Alī Muhammad, son of Abdul Wahhāb known as Jub-bai, a native of Khuzistan (South-west Iran), studied under Yusuf Shahham of Basra and died in 916 A.D. He composed a work on *Usul* (Fundamentals) of the Motazala doctrine and wrote polemical treatises against Rāwendi and Nazzām. He also wrote a commentary on the *Quran* in the Khuzistani

dialect. He and his son Abu Hashim differed on several points with the other Motazala scholars. Jubbai believed that God creates His speech whenever and wherever He pleases, that speech means independent sounds called letters, and the speaker is one who causes such sounds, without sounds being a part of his nature. Like other Motazalas, he regarded the attributes of God as identified with His essence. His son Abu Hashim (d. 933 A.D.) was the founder of a school known as *Bahashmiyya* and among his followers was the celebrated minister Ibn-e-Abbād. He is noted for his theory of the condition and moods through which he wanted to reconcile his father's views with those of the orthodox by saying that Divine attributes are neither separate nor one with His essence, but are conditions (*Ahwāl*) of phenomena.

Amir, son of Bahr, known as Jahiz, the great theologian, author, philosopher and literary man, died in or about 877 A.D. His arguments on scholastic subjects are based upon experience and historical facts. He did not believe in speculative deductions. He says that bodies possess certain qualities and the destruction of a substance is impossible. As God does not possess a form, His knowledge is impossible for man. He is just and therefore cannot be the cause of evil. A Muslim, not intellectually perfect enough to reflect and know his God, and yet believes in Him as his Creator and Lord through religious teaching and follows Muhammad as His Prophet, is blameless. Good and evil are connected with a human being, for which he alone is responsible. Jahiz believed in the eternity of matter and was regarded by orthodox Muslims as a free thinker.

Abdul Hasan Khayyat considered *not being* as a kind of being and all substances as present in the state of being and *not being*.

Hisham, son of Amir, was the founder of Hishamiyya school. He emphasised, more than other Motazala scholars, the doctrine of free will, to the extent of saying that faith is not granted by God, as stated in the *Quran*,⁷² but gained by human endeavour and understanding. He also rejected the idea that God seals the heart (of unbelievers) and asserted that evil is due to human defect and tendency towards evil, on the plea that if evil and good are held to originate from God, man would become irresponsible for his deeds. He says that the proof of God's creative power may be inferred and understood from bodies (substances) and not accidents.

STILL OTHER MOTAZALA SCHOOLS

There were a number of other Motazala schools. Unfortunately their ideas are not systematised into separate schools

⁷² "And He made faith dear and ornamented the heart with it."

of thought by Muslim writers, as philosophical writers in Europe or India have done in analogous matters. Most of their writings are lost and the remaining left in a confused condition.

THEIR VICISSITUDES AND FINAL DISAPPEARANCE

In brief, Motazalas believed and endeavoured to solve the doctrine of Islam by reason and reconcile it with rationalistic views, but could not satisfy the masses, who were unable to follow philosophic arguments. They had two great centres, i.e., Basra, where Ibrahim, son of Sayyar, known as Nazzām, Muammar and Hisham, son of Umar, lived; and the Baghdad school which was founded by Bishar, son of Muammar. Bishar was persecuted by Khalif Harun, but protected by his son Mamun. Mutawakkil, the tenth Abbaside Khalif, was an orthodox and so, under him, Motazala learned men suffered. A revival, however, took place at the hands of Ibn-e-Rāvendī, who was more inclined towards Shiahism, but once again the revolt of Ashāera became a serious obstacle to the growth of Motazala doctrine. The Baghdad school gradually disappeared and the Motazala doctrine was merged in the Zaidiyya. The last great Motazala writer was Zamakhshari (d. 1160 A.D.), and finally, after the invasion of the Moghals, the Motazala school of thought disappeared.

MOTAZALA THEOLOGY

In short, Motazala theology may be said to centre round five fundamental principles, i.e.,

(1) Strict monotheism or unity of God. There cannot be any kind of resemblance between the Creator and His creatures.

(2) His attributes are one and the same with His essence.

(3) He is omnipresence but cannot be perceived by the senses. His *mahiyya*, reality, is hidden and may be perceived by a sixth sense, which must be granted by God.

(4) The bodies in the universe are composed of atoms, as considered by the majority of Motazala thinkers. They are indivisible in entities. The real man is a substance possessing the attributes of life, knowledge, power and will. The body is his instrument. Creation is divided into that which moves or acts through *Zarurat* (necessity), and that which enjoys free will, for example, a human being. The physical world is divided into substance and accidents or atoms and bodies.

(5) There is nothing to prevent God from doing injustice, but He does not, because He is just by His nature.

With regard to the controversial question of the Khilafat, some Motazalas considered the accession of the first Khalif legitimate, but they did not base that view on any Divine revelation. He was superior in merit to the second Khalif

and the second to the third, and the third to the fourth, but some gave preference to the fourth over the other three and some said that the fourth was superior to the third but not to the other two. Sins were classified into *kabir* (grave), and *saghir* (petty). God may forgive *saghir*.

THE ASHĀERA SCHOOL

Intellectual argument was at the very root of the Motazala system. They followed one aspect of the teachings of the *Quran* and could not explain the other apparently contradictory texts. Their method of argument was highly objectionable to the orthodox theologians and, therefore, a new school of scholastics under the lead of one Abul Hasan Ashari was formed and became known as Ashāera, whose object was to satisfy the masses. They selected a middle path between philosophy and orthodoxy, and thus Muslim orthodox scholasticism succeeded the rational one, influenced by the Ashāera doctrine. Both the Motazala and Ashāera schools quote passages from the *Quran* in support of their views. The following passages are held to be in support of the Motazala school :—

1. "Whatever good comes to you, it is from God, and whatever evil befalls you, it is from yourself." (Ch. IV. 79.)
2. "And whoever commits a sin, he commits against his own soul." (Ch. V. 3.)
3. "Vision comprehends Him not, and He comprehends (all) vision." (Ch. VI. 104.)
4. "When their doom is come, they shall not delay or go in advance (even) for a moment (hour)." (Ch. VI. 34.)
5. "We did not do them injustice, but they were unjust to themselves." (Ch. XI. 101.)
6. "The day shall come when every soul will plead for itself and every soul shall be paid for what it has done and they shall not be treated unjustly." (Ch. XVI. 3.)
7. "Whoever goes aright, he goes aright for his own soul, and he who goes astray, he goes astray for himself, nor can the bearer of a burden (sin) bear the burden (sin) of another." (Ch. XVII. 15.)
8. "Everyman's action clings to his neck." (Ch. XVII. 13.)
9. "This (the *Quran*) is a revelation from the Lord of the worlds. The faithful spirit has descended with it, upon your heart (O! Muhammad) that you may be of the warners" (reference to the creation of Divine speech, i.e., *Quran*).
10. "Whoever strives, he strives only for his own soul." (Ch. XXIX. 6.)
11. "Whoever disbelieves, he shall be responsible for his disbelief and whoever does good, they made (good) for their own souls." (Ch. XXX. 44.)

12. "And in your souls, will you not see (reflect) that man shall have nothing but what he strives for, and his striving shall soon be seen (by him)?" (Ch. LIII. 39.)

13. "Have We not given him (man) two eyes, and a tongue and two lips, and pointed out to him the two conspicuous ways (of good and bad)?" (XC. 8-10.)

14. "(God) does not lay on any soul except to the extent to which He has granted (wisdom to) it. He who has done an atom's weight of good shall see it (reward) and he who has done an atom's weight of evil, shall see it (punishment)." (XCIX. 7-8.)

While the *Ahle-naql*, or the traditionists, were content with translating the texts of the *Quran* in a literal sense, the *Ahle-Tanzih* considered God different from all human conception and could not tolerate His relation in any form with His creatures and believed Him to be something different from not-God who must remain always a mystery to man. As Hafiz, the Sūfi poet, says: "Neither has anyone solved nor will solve this mystery through philosophy."

While the Motazala school created a rational theology and interpreted the *Quran* in the light of philosophy, the Ashāera took up the new standpoint of:—(1) refuting the Greek and Oriental philosophies on their own ground, i.e., by philosophical argument; (2) asserting and proving the Islamic doctrine by the dialectic method; and (3) refuting the older religions, viz., Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity and Manism, and the newly founded and developed sects of Kharijites, Shiahs, Ismailiyyas, etc. The task was, no doubt, difficult and grand, but the Ashāera leaders proved themselves equal to the task and made a good stand. On many points, they succeeded in defeating their rivals and originating several new and independent theories unknown, perhaps, both to the Greek and Eastern philosophers. Both looked upon the Greek and Iranian philosophies with contempt and wrote books in defending Islamic theology and refuting Greek thought. Among such writers were:—(1) Ibn-e-taimiyya, who wrote a work in four volumes; (2) Nazzām, a Motazala scholar, wrote a refutation of Aristotle; (3) Jubbai, also a Motazala, wrote against Aristotle; (4) Abul-Barakat; (5) Imam Razi; and (6) Imam Ghazzālī.

THE POSITION OF THE ASHĀERA SCHOOL

The Ashāera were the true defenders of orthodox Islam. Their views in the beginning were a modification of Sifatiyya, or Mushabbihā, who believed in the Divine attributes as eternally inherent in His essence without separation or change, and interpreted such words as face, hand, etc., mentioned in the *Quran* in their literal sense, but gradually drifted to mode-

ration and stood between the rationalist doctrine and orthodox theology. Their object was to stop excesses on both sides. They refuted the Motazala views, while modifying the orthodox doctrine. Like the Motazalas, they based their views on the *Quran* and quoted its texts in support of their own views.

THEIR DOCTRINE

Their doctrine, in brief, is:—

(1) God does whatever He pleases. His existence and essence are identical; (2) He is sovereign and Lord of existence; (3) Whatever He wishes and commands, is just; (4) What is obligatory is to be distinguished from what is necessary; (5) Secular knowledge may be gained by reason, but reason cannot point out the real good; (6) God's attributes are distinct from His essence, in a way that a similar comparison cannot be instituted between God and His creatures; (7) From His eternal will, both good and evil proceed; (8) When man desires to do a certain thing, the power corresponding to his desire is granted by God. Thus, though apparently it is done by man, it really is subject to God's will. This action is called *Kasb* or acquiring, because, it is acquired by a special creative act of God. The great Ashari scholar, Abu Bakr Baqilani, says that the substance of action is the effect of the power of God, but its qualities or accidents proceed from creatures. Actions are created by God, but man may acquire the various forms of activity; (9) God's vision is possible but not with physical eyes; (10) God is not in need of space or place; (11) Things are neither good nor bad in their essence, but become bad or good, when fixed so by the law of religion; (12) God can command impossibilities; (13) God's justice is not in the sense adopted by man. He may punish man for good action and reward for bad deeds; (14) God may do whatever He pleases with His creatures. No law, including justice, can limit His action; (15) He must be known through religion and not by reflection or rational argument.

THEIR FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

The following are the fundamental principles of the Ashā'eras, as stated in their short creed:—(16) God has settled upon His throne as He says in the *Quran*:—"The Beneficent God is firm upon His throne." (Ch. XX. 5.); (17) He has face as in the *Quran*:—"And will endure the face of your Lord." (Ch. LV. 2.); (18) He has two hands as in the *Quran*:—"What prevented you that you should do obeisance to him whom I created with my two hands." (Ch. XXXVIII. 75.); (19) He has knowledge; (20) He has power; (21) He has seeing and hearing; (22) His speech is uncreated; (23) He

created the universe by the word *Kun* (Be); (24) All good and bad come from God; (25) He guides some towards right belief and leads astray others to be misguided; (26) Good and evil, fortune and misfortune happen according to *Qaza* and *Qadar*, i.e., destiny and decree; (27) The *Quran* is the God's speech, uncreated and eternal; (28) God will be seen on the day of judgment by the believers, but not by the unbelievers, as in the *Quran*; (29) Those who believe in the unity of God and call themselves Muslims, but commit sins and are indifferent to the laws of Islam, are not counted as unbelievers; (30) Through the intercession of the Prophet, God will release some from the punishment of hell; (31) The Muslim faith consists in the uttering of the words:—"There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is His Prophet and action (prayer, fast, etc.)"; (32) Paradise and Hell are created; (33) Man dies at the appointed hour as stated in the *Quran*:—"And no one, whose life is lengthened has his life lengthened, nor is aught diminished of one's life, but it is all in a book." (Ch. XXX. 5-11); (34) Men are tempted by *Satan* as declared in the *Quran*:—"But Satan made them both fall from it and caused them to depart from that in which they were." (Ch. II. 36.)

FOUR OTHER FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

In brief, besides the principles above mentioned, the Ashāeras follow four other fundamental principles:—(1) God and His attributes.—One, ancient, not a substance, not a body, not an accident, not in space or time, visible, eternal; (2) His other attributes:—Life, knowledge, power, will, hearing, seeing, speaking, not affected by anything. His work is eternal, His knowledge and will are eternal. (3) His works.—(a) He creates the action of creatures; (b) Creatures' deeds are (*Muktaseb*) acquired from Him; (c) He wills all that is done by His creatures; (d) He creates and originates; (e) All are indebted to Him; (f) He may command men to do the impossibilities; (g) He may punish the innocent; (h) He is not bound by anything as good (for creatures); (i) A Muslim is bound by Islamic doctrine which permits or forbids an act to be or not to be done; and (j) Muhammad is the messenger of God, whose claim is proved by the miracles performed by him. (4) *Samīyyat*, or hearing, is thus described:—(a) Day of resurrection; (b) Munkar and Nakir, the two angels, will appear to the dead man or woman after his or her burial, and question on the terms of Islamic creed; (c) The punishment in the grave; (d) Balance, in which virtue and vice will be weighed on the day of judgment; (e) The bridge (*sirāt*), over which all mankind must pass on the day of judgment; (f) Existence of Paradise and Hell; (g) The companions of

the Prophet hold rank according to the service they have done to Islam. Thus, Abu Bakr, the first Khalif, is the highest after the Prophet; next is Umar; then Usman and Ali; (h) *Imamat*, or succession, must be accepted under the specified terms; and (i) If there is no "Imam" with the required condition, the *de facto* ruler must be obeyed.

EXPONENTS OF THE ASHĀERA SCHOOL

The Ashāera school produced a very large number of learned scholars, such as, Abul Hasan Asha'ri, Abu Bakr Baqilani, Abu Jafar Simāni, Imam-ul-Harmain Abul Māli, Fakhr-ud-dīn Rāzi, Sharestani, Isfaraini, Idji, Jurjani and so forth. It is beyond the scope of this work to give detailed accounts of the lives and doctrines of all these teachers, but a few words may perhaps be included about some at least of them.

ABUL HASAN ALĪ

Abul Hasan Alī, son of Ismail, known as Asha'ri, being a descendant of Abu Musa Asha'ri, was born at Basra, and died at Baghdad in about 936 A.M. (or 558 A.D.), at the age of 63. He was a pupil of Abdul Wahhab Jubbai, the Motazilite scholar. However, not satisfied with the Motazala doctrine, he established a new school of thought, which was a compromise between the extreme orthodox views and Motazala rationalism, which was called, after his surname, as Ashariyya. He was a voluminous writer and wrote, it is said, about a hundred books on theology, tradition, commentary on the *Quran* and Muslim scholasticism (*kalām*). Out of these, only five books have survived. His contemporaries and co-thinkers in Egypt were Rahāvi and in Central Asia, Mātardi, but both were eclipsed by Ashāeri's followers. Among his anti-Motazala views are :—(1) God and His attributes, which Motazalas rejected as separate from His essence, because they affect His unity, Ash'ari modified by saying that His attributes exist, but cannot be compared with the corresponding human qualities. (2) Man's freedom of will insisted upon by Motazala, was rejected by him and he asserted that God is the only Creator. He creates everything, including the actions of His creatures. Things in themselves possess no power, such as fire, of burning an object; the power is granted by God. He introduced the word *Kasb* (acquisition) which became common among Ashāera scholars, by which, he meant that man acquires power of action by a creative act of God or his power of action is previously created by God and also choice of action. Without affecting the action itself, man is only the subject of action. Thus, a compromise is made by asserting God's complete creative power and man's limited responsibility. (3) *Wajud* (existence) was thought a quality of *Maujud* (existed), but Asha'ri

said *Wajud* and *Maujud* are one, which means *Wajud* is *ayn*, i.e., the reality, or the self of the entity. (4) The word of God is eternal and the words used in the *Quran* are the manifestation or concrete form of the same. Hence, the *Quran* in origin is eternal, but when descended upon the Prophet it became created. (5) Man cannot attain the knowledge of God through reason, and so, he must follow the Revelation.

ABU BAKR BAQILANI

Abu Bakr Baqilani (d. 1025 A.D.) was the pupil of Asha'ri and a great authority on Asha'ri's doctrine. Among the ten categories, he accepted *Jauhar* (substance) and *Kaifiyyat* (quality); as to the others, such as *Makan* (place), *Zaman* (time), *Kamiyyat* (quantity), etc., these were called *e'tabar*, or relationship, and so were held by him to have no real existence. He rejected the Aristotelian idea of matter and its receiving forms, and established the theory of *khila* or existence of perfect vacuum and *Jauhar-e-ferd* (atoms), which is in everything including time and space. These atoms are continuously created and annihilated by God. He said that substance is a unit in itself, and accident cannot exist in accident, i.e., quality cannot subsist except in a substance.

ABU ISHAQ ISFERAINI

Abu Ishaq Isferaini, a well-known scholar of theology, who became famous during his life-time in Central and East Iran, has written many works. Among these is one on the refutation of the Naturalist position (*Mulhadin*). He died in 418 A.H. (or 1040 A.D.), and was buried at Isferain. As an Ash'ari scholastic, he made the following observations: (1) Action is a compound of God's will and man's doing; (2) God's word is eternal, but the language of the *Quran* is created. (3) Man cannot gain knowledge of good and bad through his reason alone, and hence he must follow all revealed commands. (4) Moral laws affecting man cannot be applied to God. (5) Man cannot prove that the virtuous will be rewarded and the wicked punished in the next life. (6) Man must approach God as a slave, having no knowledge to judge His decrees.

ABDUL-MALIK JUVAINI

Abdul-Malik Juvaini, born in the year 419 A.H. (1041 A.D.), died at Tishnigan, a village near Nishapur, in 478 A.H. (1100 A.D.). He studied under his father and then went to Abul-Qasem Iskafi and by living between Mecca and Medina, became known as Imam-ul-Harmain. Then he returned to Nishapur, where he was appointed as a director of the Nizamiyya College, in which post he continued for about thirty

years. At his death, he left four hundred distinguished scholars as his pupils. He was included among Ashāera theologians, though he had some independent views also. In the following view he agreed with the Ashāeras:—Man has no power to produce his actions but can acquire them. In the following views, he sided with the orthodox, modifying their views:—(i) Intercession of the Prophet; (ii) The Prophet's ascent to heaven; (iii) His miracles; and (iv) The coming of the Anti-Christ, etc. He agreed with the Motazalas (Rationalists) in the following:—(i) Creation is coming into being through the Supreme Power; (ii) Every effect has a cause and God is the Supreme Cause or Cause of all Causes.

MUHAMMAD SHARASTANI

Muhammad, son of Abdul Karim Sharastani, is chiefly noted for his work *Milal-van-Nahl*, often referred to and quoted by European authors. It is a work on the various schools of Greek and Muslim thought, and religions and sects known in his time. He was born in 467 A.H. (1089 A.D.) or 479 A.H. (1101 A.D.). He died in 548 A.H. (1190 A.D.). He is included among Ashāera scholars and the following is a summary of his views:—(1) God's attributes are eternal and subsistent in His essence, but not His essence. (2) His speech is eternal and so is His will, which, unlike what we can imagine, embraces all things. (3) He wills all things morally good, evil, beneficial and injurious. (4) His decrees and determinations are unchangeable. (5) Human actions emanate from God. (6) Nothing can be obligatory upon Him by virtue of reason. (7) He does what He wills.

THE MATARIDIYA SCHOOL

Among the other two schools, similar in some respects to the Ashāera, was the Mataridiya, originated by Abu Mansur of Matarid, a village near Samarqand. He did not agree with the Ashāeras on several points. Among them were the following:—(1) God cannot be unjust. (2) The quality of creating is not the thing created. (3) Man possesses *Ikhtiyar* (choice) over his action. (4) Good comes from God but evil is not by Him and therefore *taklif* (responsibility) has been imposed on man, for which he is punished or rewarded. (5) God never imposes a task which is impossible. (6) Faith (belief) neither decreases nor increases. (7) Repentance is accepted even when the guilty is sure of his death. (8) Conception of a thing through the senses is not knowledge itself but means of knowledge. (9) *Iman* (faith) must be the result of man's investigation and conclusion so that he may be sure and say *I believe*, and not *I believe if God wills*. (10) The happy may become

miserable, and the miserable happy : and change from happiness to misery does not make one happy or miserable.

Mataridi's other important points, as given in the articles of belief of Najm-ud-din abū Hafs, known as Un-nasafi, are :

1. Sources of knowledge are :—(i) *Havās* (senses). (ii) *Akhbār* (news), through tradition and revealed books. (iii) *Aql* (reason); *Iktisabi* (by inference); *Badāha* (intuition).

2. The World. It is created and composed of :—(i) *Ayns* (substances) classified into : (a) *Basit* (Simple) essence (or *Jauhar*); (b) *Murakkab* (compound), such as body. (ii) *Araz* (accidents or attributes) dependent on bodies or essences.

3. God—the Originator and Creator of the world—is the one, the eternal, the knowing, the hearing, the seeing, the willing, the decreeing, etc. His *sifat* (attributes) are *Azali* (eternal), existing in His essence, such as, knowledge, power, life, hearing, seeing, doing, strength, creating, speech.

4. The *Quran*. It is the uncreated word of God.

5. God and Man. There is vision of God for man.

6. Human action. Human action is created by God, whether good or bad ; so also, belief or unbelief, vice or virtue.

7. God's actions. It is not necessary for God to do that which man thinks *aslah* (best) for himself.

8. *Iman* (faith). *Iman* means *tasdiq* (confession or assent) to whatever comes from God.

IMAM FAKR-UD-DIN RĀZI

The other two great writers on the Ashāeri doctrines are Imam Fakhr-ud-dīn Rāzi and Imam Ghazzālī. The former was a follower of the Shāfi school of theology and one of the most celebrated scholastics and theologians. He was born in 544 A.H. (1166 A.D.) and died in 606 A.H. (1222 A.D.) at the age of 62 years. He is chiefly noted for his opposition to pure philosophy, on which he wrote several books. His predecessors had modified the idea of human free will into the theory of *Kasb* or acquisition, though they asserted that all actions are created by God. Rāzi, however, openly declared that man does not possess any free will. Likewise, he said that God's action need not be according to the human standard of justice and wisdom. The body is not necessary for existence and for vision colour, sides for the body are not needed and likewise qualities for things, cause for effects, etc. He rejected several most important points in philosophy.

HUJJATUL-ISLAM IMAM MUHAMMAD GHAZZĀLĪ

Hujjatul-Islam Imam Muhammad, known as Ghazzali, was born in 450 A.H. (1072 A.D.) and died at the age of about 55 in the year 1127 A.D. At the age of 34, he became so

famous for his ability and learning that Nizam-ul-mulk, the Seljukid minister, appointed him Professor at the Nizamiyya College of Baghdad. Though he did not live long and a part of his life passed in wandering and seclusion, he proved a voluminous writer. His works, as enumerated, are some seventy in number, among which some are standard works on Ethics, Theology, Philosophy, Logic and other subjects. Among these are:—(1) *Al-manqaz-min-az-zalal* (Saviour from error) translated into the French; (2) *Tahafatul-filsafa* (Destruction of Philosophers), a refutation of philosophy commented upon by Mun in French; (3) *Mizan-ul-amal*, a treatise on logic translated by M. Goldenthal; (4) *Ahya'ululum* (Revivification of the Science of Religion), which treats of ethics, etc., on which M. Hitzig has written notes; (5) *Wajiz*, bearing on theology; (6) *Mahkum-nazar*, on logic; (7) *Meyarul-ilm*, also on logic; and (8) *Maqasadul-filsafa*, a treatise on logic, natural science, metaphysics, etc. (translated into German).

HIS DIFFERENCES WITH THE PHILOSOPHERS

As Ghazzālī himself observes, he sought the truth through various means. He started with Theology and Scholastic Philosophy and, not fully satisfied with the result, he turned his attention to the Ismailiyya or Batiniyya doctrine, according to which man can know the truth through a spiritual and sinless teacher alone. After sometime, he was disgusted with their theories and turned his attention towards pure philosophy. He could not agree with the philosophers on the following points: (1) Their assertion that the world is beginningless. (2) Their assertion that the world is endless. (3) Their insincerity in admitting that God is the maker of the Universe. (4) They cannot prove the existence of God. (5) They cannot prove the existence of His unity. (6) They do not recognise His attributes. (7) They cannot prove that He has no body. (8) They cannot disown the fact that they may be, according to his views, considered atheists. (9) They cannot prove that He has cognition of His essence. (10) They are wrong in their assertion that God is not aware of details in creation. (11) They are wrong in asserting that spheres move with intention and will. (12) Their explanation of the cause of heavenly movement is wrong. (13) Their rejection of miracles cannot be substantiated. (14) They cannot prove that the soul is a substance, which is neither a body nor an accident. (15) They cannot prove that the soul is eternal. (16) They are wrong in denying the resurrection of the dead, etc. He asserted that the world is an instrument in the power of God and moves by His will. He considered that philosophers have derived their ethics from Sūfism. On many other points, he did not agree with the philosophers and at last sought the

truth through Sūfism, which, as he admits, satisfied his inner yearnings. He based his doctrine, as other Muslim scholastics had done, on God as Supreme Will, the Supreme Thought, who created man a compound of matter and soul, which has been breathed into man by God. As the *Quran* declares it: "He began the creation of man from dust. Then He made his progeny from an extract of water held in light estimation; then He made (his body) complete and He breathed into him of His spirit." (Chap. XXXII. 7. 9.)

HIS VIEWS AND DOCTRINES

Thus the human soul is spiritual and abstract. It is neither in nor out of the body. It is a shadow of the Universal Soul, bearing likeness to God Himself. He believed that the earth is a globe situated in the centre of the solar system. On many points, he agreed with the Ashāeras and therefore he is included as one among them, but on certain other points he differed from them and was inclined either towards philosophical views or Sūfism. For instance, he believed that means or causes are indispensable in existence, though finally God is the true means or cause of every effect. He did not agree that the good or bad of a thing cannot be known through reason and argued that in such a case, a true religion or a right view cannot be distinguished and preferred to one which is considered wrong or inferior, because in itself it is neither good nor bad. Ashāeras believed that the creation of the world has no reason nor any good in it. It was created because God willed so, but Ghazzālī believed that the creation of the Universe was with a certain object and end. He explained the existence of a thing in five ways:—(1) Existence in essence, i.e., real and external; (2) Existence in senses, as in dreams or imagination; (3) Existence in thought, as a man after seeing a thing closes his eyes and sees it (while his eyes are still closed); (4) Mental existence; and (5) Similar existence, i.e., we imagine a thing to have possible existence similar to the one which we see.

HIS CONCEPTION OF GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES

With regard to *Tashbih*, or comparing God's attributes with corresponding things in Nature, Ghazzālī believed that God does not resemble bodies. He is not a substance, nor are substances in Him. He does not resemble anything nor anything can resemble Him. The words occurring in the *Quran*, such as God's hand, eyes, etc., should not be interpreted in a literal sense. God is "nearer to man than the artery of his neck", yet above and exalted over everything. His nearness is not similar to the nearest of bodies. In explaining the position of a Prophet, Ghazzālī starts with the

evolution of human beings and says that man is born ignorant but gradually develops intellectually and reaches his maximum of perfection. At first, the faculty of touch is manifested ; next, sight, hearing, taste and smell ; and finally, the power of distinction between things. There is yet another faculty which is extraordinary and gifted to a few, by which they perceive things, which an ordinary mind cannot perceive. Therefore, their speech and actions are extraordinary and followed by others. All bodies are similar in essence but differ in development. The Prophets understand certain secrets in Nature, which is not possible for ordinary men, and hence their actions in some cases appear supernatural. That the same is impossible to others is due to their ignorance and incapacity. The soul perceives things and perception is a quality or accident which must exist in a substance. It cannot exist by itself. Its substance is soul. As soul is not body, it cannot be described and, therefore, it is named in the *Quran* as "the command of God". The punishment or enjoyment in the next life is mental. Each man must see the result of his own actions. When we say, man will be punished for his sins, we mean he will see the result of his actions. He is not punished by God but by himself. If a man is bitten by a snake, he dies. It would be absurd to say why poison has affected him. The Prophets are spiritual physicians and they guide and cure us from our mental and spiritual diseases. The resurrection of the dead need not be in the same body but in any body. Ghazzālī believed that man retains his thinking power after his death and so, he writes in his work *Maznun*, that a man after death will enjoy or think himself miserable, in a manner similar to his experience in the world. His system of ethics is based on the teaching of Islam. He begins with the story of human nature, the activity of the mind and the senses. The real self is connected with the body through the spirit, which is a subtle vapour-like substance spreading all over the body. There are two hearts, one the centre of the body, which keeps up the circulation of the blood, and the other, the centre and the source of spiritual activity. Both are called *Qalb*. The spiritual *Qalb* possesses the qualities of will, power and knowledge, and these are manifested by the faculty of *Idrāk* or apprehension. The five mental faculties, according to Ghazzālī, are :—*takhayyul* or imagination, *tafakkur* or reflection, *tazakkur* or recollection, *hāfiza* or memory, and *hisse-mush-tarik* or a common sense. Animals, though they possess some of these faculties, have no reasoning power, which is called *aql*, or the intellect. It is man who possesses intellect and thus he is distinguished from animals. The intellect is the cause of human progress. If a man enjoys this gift of Nature in its

perfection, he realizes the ultimate realities and rises to the rank of angels. But if his soul is overcome by passion and lust, his intellectual activity is weakened and gradually he sinks to the level of animals. Ghazzālī's *aql* is not the intellect in its ordinary sense. It is a divine entity by itself.

HIS GREAT POPULARITY

Ghazzālī was the last great Iranian scholastic. Although the Mongolian and Saffarid periods produced many scholastic writers in Iran, Turkey, Egypt and India, none attained to his popularity. Ghazzālī wrote twenty theses bearing on the views of philosophers, theories on the eternity of the world. God's knowledge, God as prime cause operating through necessity, the law of causation, etc. He rejected the belief in the senses and the undisputed accuracy of intellectual conclusions. The result of his writings was the triumph of theology over philosophy in Islam.

ABDUL-RAZZĀK

During the Saffarid period, Mulla Abdul-Razzāk Lahiji, a pupil of Sadr-ud-dīn, known as Mulla Sadra, wrote a work entitled *Gauher-e-Murad*, on scholastic philosophy as viewed by Shia doctrine. It is divided into several discourses and subdivided into a number of chapters. Among the subjects treated are:—

First Discourse.—(1) On knowledge and perception. (2) Forms and bodies. (3) Heavenly bodies, elements, etc.

Second Discourse.—(1) Soul and its various aspects. (2) God, His essence and attributes, action, cause and effects, predestination, angels, *jin*, etc. (3) Goodness and evil in deeds. (4) Inspiration. (5) The Prophet. (6) *Miraj* or ascent of the Prophet. (7) *Imām* and his position. (8) Miracles by saints.

Third Discourse.—(1) The different views concerning soul. (2) The world of similitude. (3) Punishment and reward in the next life, etc.

SHAH VALIYULLAH OF DELHI

In India, according to Shibli Nomani, Shah Valiyullah of Delhi was the most authentic writer on theology, in which *Kalām* was also included. He was born at Delhi in the year 1214 A.H. or 1836 A.D. Among his more important works is *Hujjatullah-e-bāligha*, in which he writes on:—(1) Human responsibility (for good and bad actions); (2) The uniformity and unchangeability of the divine law; (3) The reality of the soul; (4) Reward and punishment; (5) Day of Judgment; (6) The world of similitude; (7) The office of the

Prophet ; (8) The origin and unity of all religions ; (9) The cause for apparent differences in religions ; and (10) The necessity of a religion which must be most perfect. The world of similitude (*Misāl*) is a world in which beings are not material but move, ascend and descend, and are not visible to our eyes. The miracle of the *Quran* is not in its literary beauty and perfection, but in its teaching.

THE BASIS OF SCHOLASTIC TEACHING

Like Motazala, all Ashāera scholars have based most of their argument on passages of the *Quran*. Among these are the following :—

God's Pleasure

1. "And if God had pleased, those after them would not have fought one with another." (Ch. II. 253.)

2. "Thou (God) givest the kingdom to whomsoever thou pleasest, and takest away the kingdom from whomsoever thou pleasest." (Ch. III. 25.)

3. "And if a benefit comes to them, they say : 'This is from God'; and if a misfortune befalls on them they say : 'This is from you'. All is from God." (Ch. IV. 78.)

"He forgives whom He pleases and punishes whom He pleases." (Ch. V. 18.)

"And if God had pleased, they would not have done it." (Ch. VI. 138.)

God controls all things.

On Destiny

"God enlarges bounty to whom He wills." (Ch. XIII. 20.)

"Nor is there anything not provided beforehand by us, of which we send down according to a fore-known decree. Surely we have created everything according to a measure." (Ch. LIV. 49.)

"No evil befalls on the earth nor in your souls, but it is in the book before we bring into existence." (Ch. LVII. 22.)

God is Omnipotent

"God is the king of the heavens and the earth. He forgives whom He pleases and chastises whom He pleases and God is forgiving, merciful." (Ch. XLVIII. 14.)

"Thy Lord does whatever He pleases."

Good and evil come from God

"And God guides into the right path whomsoever He will."

"If He had so willed, He would have directed all of you (towards virtue)."

"Thou lead astray whom Thou wilt and dost direct whom Thou wilt."

"Those who are polytheists say, if God had willed, they would not have been idolaters (associated other Gods with Him)." (Ch. VI. 149.)

Resurrection of the dead in bodies

"Is not He able to give life to the dead?" (Ch. LXXV. 40.)

"And forgets his own creation. Says he : Who will give life to the bones when they are rotten ? Say : He will give life to them who brought them into existence at first." (Ch. XXXVI. 78. 9.)

"Does man suppose that we shall not bring together his bones ? Yea ! We have power to make complete his very fingers." (Ch. LXXV. 3-4.)

THE SERVICE RENDERED BY THE SCHOLASTIC SCHOLARS TO ISLAM

The scholastic scholars, both Motazala and Ashā'era, have rendered great service to Islam by defending its teaching against atheists and admirers of Iranian and Greek thought. Their criticisms on some points were directed against Greek philosophy but in other respects, they formed a refutation of theories originated by Muslims themselves, such as Abu Ali Sina, who has attributed his own thoughts to Greek philosophers. Among the controversial points refuted are :—

<i>Philosophers</i>	<i>Ashā'eras</i>
1. Existence is common among all beings.	Each being has an independent existence.
2. Necessity, possibility and impossibility are all real.	They are relative terms.
3. Accident can remain with another accident.	Cannot.
4. Void is impossible.	Possible.
5. Atoms have no existence.	Everything is a composite of atoms.
6. Body is a compound of matter and form.	There is no such thing as <i>Hayula</i> (matter).
7. Philosophers were realistic.	Scholastics like Ghazzālī were nominalistic.
8. Philosophy is the knowledge of realities based on the power of human reason.	Scholastics is a scientific systematization of Islamic doctrine.

SUBJECTS DEALT WITH BY THE SCHOLASTICS

The following were the most important subjects treated by the scholastics :—

1. Unity of God.
2. Doctrine of *Mabda'* (Origin) and *Ma'ad* (return).
3. Moral responsibility.
4. The continuation of human life after death.

OTHER MISCELLANEOUS SCHOLASTIC SCHOOLS AND SECTS

Besides the two great schools of Motazala and Ashā'era, there was the older form of Motazala, named *Qadriyyah*, which held that man has the power to create his own action. Similarly, an older form of the Ashā'era school, called *Jabriyyah*, also existed. This school denied the freedom of will in man. There were a number of other sects. Among them the following are worth mentioning :—

I. *Dahriyya*.—The Dahriyya were those who believed in the eternity of matter and said that the world has neither beginning nor end. They denied the day of resurrection and judgment. They are thus referred to in the *Quran* : "And they say : there is no other than our present life : we die and we live and nothing but the course of time (*Dahr*) destroyeth us." Among the Quraish, Abu Sufyan, son of Harb, a distant cousin of the Prophet and father of the first Umayyad Khalif, was considered to have been a Dahri, before he embraced Islam. The idea underlying this sect was most probably imported into Arabia from Syria or from the Zarvanists of Iran. Imam Ghazzālī, in his work *Almanqaz-minaz-zalal*, writes that the Dahris are divided into :—(1) Those who denied the existence of a Creator and considered the world eternal. (2) Those who admitted the existence of a Creator, but considered life and soul an admixture of elements which would cease at death. (3) Those who followed the views of Greek philosophers. Ibn-e-Hazam writes that the atheists or Dahris believe in the eternity of the world. They believed that there is no Creator or Ruler. As is declared in the *Quran* :—"And they say : there is nothing but our life in this world. We live and die and nothing destroys us but Time." (Ch. XLV. 24.) Some of them admit a Creator, but include time and space and soul also as co-eternal with Him. That which stands in the way of the objects desired by them is evil and that which fulfils his desire and ends to his advantage is good.

II. *Qerāmeta*.—The Qerāmeta were the followers of Abdulla, son of Maimun, an Iranian who lived in the third century A.H. (circa 10th century A.D.), in Khuzistan. His metaphysics was the same as known to the contemporary philosophers, i.e., God is incomprehensible to human knowledge and the following are His emanations :—(1) Universal Intelligence (*Aql-e-kul*); (2) Universal Soul (*Nafs-e-kul*); (3) Primal matter; (4) Space; and (5) Time. The last three constitute the universe. Man's goal is union with the Universal Intelligence, which can only be attained through Divine help. The Prophets are manifestations of the Universal Soul. The first was Adam and the last Muhammad. Each Prophet is followed by a number of *walis*. Muhammad was

followed by Ali and six of Ali's descendants. The seventh was Ismail, son of Jafar, whose assistant was Abdulla, son of Maimun. The incarnations are the same but manifested at different times under different names. The universe was thought to be a sum total of phenomena, repeating itself in cycles and variety. Existence is divided into :—(1) *Nurqāher*, or Victorious Light, from which emanate the Universal Intelligence, and after several other emanations, the intelligence of the Prophets, *Imāms* and elects reproduced. And (2) *Nur-e-Zulami*, the Dark Light, or *Maqhur*, visible, which is called matter. It is passive and manifested as universe in various forms, such as, stars, heavens, bodies, etc., which must finally disappear. The intelligence of the Prophets and their successors are sparks of the Supreme Light. There are five tyrants :—(1) Heavens, which cause day and night, decay and growth : (2) Nature, which causes the desires which bring misery and pain ; (3) Laws, which cause the bindings of human inner action ; (4) State or Government, which controls and commands man's external movement ; and (5) Necessity, which brings hardship in daily labour. This doctrine was taught to the adepts by degrees as was done among the Manichæans.

III. Ismailiyya.—The Ismailiyya are those who follow the first six *Imāms* of the Shiahs, i.e., those who admit the office of *Imām* in Alī, Hasan, Husāin, Ali (II), Muhammad, and his son Jafar and after him his eldest born Ismail, who died before his father. The majority of Shiahs follow his other son named Musa, but those who believe in Ismail as the true successor of his father and after him his son Muhammad as the legal successor and not his brother, were called Ismailiyya or the Seveners, i.e., those who believe in the Seven *Imāms*. They also nick-named *Hash-shi-sheen*, or those who use a kind of intoxicating drug (hemp), which was corrupted later into "assassins" by Europeans. The Nusairis, and the present Bhōrahs and Khōjas (followers of H.H. the Aga Khan) are branches of the same stock and are found in Syria, Iran, Afghanistan, Oman and India.

According to the doctrine of the Ismailiyya group, God has no attributes. He is incomprehensible and beyond human knowledge and the universe has been created by a number of Divine emanations, such as Universal Intelligence, Universal Soul, primal matter which forms the world and receives the impress of forms, of which the ideas exist in the Universal Intelligence. Space and time are two necessary primitive entities. Human salvation is in union with the Universal Intelligence, which must be acquired through its earthly incarnation, called *Nā-teq* (speaker), and of Universal Soul, named *Asās* (foundation), or *Sāmet* (silent). The former manifests

the revealed word and the latter its inner meanings. Such were Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and last Muhammad, and their *Sāmet* such as Shees, Sam, Ismail, Harun, Peter and Alī. Below these are *Hujjat* (proof) and below *Hujjat*, *Dai*, i.e., propagandist. The adept is taught the doctrine in the following stages :—(1) *T'anees* (familiarity), in which the good aspects of his present religion is shown with the suggestion that it is much better than what he has believed ; (2) *Tafarrus*, investigation in the same ; (3) *Tashkik*, doubts in his believed theories ; (4) *Rabt* (connection), with something higher ; (5) *Taliq*, suspension ; (6) *Tadlis*, allegorical explanation of the Ismailiyya doctrine ; (7) *Tasis*, foundation or grounding in which the Ismailiyya doctrine is clearly explained ; (8) *Mawasiq-bil-iman*, taking a vow and becoming a regular member of the new faith ; and (9) *Khal'a* and *Sakh*, deposing and coming out of all previous dogmatic restraints.

IV. *The Nusairis*.—The Nusairis of Iran are a branch of the Shiah sect, whose number is now limited to a few thousand persons. Their language is figurative and traces of the early Aryan religion are found in their beliefs and usages. A large number of them live in Syria. They divide time into several cycles, each cycle possessing its particular manifestation of the Deity like the *Yugās* of the Hindus. The Supreme Being is one in His essence but manifests Himself in diverse forms. His manifestations are similar to the Indian *avatar*, or the Christian word of God, *M'ana* (the meaning), the mind. He is not begotten ; is immortal ; and is eternal in His essence ; He is a light which illumines the stars and shines in bodies. He is combined with Muhammad the Prophet, and *Salmān*, a companion of the Prophet, who was an Iranian noted for his piety. These three form the triad of Nusairis. Alī is identified by them with the sky and Muhammad with the sun. Some of them believe that Alī dwells in the moon. Those who ascend the seven stages of spiritual perfection reach the abode of the star, of which Alī is the prince, and those who are sinners are re-born, as Christians or as Muslims, until purified, and those who do not worship Alī are reborn as animals. Their chief festivals are the ancient Iranian New Year in spring, called the *Nouroaz*, and the New Year in autumn, named *Mehregan* (Feast of Mitra).

Hayula, or matter, is of four kinds :—(1) *Hayula sana'at* or individuality. (2) *Hayula tabiat*, or species and genus. (3) *Hayula kulli*, or material. (4) *Hayula avvul*, or substance. The soul is divided as among the philosophers into : (1) *Nafs-e-Nabāti*, plant soul ; (2) *Nafs-e-Haivani*, animal soul ; and (3) *Nafs-e-Insani*, human soul. The last is eternal and indivisible and has several aspects such as :—*Nafs-e-Khiyali*,

imaginative soul or memory ; and *Aql-e-Insani*, the reasoning power. Good and evil are illusory and relative terms. Predestination is denied and misfortune is considered due to stupidity, mistakes, illusion, accidents, etc. Hell and Paradise are taken in an allegorical sense. Abdulla, the originator, had recommended the following :—(a) Monogamy ; (b) Woman need not wear a veil ; (c) White dress to be preferred to other colours ; (d) Passages occurring in the *Quran* to be interpreted according to an inner meaning ; (e) Proscription of wine ; and (f) Relaxation in the matter of the performance of prayers, fasts and other Islamic rituals.

The Druses of the Syrian branch of Seveners believe that :—(a) All souls have been created of the Universal Intelligence, their number is always the same, and pass into different bodies ; (b) Men rise to higher degrees of spiritual perfection according to their attachment to the truth ; and (c) Their seven commandments are :—(1) Truth ; (2) Charity ; (3) Renunciation of former creed ; (4) Submission to the will of God ; (5) Admission that past religions were true, etc. Like Mani, they believe in two Jesuses, one the true and other, the false.

V. *The Khurramiyya*.—The Khurramiyya sect followed Babak Khurrami who lived at Buz in North-West Iran. This sect appeared soon after the execution of Abul Muslim Khurassani, who defeated the last Umayyad Khalif and supported the Abbaside Khilafat. Some of them accepted Fatima, who was Abu Muslim's daughter, as their spiritual guide. Their doctrine may be thus summed up :—(a) All religious founders, though they differ in language and method of teaching, are inspired by one spirit ; (b) None should be hurt, unless he interferes with another's religious feeling ; and (c) Bloodshed must be forbidden and avoided. Like the Zoroastrians, they based their system on the theory of Light and Darkness, and considered cleanliness and purity as essential features of religion. They read the *Quran* and attended mosques. Wine was not permitted among them.

VI. *The Hurufi*.—The Hurufi sect was founded by Fazlullah of Asterabad, in North Iran, about the end of the 14th century A.D. It gave particular significance to the letters of Alphabet. A branch of it was introduced into Turkey and followed by the Baktashi order of Darwishes, who are found in Asia Minor, Albania and parts of Turkey. A large number of works have been written by the followers of Fazlullah on their religion. Their doctrine, in brief, is :—(1) The eternity of the universe, which moves unceasingly, and its movements cause changes divided into cycles. Each cycle has its own peculiar features. Man is created in the image of God, spe-

cially his face. The most remarkable fact connected with human beings, according to them, is invention of letters or the distinguishing power between several sounds and making compounds from out of them to express their inner views. They have no rituals except meeting their spiritual guide every morning, who gives a glass of wine, a slice of bread and a piece of cheese, which, to some extent, resembles the giving of sacred bread among Catholic Christians. They have also a kind of confession in vogue.

A REVIEW OF SCHOLASTICISM

Such were the great religious movements and philosophical developments in Islam, which started about the 9th century and declined soon after the Moghal invasion. In these movements, we find the most abstract and deep thought as well as concrete and dogmatic views, toleration and persecution, reasoning and superstition. While the Motazalas were rationalists and conceptionalists, the Ashāeras were dogmatists, realists, nominalists and traditionalists. They classified wisdom into divine and human. Human knowledge also was subdivided into *Zaruri* (necessary), which means natural to every human being and apprehended through the senses, and *Muktasab*, or acquired by religious teaching and scientific researches. The Motazalas believed ignorance to be the absence of knowledge, while the Ashāeras preached ignorance as an entity by itself. One said that God is beyond any description or resemblance, and words describing His attributes in the *Quran* must be taken in a metaphorical sense; while the other insisted that the interpretation should be literal. One considered the Divine speech in the *Quran* as created, while the other denied it. Among Muslim rulers, some were patrons of the Motazalas, while others were of the Ashāeras. Thus, Mamun, his brother Motasam, and Wasiq were zealous supporters of Motazalas, while Khalif Mutavakkul, together with the Seljukid kings and Salāhud-dīn the hero of the Crusades, were patrons of the Ashāeras. The works of the Motazalas were destroyed to such an extent that now only a few fragments are available.

Scholasticism was an attempt at the reconciliation of religion with philosophy. It had to depend on both, but its essential object was the defence of religion. In advancing their theories, in some instances, the upholders of scholasticism had to seek the support of philosophy and in other instances, in order to refute philosophical conceptions, they had to take shelter under religious commandments. Among the questions treated of by them were :—Matter (*Maddah*), or Greek *Hyle* (Arabic *Hayula*), which was considered as co-eternal with the Supreme Being. In its pure condition, it is a force but

becomes something by accepting *surat* or form. It is classified into :—(a) Primal matter ; (b) Matter of the universe ; (c) Matter of the elements, and (d) Energy. Among Muslim thinkers, Abdul Karim Jill says that God is the *Hayula*, i.e., substance of existence. *Jauhar* (substance) is that which exists by itself and *Araz* (accident) is the one which depends upon substance, such as colour, which must have a body for its appearance. Substance is divided into :—(a) Primal matter ; (b) Form ; (c) Body (which possesses dimension) ; (d) Soul, which means animal spirit ; and (e) Intelligence. Against these, scholastics advanced the theory of Atoms and said that all the abovementioned substances are nothing but atoms and that the world is composed of them. The Motazalite Abu Hashim's theory of atom is mentioned by Abu Rashid Saeed, son of Muhammad of Nishapur, in his work entitled *Kitabul-masael*, in which he says :—That *Juz'ê-la-yatajazzâ* or that which is not divisible is called *Jauher* (essence), and contains in itself the quality of filling *Tahayyuz* (space). It is of cubical form. Each such atom occupies a fixed portion of *Hayyuz* (space). They move in empty space and affect each other by pressure. There is no void. The space is filled up with atoms. The condition of being and not-being exists in the substance itself. God brings these atoms into existence. As beings, they move, unite, separate and are at rest. The Ashâra scholastics modified this theory and said :—(a) The world is a composite of atoms ; (b) These are not perceptible to senses ; (c) They have no magnitude but fill up the space ; (d) They have no quantity ; (e) Bodies come into existence and are destroyed by their union and separation ; (f) The time also is a combination of *Anat* points, movements made up of atoms ; (g) Each *Jauhar* (substance) may contain a number of *Araz* (accidents), such as life, death, ignorance, knowledge, etc. ; (h) Soul also is a composite of fine atoms ; (i) The atoms forming the universe are continuously created and destroyed by God ; and therefore (i) each moment there is new atom and a fresh life ; (ii) There is no such thing as natural law ; (iii) Being and not-being are the same to God ; (iv) So long as God creates atoms, the world retains its existence, and when God ceases to create, world becomes nothing.

The soul was considered by the theologians as God's breath which He breathed in man. Its seat is in the heart and possesses the qualities of evil and virtue. Its higher aspect is will, which controls and regulates the two said qualities. The individual will is subject to the universal will. Death is the separation of soul from the body, which is re-united at the command of God. But the atomists regarded it as a kind of atom. Knowledge also abides in the indivisible atom.

The object of advancing the atomic theory was to refute the theory of philosophers, who believed the world to be a compound of primal matter and form, which makes the world eternal and creates a difficulty in the doctrine of resurrection. According to philosophy, matter is eternal and its eternity naturally implies eternity of body. According to philosophers, the circular movement of heavenly bodies is eternal, while the same is not possible for rectilinear movement going upward or downward but according to the atomists the circular movement is made up of tiny rectilinear displacements of atoms and is not eternal.

God is neither substance nor atom. His being is identical with existence. He is the creator of atoms (or substances) every instant, which, by their nature, cannot endure and hence are replaced by fresh ones. If God ceases to create, the world is destroyed immediately.

As regards Predestination, the idea was a very old one. The Zartvānists of ancient Iran believed in time without beginning, as the origin of everything. Some of them identified this with glory, fortune or destiny. Its effect was considered supreme over everything in existence. Some thought it an infinite pre-existing matter out of which God formed the world. Thus, destiny and eternal matter were identified as one, out of which everything is made or destined. Space is identified with destiny in the Pahlavi work entitled *Mainog-e-Khirat*. Among the heathen Arabs, the idea of destiny is found, as in the following verse by Ibn-e-Sumail :—

“You meet them and you will know how patient (they are).

On what comes them of the injustice of events (luck).”

Some texts in the *Quran* stand both for the helplessness of human beings and the almighty power of God, who determines man's action and limits the power of man. The traditions of the Prophet support the theory of divine decree and reject the effect of the stars on human destiny. The early Khalif's followed the views of the Prophet. When the fourth Khalif, at the time of his departure on the expedition towards Syria, was told by astrologers that the hour was not favourable, he replied, “My sword will correct the unlucky time”. Thus, the early companions had the consciousness of their own free will, though subordinated to the Divine decree. According to orthodox Muslims, the action of man is not decreed in advance but noted after he has done it. The Motazala doctrine of *Tawhid* asserts that things possess *Taba* or nature and everything is by the choice of God who admits a certain *Adat* (quality) in it. Muslim philosophers equated God's decree (destiny) with His knowledge. But Ashā'eras refuted these theories and made the action of human beings

absolutely dependent upon God's will. Man's good deed, intention, ability, etc., rest upon His *Mashiyyat* (intention). He may appropriate God's decree by *Iktisab* (acquisition) and may become deserving for its merits.

Inspiration is of the following kinds:—(a) Common to all creatures, including inanimate objects, such as earth, which means the natural capacity in all things for perfection and development. It is declared in the *Quran*:—"Your Lord revealed to her (earth)." (Ch. XCIX. 5.) (b) Common to all creatures, which means instinct. It is said in the *Quran*:—"And your Lord revealed to the bee, that make hives, in the mountains and in the trees and what they build." (Ch. XVI. 68.) (c) Virtuous men and women (as Divine suggestion or right feeling), as to the mother of Moses, the *Quran* says:—"When We revealed to your mother (O Moses!) what was revealed." (Ch. XX. 38.) The Prophet's inspiration is classified into:—(a) Internal inspiration, such as to Zakariyya. The *Quran* says:—"O Zakariyya! surely We give you good news of a boy whose name shall be Yahya (John)." (Ch. XIX. 7.) (b) By dreams, as to Abraham. As it is declared in the *Quran*:—"And when he attained the work with him, he said, 'O my son! surely I have seen in a dream that I shall sacrifice thee; consider then what you see'. He said, 'O my father! do what you are commanded'." (Ch. XXXVII. 102.) (c) By clear vision as to the Prophet (Muhammad). The *Quran* says:—"He (Muhammad) does not speak out of desire. It is nought but revelation that is revealed (to him). Taught to him by one possessing mighty strength, who stood in balance (perfect condition). He was in the highest part of the horizon. Then he drew near and approached closer (till) he was at the distance of two bows or even closer. And then he revealed to his (God's) servant (Muhammad) what he revealed. His (Muhammad's) heart was not untrue to what he saw. Will you dispute (doubt) with him in what he saw? (So to assure you) he saw him (angel of God) once again, near the *lote* tree, near which is the garden (of angels and higher spiritual beings). That which (should) cover, covered the *lote* tree. The eye (of Muhammad) turned not aside, nor did it exceed the limit (i.e., his vision was a fact and not mere imagination). Then he (Muhammad) saw of the greatest signs of his Lord." (Ch. LIII. 3-17). (d) The archangel Gabriel, without appearance, influences the heart of the Prophet. The *Quran* says:—"The faithful spirit has descended with it (i.e., *Quran*) upon your (Muhammad's) heart, that you may be of the warners." (e) The archangel appearing in human form, as to Mary, the mother of Jesus. The *Quran* says:—"We sent to her our *Ruh* (archangel), who

appeared to her in the likeness of a well-made man." (Ch. XIX. 17.)

According to the tradition, revelation used to come on the Prophet as :—(a) a sound of ringing-bell or something beaten on metal ; (b) angel appearing in human form ; (c) angel appearing in his real form ; (d) angel appearing in dream ; and (e) angel appearing in vision.

Ibn-Khalledun, the philosopher-historian, describes revelation as the state of complete detachment from the visible, and absorption in the invisible world, when the Prophet sees realities hidden from the ordinary mind. According to Imañ Ghazzālī (in his work entitled *Ma'ariful-Quds*), the Prophet is distinguished by ordinary men in possessing the special power to think and discern realities not perceptible to others. Sūfis think that the archangel Gabriel is a prophetic power which takes form in the world of similitude and conveys the message of God. It is not anything separate but the Prophet himself, affected by his own inner spiritual power and, therefore, whatever he sees, it is in his heart or conscience. In the same way, the angel of death is a personification of the human mortal nature, by which he dies. Jalal-ud-dīn Rūmī has illustrated this idea by saying that as in a dream, the person as speaker and hearer is the same, the Prophet also in seeing the angel and hearing the message of God, is his own self. Thus, it is said in the *Quran* that the Prophet's vision of the archangel was by his eyes, which did not turn aside nor exceeded the limit, which means, what he saw was not mere imagination but truth. Others say that Prophets are created with the power to pass over from human to the angelic immaterial state, in which they can hear and comprehend the divine speech. The Prophet's *Miraj*, or ascent to heaven, as Ashāera and all orthodox Muslims of sects such as the Sunnis, Shīahs and others believe, was in body, which may be taken in the same sense, that it was the moment when he reached the highest state of spiritual absorption in God and vision of the immaterial world. He saw the realities which are not perceptible to others. It was a journey from the imperfect material to the perfect spiritual state, without moving from his place, which comes in when the ego is perfect and pure. According to Zoroaster, there are two eternal forces or spirits, one leading to perfection, truth, light and knowledge, and the other towards destruction, defect, falsehood, darkness and ignorance. These are named by Zoroaster as Spenta and Angra, and in Islam, they are known as Gabriel and Satan. Both affect the human mind, one for good and the other for evil. Therefore, inspiration in a general sense, is classified into :—(a) the Divine, named *Wahy* and *Ilhām* ; and (b) the

Satanic "Wiswas, doubts, etc." The Divine message (*wahy*) has the quality of clearness, surety, and is affected either direct or through vision, night dreams, intermediation through the angels (which are benevolent forces in nature), behind a veil (through instinct) or through virtuous men, as it is said in the *Quran*:—"It is not for any mortal that God should speak to him except by revelation or from behind a veil or by sending a messenger." (Ch. XLII. 51.)

The Ashāera agree with the orthodox in accepting the *Miraj* or ascent of the Prophet, as narrated in tradition, i.e., Gabriel descended to him, washed his heart and filled it with faith and wisdom, caused him to ride on the white-coloured animal (of enlightenment) named *Buraq*, and accompanied him in the space, where he saw wonders of God and met all past reformers and became acquainted with the spirit of their teaching. He and Gabriel reached the tree named *Sidratul Muntaha*, under which four rivers, two hidden and two manifested, were flowing. The archangel could not accompany him further, but the Prophet alone, in a higher state of spiritual absorption, proceeded beyond the world of senses and found himself close to the presence of the Deity, at a distance of two bows and closer. He was facing in one aspect, which was subjective completely towards "singleness and unity", with the other which was objective towards "diversity". Between these two states, he stood and as it is said in the *Quran*:—"He saw of the greatest signs of his Lord."

As to miracles, it is said in the *Quran* that no miracle has been mentioned for the Prophet, except the *Quran*, as a revealed book similar to which it is impossible for anyone else to produce, not even a sentence, because it is descended from God. Muslim philosophers, like Abu Ali Sina, believed that any extraordinary or apparently supernatural action is called a miracle. The Ashāeras believed that God creates in lifeless objects certain qualities which work and are known to us, but these qualities are momentary and renewed unceasingly. Jalal-ud-dīn Rūmi says, in his *Masnawi*, that the chain of cause and effect is of two kinds:—(a) the one seen and comprehensible to human senses: and (b) the other unknown and incomprehensible to the ordinary mind, but known to men of higher spiritual or intellectual development and, therefore, when they do a certain act, it appears supernatural to us but natural to them. It is a miracle, according to our standpoint, because we are incompetent to know its cause and effect. The theologians consider a miracle *Khareq-ul-adah*, supernatural in its real sense and say it is in an act in violation of the natural order, granted by God to the Prophets. Jalal-ud-dīn also explains that there are certain acts which cannot be

solved by intellectual reasoning, because its chain of cause and effect is not known to us as they are slow in some cases and rapid in other instances, such as the speed in the melting of iron is rapid in fire but slow under sunshine. The length between the two is great in producing the same effect. According to the Ashāera school, the following are the conditions for accepting a miracle :—(a) it must be a Divine act ; (b) it must be supernatural ; (c) it must not be counteracted by anyone else ; (d) it must be done by one who claims to be a Prophet ; (e) it must be according to his claim ; (f) the doer must not be proved a false Prophet ; and (g) it must not be acted before he claims to be a Prophet. Like inspiration, it is divided into :—(a) Divine, called *Mojiza*, which means an act for doing which ordinary human beings are incompetent. (b) Satanic, named *Istadraj*, which is done through magic, but is always proved to be weaker and false before a Divine act. The *Mojiza* (divine) is classified according to the rank of the doers and the manner of the manifestation into :—(a) *Āyah* (sign) mentioned in the *Quran* in the following passages :—“They say, why are not (*āyah*) signs sent down to him (i.e., Muhammad) from his Lord ?” “Say (O Muhammad) (*āyah*) signs are in the power of God alone, but I am only a warner.” (Ch. XXIX. 50.) (b) *Mojiza*, incompetency of other men to do an extraordinary act done by a Prophet. (c) *Trhas* (laying a foundation). Extraordinary act before announcement of the mission by a Prophet. (d) *Alāmat* (Mark). (e) *Karāmat* (grace) done by virtuous people, saints, for example, intentionally helping a man in distress or unintentionally.

According to some Muslims, the performance of miracles is not necessary for a prophet. His right teaching is his miracle and therefore the Ashāeras believe that a prophet need not be a man of high learning. His perfection is a Divine gift, as it is said in the *Quran* :—“Their apostles said to them : We are nothing but men like yourselves, but God bestows (His) favours on whom He pleases of His servants, and it is not for us that we should bring you an authority (miracle) except by God's permission.”

CHAPTER XIII

MUSLIM JURISPRUDENCE AND THEOLOGY

Quran and Jurisprudence—I. *Quran*—II. The Earliest Collection of the Tradition—III. Formation of a System of Jurisprudence—IV. Theological Centres of Study—V. Period of Development—Prominent Shiah Theologians—The Shariat—The Fundamental Muslim Legal Principle—Principles of Islam—Place of Worship in Islam—Prayer in Islam—Fasting in Islam—Pilgrimage in Islam—Sacrifice of Animals—Zakāt or Alms—Mūāmālt—Uqubat.

QURAN AND JURISPRUDENCE

What is contained in the *Quran* may, in a general sense, be classified under four heads :—

- (1) Metaphysical and abstract ;
- (2) Theological ;
- (3) Ethical and mystical ; and
- (4) Rituals and legal.

The first was taken up by philosophers ; the second by the scholastics ; the third was specialized by the Sūfis ; and the fourth by theologians and jurists.

Islamic theology begins with the Prophet's acceptance to settle down at Medina, which synchronised with an increase in the number of Muslims there and elsewhere. Within the short space of ten years from that time, almost all the passages with which future theology has been concerned, had been revealed. As the early Muslims led simple lives and their needs were few, the laws of Islam are extremely simple. The Prophet was the spiritual as well as the temporal head of the community. His orders, revealed from God, were obeyed. In certain cases, the prohibition was introduced gradually. Beginning with a recommendation, it ended in an injunction as in the case of the use of intoxicants and gambling. The following passages indicate the manner in which recommendation eventually merges into prohibition :—

1st Stage : Recommendation :—"They ask then concerning wine, and games of chance. Say ! In both is great evil and advantages also to men, but their evil is greater than advantage." (Ch. XI. 216.)

2nd Stage : A first step towards prohibition :—"O ! You believers, do not pray when you are intoxicated, so that you may know well what you say." (Ch. IV. 43.)

3rd Stage : Total Prohibition.—"O Believers ! Intoxicants and games of chance and (sacrificing to) idols and divining arrows are an uncleanness and the work of Satan ; (therefore) shun it," (Ch. V. 90.)

As the passages in relation to rituals, ceremonies and laws were brief, they needed further explanation, which was given by the Prophet. In this manner, the Prophet himself was the first commentator of the *Quran*. The Tradition may be divided into :—

(i) That part of it which reflects on passages occurring in the *Quran* ;

(ii) That part which is in answer to questions or relates to some particular occasion.

The rise of the Muslim Arabs after the death of the Prophet was rapid. Within a short time, a period less than sixty years, they became masters of North Africa, including Spain, Syria, and the whole of Iran, in fact, all Central Asia as far as China in the East. A large number of non-Arabs also embraced Islam. They were quite ignorant of the Arabic language and hence were unable to understand the *Quran* and even when they learnt it, many words, sentences and passages in the *Quran* were not clear to them. The inhabitants of Mecca and Medina, particularly those who had served under them, had occasion to learn the Islamic doctrine direct from the Prophet, came to be held as authorities on the subject of the religion. The regular development of theology may thus be said to begin with the subjugation of the countries above mentioned. As in the case of Sūfism, the development of theology was gradual. The period of development may be divided as indicated below :—

(1) The life of the Prophet after prophetic announcement, which lasted from 608 A.D. to 632 A.D., i.e., about 23 years.

(2) The reign of the first four Khalifs, from 632 A.D. to 661 A.D., i.e., about 30 years.

(3) Umayyad Khalifs, from 661 A.D. to 750 A.D.

(4) Abbaside Khalifs, from 750 A.D. to 1258 A.D.

(5) Non-Arab period from 1258 A.D. to the present time.

The first period is coterminous with the revelation of the *Quran* itself and the instructions given by the Prophet in person. The second period is rendered noteworthy by—

(1) The earliest collection of the Tradition or sayings of the Prophet ;

(2) The building up of the system of Muslim jurisprudence under the guidance of the first four Khalifs ; and

(3) The arrangement of the *Quran* into chapters as we have it now.

Of these achievements, the last is perhaps the most important.

I—QURAN

The word *Quran* is derived from *Qara*, to read.⁷³ It is also designated in Arabic *Al-Furqan* (the distinguisher),⁷⁴ *Kalamullah* (the word of God), *Kitab* (the book), *Nur* (the light) and *Al-huda* (the guidance). It has a large number of other names, some mentioned in the *Quran* itself and others given by Muslims. It is held in the greatest respect by all sects of Islam. It is never read or even touched without ablutions previously performed or without the hands being washed. Its passages are written and used as charms and talismans. It is considered the eternal miracle of Islam;⁷⁵ a the expounder of the most sublime truth : as superior to what was laid down by all past religions ; as the best guide for seeking God and for obtaining emancipation ; the perfection of all moral codes ; as the word of God, uncreated in its origin and before being

⁷³ The word "Quran" means "the reading", or "the recitation", and is the term given by the Prophet to the "revelations" which he declared he had received from God : *Suratu'n Nisa* (iv) 84 ; *Suratu'l-Ahqaf* (xlvi) 3, 7 ; *Suratu'n-Najm* (Liii) 4. In *Suratu'l-Shuara* (xxvi) 192, it is styled : "Verily it is a Revelation from the Lord." With this declaration, compare *Suratu'l-Ahqaf* (xlvi) i. The original of these "Revelations" is said to be preserved under the Eternal Throne of God, and hence spoken of as the "Preserved Tablet". As stated in the *Quran* : "It is a glorious *Quran* written on a 'Preserved Tablet'."—*Suratu'l-Buruj* (Lxxxv) 21, 22.

⁷⁴ It may also be rendered "The Illumination". This term occurs in the Talmud as well, and is further the title of a *Surah* in the *Quran* itself (see *Surah* xxv ; also *Suratu Ali Imran*, iii, 2). Translators of the *Quran* vary in their interpretation of this term. Sale suggests that it signifies a section or portion of the Scripture, from Hebrew *perck* or *pirka* (cf. *firka*, a revenue subdivision in India). Rodwell translates it as *deliverance* or *liberation* ; hence *illumination*. The common interpretation adopted is the *distinction* (between good and evil).

⁷⁵ This is the spirit in which the Muhammadan world in general regards the *Holy Quran*. The sublimity of language used in it—especially where it describes the majesty and attributes of God—has attracted the very widest attention and has won universal respect for it. The traditionary story goes that the Prophet, when he was challenged by his opponents to perform a miracle, readily referred them to the *Quran*, simultaneously challenging them, by way of answer, to produce even one *Surah* of the kind contained in it. *Suratu'l-Baqara* (ii) 21 ; *Suratu Yunus* (x) 39 ; etc. The finest description of God in the *Quran* is the far-famed "Verse of Power" or the "Verse of the Throne", which is seen so commonly inscribed in mosques (Rodwell, 2 : 256) ; the equally fine descriptions of the beneficent Creator found in some other *Surahs* (*Ibid.*, 2 : 27 ; 6 : 95-100 ; 14 : 37 ; 46 : 32 ; 50 : 37 ; 55 : 2-10) have proved acceptable to many non-Muslims, including Jews and Christians. The Prophet explicitly disclaimed the miracle-working power (Rodwell, 16 : 109 ; 17 : 92-98 ; 21 : 3, 5, 10 ; 29 : 49).

conveyed to the Prophet, written by the hands of angelic scribes; and noble and complete in itself. It is believed by Muslims that the whole text descended from God, having been kept in Heaven, and revealed in parts at different times during a period of twenty-three years, as necessity demanded it, through the archangel Gabriel, who descended for the purpose in various forms.⁷⁶ Some chapters were revealed in complete form: others in portions. It is divided into 30 *Juzv*, containing 114 *Surahs* or chapters, some very long and others very brief. Each *Juzv* is subdivided into four portions. The chapters were arranged under the personal direction of the Prophet, who used to ask the scribe present to insert the revealed passage in a particular chapter. Thus, it is not arranged in chronological order, not by oversight but as commanded by the Prophet.⁷⁷ The work of compilation was first undertaken by order of Abu Bakr, a copy of the Sacred Book having been left in the custody of Hafsa, the widow of the Prophet. The third Khalif Usman ordered the revision and comparison of the various fragments in the possession of people with the original copy, and the arrangement of the whole Sacred Book into chapters, under the supervision of the following experts:—

(1) Zaid, the son of Thabit, who was also the first compiler: (2) Abdulla, the son of Zubair; (3) Said, the son of As: and (4) Abdur-Rahman, the son of Hâris.

With the exception of the first, the other three belonged to the Quraishid tribe. The work was completed after careful scrutiny and comparison with other fragments and presented to the Khalif, who caused a number of copies of it to be made and sent them to the different centres of Islam, and these became texts for all subsequent copies of the Sacred Book. The fragments in the possession of different people were recovered and burnt. As a number of companions such as Abdulla, the son of Masud; Salim, Ali, the fourth Khalif: Muaz, the son of Jabal; Ubayy, the son of Ka'b: Abdulla, the son of Umar, had committed the whole *Quran* to memory and a large number had each got by heart a portion of it and hardly any difficulty was experienced in the matter of securing a correct text or in arranging it as required. The Prophet encouraged

⁷⁶ *Suratu'l-Baqara* (ii) 91; *Suratu Bani Israel* (xvii) 107; and *Suratu'l-Furqan* (xxv) 34.

⁷⁷ Neither topical nor the chronological order was possible for the reason stated in the text. Western scholars have tried to find out the order in which the Prophet gave the *Surahs*. Rodwell has essayed to arrange the *Surahs* in chronological order. Canon E. Sell has tried to trace the historical development of the Sacred work. (See Rodwell's *Koran*; and Canon E. Sell's *The Historical Development of the Quran*.)

his companions to write and learn the text of the *Surahs* by heart. The attachment of the Muslims to the Sacred Book was so great that it has retained its purity, without the least change, for the last one thousand and three hundred years. Its contents were revealed in the Meccan dialect of the Quraish and one object of Usman was to make people read it in this self-same dialect. The titles of the chapters are after important names, anecdotes, parables or one or more letters of alphabet mentioned at the beginning of a chapter. For example :—Chapter I is named “Al-Fateha” or the opening chapter. It is also called “Al-hamd”, because its first word is *al-hamd* ; Chapter II is “Al-Baqarah”, or the cow, because the story of the cow which was slaughtered by order of Moses to discover a case of murder is mentioned in it ; Chapter III is “Al-Imran”, the name of a family. Chapter IV, “An-Nisa”, or the women, in which treatment of women, marriage, etc., is mentioned ; Chapter V “Al-Māidah”, which means food ; Chapter VI “Al-An’am”, or the cattle ; Chapter VII “Al-A’raf”, or the elevated places ; Chapter VIII “Al-Anfal”, or accessions ; Chapter IX “Berat”, or immunity ; and Chapters X, XI, XII, XIV, XXXI, XLII and LXXI have been named after the names of the Prophets Yunus (Jonah), Hud, Yusuf (Joseph), Ibrahim (Abraham), Luqman, Muhammad and Noah respectively.

There are twenty-nine chapters beginning with one or more letters of alphabet, such as :—

	Chapters
(1) Alif-lam-mim (Alm)	6
(2) Alif-lam-mim-sad (A.L.M.S.)	1
(3) Alif-lam-mim-ra (A.L.M.R.)	1
(4) Alif-lam-ra (A.L.R.)	5
(5) Ka, ha, ya, ain, sad (k, h, y, a, s)	1
(6) Ta-ha (t-h)	1
(7) Ya-sin (y-s)	1
(8) Ha-mim (h-m)	6
(9) Ha, mim, ain, sin, qaf (h, m, a, s, q)	1
(10) Qaf (q)	1
(11) Sad (s)	1
(12) Ta-sin (T-S)	1
(13) Ta, sin, mim (T.S.M.)	2
(14) Nun (n)	1

Thus of the twenty-six letters of the Arabic alphabet, viz., *Alef, be, te, the, jim, hai, khai, dal, zal, re, ze, sin, shin, sad, zad, toe, zoe, ain, ghain, fe, qaf, kaf, lam, mim, nun, ye*;

the undermentioned occur in the *Quran*. The special selection of these letters means that a certain spiritual significance has been attached to these letters or sounds :—

Alef, lam, mim, sad, re, kaf, hai, ye, ain, toe; gaf; nun.

Among the remaining chapters, several take the name of phenomenal objects such as :—

1. *Tur*—mountain.
2. *Najm*—star.
3. *Qamar*—moon.
4. *Burūj*—sign of Zodiac or stars.
5. *Tariq*—night star.
6. *Fajr*—day-break.
7. *Shams*—sun.
8. *Zuha*—ascending sun (*in Meridian*).
9. *Lail*—night.
10. *Falaq*—day-break.

11. *R'ad*—thunder, in which the Aryan myth of Indra has been narrated in its Semitic form as a force working in nature by the order of God, as, for instance, in the following passage :—

"And the thunder declares His glory, with His praise and the angels too for awe of Him, and he sends the thunderbolt (*vajra*), and smites them whom He pleases." (Ch. XIII. 13.)

A few chapters have been given the names of certain sacred trees and useful creatures, such as :—

Nahl (bee); *Tin* (fig); and *Fīl* (elephant).

Other chapters have miscellaneous titles, such as :—

Hijr (rock); *Bani Isrā'il* (children of Israel); *Kahf* (cave)—certain Christian saints who took refuge in a cave); *Anbiyā* (prophets); *Hajj* (pilgrimage); *Momenun* (believers); *Furqan* (*Quran*); *Sh'ura* (poets); *Naml* (ant); *Qasas* (stories). *Ankabut* (spider); *Rum* (Romans); *Sijdah* (prostration); *Ahzāb* (confederates); *Saba* (Sheba, a town in Yemen); *Al-Fatir* (the originator); *Sāffāt* (ranks); *Zumar* (troops); *Mumin* (believer); *Fussalat* (explanation); *Shura* (council); *Zukhruf* (ornaments); *Dukhan* (smoke); *Jāsiyah* (kneeling); *Ahqaf* (sand-hills); *Fatah* (victory); *Hujurat* (chambers); *Zāryāt* (scattering winds); *Rahmān* (Merciful—name of God); *Wāqī-ah* (events); *Hadid* (iron); *Mujādelah* (dispute); *Hashr* (assembly); *Mumtahinah* (the examined one); *Saff* (array); *Jumā'h* (the congregation); *Munafiqin* (hypocrites); *Taghābun* (deceit or defect); *Talāq* (divorce); *Tahrīm* (prohibition); *Mulk* (kingdom); *Al-Haqqah* (calamity); *Ma'raj* (ascent); *Jin* (genii); *Muzammal* (wrapped up); *Muddassir* (enfolded); *Qiyāmah* (resurrection); *Dahr* (time); *Mursalāt* (messenger); *Naba* (news); *Nazī'āt* (drawers); *Abasa* (frowned); *Takwir* (folding up); *Infitar* (elevating asunder); *Tatfīf* (defaulters); *Inshiqāq* (rending asunder); *Alā* (most

high); *Ghashiyah* (overwhelming event); *Balad* (city—of Mecca); *Inshirāh* (expanding); *Alaq* (congealed blood); *Qadr* (majesty sight of power); *Bayyinah* (evidence); *Zalzalah* (shaking); *Adiyat* (swift horses); *Qariah* (repelling calamity); *Takassur* (multiplying); *Asr* (the time); *Humuzah* (slanderer); *Quraish* (the tribe of Quraish); *Ma'un* (alms); *Kausar* (abundance); *Kafirun* (the unbelievers); *Nasr* (help); *Lahab* (flame—the nickname of the Prophet's uncle, who was called by him as Abu-Lahab, the father of flame); *Ikhlas* (the unity—God); and *Nās* (men).

A Muslim believes in the *Quran* as the word of God uttered in a manner which is unsurpassable in the beauty of its language and in the declaration of the truth of the doctrines inculcated by it. Non-Muslim writers and critics in Europe are unanimous in admitting its literary merit. Mr. Sale, whose translation is well known, writes:—"So strangely captivating to the minds of his audience that several of his opponents thought it the effect of witch-craft and enchantment." The *Quran* itself testifies to making of such remarks by the bitterest opponents of the Prophet in Mecca, who were considered learned men and leaders of the Quraish and held in respect. Among these were Walid, the son of Mughira, the father of the famous General Khalid, who, on hearing of certain of the passages in the *Quran*, made certain remarks, which have been described beautifully in the following *Surah* of the *Quran* itself:—

"He (Walid) reflected (on the passages read for him) and measured. May he be killed, how wrongly he measured. Again, may he be killed, how (wrongly) he measured. He looked, then frowned (and became gloomy); then turned back and made himself big with pride, then said: 'this is nought but enchantment!'" (Ch. LXXXIV. 18-24.)

Umar, the second Khalif, before embracing Islam, was an opponent of the Prophet and once he left his place with the intention of murdering him. On his way, he met his own sister, who had already embraced Islam, and found her reading some passages from the *Quran*. He took those passages and read them and was so much affected by them, that he immediately became a Muslim. The following is a translation of a few lines from these self-same passages, which cannot, for obvious reasons, retain their original beauty in the translation offered here:—

"Tā! Hā! we have not revealed (this) *Quran* to thee that thou shouldst be distressed. It is a reminder to him who fears (God), a revelation from Him, who created the earth and high heavens. He is the *Rahmān* (merciful), who is firm on (His) throne of (power), His (all) in heavens and what-

ever on earth and between them two and beneath the earth. If you are loud in speech, He knows the secret and what is hidden (in your mind). (Such is He) *Allah*, there is no God but He, His are the very best names." (Ch. XX. 1-8.)

In describing the great world flood, the passages in the *Quran* describing it became extremely figurative and sublime. According to Arab writers on rhetoric, the following few lines taken from these passages contain twenty-three figures of speech in them :—

"And the ark moved in with them amid waves like mountain, and Noah called out to his son (when) he was apart. O, My Child! Embark with us, and be not with unbelievers. He said, I will betake myself to a mountain, that shall save me from water. He said, none shall be saved this day from God's decree, save him on whom He shall have mercy, and a wave passed between them and he was drowned and it was said, O Earth! swallow down thy water and O Heaven! withhold thy rain! and the water abated, and God's decree was fulfilled and the ark rested on al-Judi (a mountain)."

Such is the style of the *Quran*, most beautiful, fluent, concise, persuasive : possessing great force of expression : in some instances composed for hearing than for reading; magnificent when describing the majesty and sublimity of God, encouraging to warriors, seekers of the truth and undetermined hearts. It is composed neither in poetry nor in simple prose. The sentences generally end in rhyme; words being well selected and beautifully placed. Each chapter has its own rhymed words, coming at the end of each sentence, as in the following :—

"*Fa Zakkir famā anta be nem'atē rabbakka be kahinin ra la majnun am yaquluna sha'erun natarubbaso behi raiba-ul-manun ?*"

Translated, this means :—"So continue to remind, for, by grace of your lord, you are not a soothsayer (as said by the unbelievers) or a mad man. Or do they say : 'a poet, we wait for him the evil accidents of time' ?" (Ch. LII. 29-30.)

Apart from the beauty of its composition, it contains original ideas, especially in connection with the unity of existence and the singleness of God. The heathen Arabs, despite the large number of idols they worshipped, they believed in the existence of one great God, whom they called *Allah*. They considered *Allah* the creator of heaven and earth, self-existent and creator of everything in the universe, including gods and mortals. Thus it is said in the *Quran* :—

"When you ask them, who is the creator of heavens and earth, they say *Allah*. But, besides one great *Allah*, they believed in minor deities also and when the Prophet announced

that there is no god but *Allah*, it was so strange to its hearers that according to the *Quran* they said, "What ! does he (Muhammad) make the (numerous) gods into a single God ? Surely a strange thing is this !" (Ch. XXXVIII. 5.)

The chapters are divided into Meccan and Medinite. The Meccan chapters are in short sentences, full of enthusiasm, poetical, lofty and brilliant ; denouncing idol worship, promising paradise and threatening with the dire punishment of hell ; describing the unity and the majesty of God, the day of Judgment, with allusions to some of the prophets and the events of their time ; rich in eloquence, with appreciations of objects in nature ; and with most of them beginning with one or a number of oaths, very attractive to Arabs as in the following :—"By the sun and his noon-day brightness : By the noon when she followeth him ; By the day when it revealeth him ; And the night when it enshroudeth him ; And the heaven and Him who built it ; And the earth and Him who spread it ; And a soul and Him who perfected it ; And inspired it (with) what is wrong and what is right for it."—(Ch. XCI. 1-8.) The Medinite chapters narrate the same subjects but generally in greater detail, the sentences being more prosaic and the chapters much longer. They are chiefly noted for the addition of (1) civil and criminal laws ; (2) directions on rituals, such as prayer, fasting, giving of alms, making of pilgrimage, etc. ; (3) social reform ; (4) moral regulation ; (5) brief description of some of the important battles fought with the Quraish and the Jews ; (6) criticism and condemnation of hypocrites who professed Islam but worked against it ; (7) exhortation to defend the cause of Islam ; and (8) brief descriptions of past prophets and events illustrating the fundamental principles of Islam. As beforementioned, the verses in the *Quran*, like verses in other sacred books are poetical in character, though not bound with the fetters of metre, excepting here and there in a few sentences, such as the following :—

Thumma aqrartum va'antum tashhadūn |
Thumma antum ha ūlā' takzabūn ||

which would scan :—

Thūm mǎ āq rār | tūm vǎ ān tūm | tāsh hǎ dūn
 Thūm mǎ ān tūm | hā ū lā ē | tāk zā būn

II. THE EARLIEST COLLECTION OF THE TRADITION

The earliest collection of the Tradition took place during the reign of the first four Khalifs, who took great pains to see that only the correct Tradition is narrated. These were either reported or asked in support of judgments on cases or heard for adjudication as an evidence or in explanation of certain doubtful points of ritual or concerning a person and the like.

The narrator was asked to swear that he was speaking the truth. Among the judges and traditionists of this period were the four Khalifs, i.e., Abu Bakr, Umar, Usman and Ali and the following members or associates of the Prophet:—

(1) Hafsa, widow of the Prophet and daughter of Umar, the second Khalif. She has narrated about sixty pieces of tradition.

(2) Aisha, another widow of the Prophet and daughter of Abu Bakr, the first Khalif, one of the most learned ladies of the Quraish, well known for her intelligence, courage, eloquence and piety, was an authentic traditionist. She has narrated over one hundred and sixty-four pieces of tradition (see Bukhari and Muslim). Tradition ascribed to her by the Rāwis number 2,200.

(3) Zainub, daughter of Jahsh, also a widow of the Prophet, has narrated several pieces of tradition.

(4) Safiyya, daughter of Huyy, also a widow of the Prophet, has narrated ten pieces of tradition.

(5) Um Salama, a widow of the Prophet, has narrated 378 pieces of tradition.

(6) Abu Hurera, a companion of the Prophet, has narrated about 5,300 pieces of tradition.

(7) Abdulla, son of Umar, has narrated 1,500 pieces of tradition.

Besides these, a large number of the other companions of the Prophet, such as Mauz, son of Jabal, Abu Musa Ashari, and Umar, son of As, have narrated some pieces of tradition. The chief judges of this period were Umar, the second Khalif; and Ali, the fourth Khalif. Next to them was Abdullah, son of Masud; Abu Musa Ashari; Mauz, son of Jabal; Ubayy, son of Ka'b; Zaid, son of Thabet; Shurih, son of Hani. There being no written code, judgment was delivered on the basis of the *Quran* and the tradition narrated on the occasion by a companion, as the following case:—

A woman came to Abu Bakr, claiming her share of inheritance from her deceased grandson. The Khalif said that according to the *Quran*, she could not receive any share. Thereupon, Mughira, son of Shoba, got up and said, 'I have seen the Prophet granting one-sixth share to a grandmother'. The Khalif asked for a second witness and Muhammad, son of Muslama, supported Mughira and accordingly judgment was delivered.

III. FORMATION OF A SYSTEM OF JURISPRUDENCE

The formation of a system of jurisprudence was entirely based on the personal knowledge and judgment the judge brought to bear on the case, after hearing the evidence tendered by two trusted men or four trusted women, who had

to narrate a tradition or point out a passage from the *Quran* in support of their assertion. The third period continued as the first, with the following improvements:—Tradition, which was much more limited owing to the strict scrutiny exercised by the first four Khalifs, increased by the rather indifferent attitude of the Umayyad rulers. There were as many as 600,000 pieces of tradition narrated practically on no authority by various men. Any man, who had lived in the time of the Prophet or had met an early companion of his, was at liberty to narrate a tradition, according to his own interest. There were several pretenders to the throne, having each a party to support his claim and a number of men to invent tradition in praise of his family. But among many professional traditionists, there were some who had sincere interest in the subject itself and whose life was pure and religious. These men investigated into the truth of the narrated piece of tradition and made their own selection. Thus authentic and false traditions were current among the people.

IV. THEOLOGICAL CENTRES OF STUDY

The work of research was perfected in the fourth period, when, owing to the currency obtained by a large number of traditions, people were at a loss which to accept and which to reject. The following cities became centres for theological studies, the chief theologians and traditionists at each centre being as noted below:—

(1) *Medina*.—Abdulla, whose father was the celebrated second Khalif, was noted for his piety and retired life; Said, son of Musyyab; Urvah, son of Zubair; Abu Bakr, son of Abdur-Rahman; Ali, son of Husain, the great-grandson of the Prophet; Ubaidullah, son of Abdulla; Sâlem, son of Abdulla, son of Umar; Qâsem, son of Muhammad, son of Abu Bakr; Naf'e (an Iranian); and several others.

(2) *Mecca*.—Abdulla, son of Abbas; Mujahad, son of Jubir (a non-Arab); Ikrama (a non-Arab); Atâ, son of Abi Rabbah (a non-Arab); and Abu Zubair Muhammad (a non-Arab).

(3) *Kufa*.—Alqama, son of Qais; Masruq, son of Ajdá; Ubaidah, son of Amr; Shurih, son of Hâni (who belongs to the class of early theologians and remained a judge for about sixty years; and Said, son of Jubair (a non-Arab).

(4) *Basrah*.—Anas, son of Mâlik; Abul *alias* Râfi, son of Mehran, an Iranian; Hasan, son of Yasâr; Muhammad, son of Sirin; and Qatadah.

(5) *Damascus*.—Abdur-Rahman, son of Ghanem; Abu Idris ul-khulani; Qabisa, son of Zuwail; and Umar, son of Abdul Aziz.

(6) *Egypt*.—Abdulla, son of Umr, son of Ās; Murshad, son of Abdulla; and Yazid, son of Abi Habib (a non-Arab).

(7) *Yemen*.—Taos, son of Kaysan (a non-Arab); Vahab, son of Munabbih; and Yahya, son of Kathir (a non-Arab).

These theological centres contributed towards the building of the earliest jurisprudence known. Each theologian had a number of followers, who used to narrate pieces of tradition referring them to the names of their respective teachers. Their number increased and the reigning Khalif Umar, son of Abdul Aziz, a very pious Khalif, ordered the collection and compilation of the extant pieces of tradition, which was done by a certain Abu Bakr, son of Muhammad (*d.* 120 A.H.). By the end of the Umayyad period, sufficient material had been collected on the subject of tradition and a biography of the Prophet as well by the great masters of theology, who became the founders of Muslim Law and Jurisprudence. These are even now considered the highest authorities on these subjects by Muslims all over the world. Besides the traditionists and theologians, the readers of *Quran*, known as *Qāri*, formed a distinct body by themselves. These specialized in the correct reading of the *Quran*, which afterwards became a science by itself, called *Ilm-e-Tajwid*. There were seven, *Qāris*, or readers, who are considered masters in the art of reading the Sacred Book and whose method of reading has been followed by all *Qāris* throughout the Islamic world. These were:

(1) Abdulla, the son of Kathīr, an Iranian at Mecca, who died in 120 A.H.

(2) Abu Umr, the son of Al-ula of Kazerun, Iran, who died at Basrah in 154 A.H.

(3) Abdulla, the son of Amer, who died at Damascus in 118 A.H.

(4) Abu Bakr Asem, the son of Abin-Nujud, who died at Kufa in 127 A.H.

(5) Hamza, the son of Habib, who died at Kufa in 156 A.H.

(6) Nāfe, the son of Abi Naim, a non-Arab, who died at Medina in 169 A.H.

(7) Ali, the son of Hamza Kisai, an Iranian, who died at Khorassan (Tus) in 182 A.H.

These are known as the seven masters in the art of reciting the *Quran*. Next to these seven, there are the following:—

(1) Abujafar Yazid of Medina, who died in 130 A.H.

(2) Yaqub, son of Ishaq, who died in 205 A.H.

(3) Khalaf, son of Hisham.

The fourth period saw the development of Muslim theology begin with the rise of the Abbaside dynasty. It was the

golden period of Islamic learning and among other subjects, theology reached the zenith of its development. Great masters of theology flourished and founded schools of theology which are now known as the four *Sunnat Jama't* schools:—*Hanafi*, *Shafai*, *Maleki* and *Hanbali*. Besides these, the other sects of Islam, such as *Shiahs* of *Ithna'ashriyya*, *Zaidiyya* and *Ismailiyya* also produced their greatest writers during this period.

Theology was systematized into a science. Under this head, the following subjects had to be studied by those desirous of knowing it for practical purposes:—

- (1) *Ilm-ul-tafsir*, a commentary on the *Quran*.
- (2) *Ilmul-hadis*, pertaining to Tradition.
- (3) *Ilmul-usul*, or the fundamental principles of Muslim Law, based on the *Quran*, the Tradition, consensus of opinion and analogy.
- (4) *Ilmul-fiqh*, rules relating to morals, civil and criminal law.
- (5) *Ilmul-aqaid*, scholastic theology based on the knowledge of the unity of God, His attributes, the word of God, freedom of will, the sacred books, the Prophets, the angels, the punishment and the reward, the resurrection, etc.
- (6) A brief study of logic.

Among the four established schools of *Sunnat Jama't*, each founder had his own particular method of deducing the correctness of rituals and laws. For instance, Imām Abu Hanifa, whose followers are the largest in number among Muslims, laid down the following principles:—

The *Quran* he regarded as indeed the first and the primary source for deducing the form of rituals bearing on civil and criminal laws, or for deducing the moral principles which should govern a case. Next, the Tradition, which being narrated by different persons in varying manner, and varying grades of credence to be attached to what they narrate, he was very strict in relying upon or accepting. It is said that he was very cautious in relating the traditions of the Prophet for forgery had become common even in his days. Ibn Khaldon writes that the Imām narrated only seventeen traditions and preferred *Qiyas* or analogy, which means the analogical deductions from passages occurring in the *Quran*, tested by his own opinion. Hence most of the Mesopotamian theologians were called *Ahlur-rai*, or men of private opinion. The application of the principle of analogy meant no more than the treatment of a case from the decisions given on similar rules before. Then there was *Ijma*, or the agreement of the majority of early companions and theologians on the validity of a particular law. The Prophet had said: "My people will never

agree in error." This grand principle gives the Muslim theologians an opportunity to adjust the laws according to the conditions of the time. *Ijma* comes third in the order of authority and *Qiyas* the fourth.

Imām Abu Hanifa, of Iranian descent, born during the rule of the Umayyads, in 80 A.H. and who lived at Kufa, was suspected of sympathy with the Zaidi movement which was formed under Zaid, the son of Ali, who was the son of Husain, against the Umayyad Khalif. The Governor of Kufa, to test his loyalty, offered him the post of *Qazi*, or judge, of Kufa, which he did not accept; and this act proved his anti-Umayyad tendency, for which he was imprisoned by way of punishment. He lived on the proceeds of the silk trade he engaged in. He had a large number of pupils studying under him. Among these the following were the most celebrated:—Imām Abu Yusuf, Zafr, the son of Hazil, and Muhammad, the son of Hassan. The last was the second founder of the Hanafi school.

Imām Abu Hanifa is also noted for his principle of *Istehsan*, which means the law of preference or suitableness of an act. For example, take the rule that a thing which is washed must be squeezed. This can only apply to the case of cloth or other like thing and not to a wooden or metal article, in which case the *Istehsan* is simply to clean it. When a man purchases a thing, he must see it; but in the case of an article to be manufactured, it is sold in advance. This, according to the law, is invalid. But *Istehsan* permits a transaction like this on the ground that it is needed by the buyer and practised among merchants and is not forbidden by the *Quran*. Thus a Muslim jurist could lean, for making up his mind, besides the *Quran* and the Tradition, upon the four principles of analogy and agreement, based upon the *Quran* and Tradition and discretion and public welfare as the circumstances of the age permitted. Imām Abu Hanifa formed a committee of forty men among his known pupils for the codification of Muslim Law according to his method. This work was carefully done, during a long period of thirty years, and parts of the same were sent to different places. Unfortunately the whole work has been lost, though available in fragments through other works.

The next school was established by Imām Mālik, who based his system on Tradition and "Sunan", or usages of the Prophet. He was himself considered a great Traditionist and wrote a work entitled *Muvvatta*, which is considered as one of the earliest compilations of Tradition and included among six other authentic works on the same subject. His principle of deduction was named *Maslahat* or public good.

Imām Shāfai, a pupil of Imām Mālik, adopted moderation, as a principle in following the Tradition, between Imām Abu Hanifa, who leaned more on passages in the *Quran* and his own deductive opinion, and Imām Mālik who was a mere Traditionist. He was a voluminous writer and his works form extremely valuable texts on law and Tradition. Among these are:—*Usul*, or principles of the Muslim Civil and Canon Law; *Sunan*, on Traditional Law; *Musnad*; and on theology in 14 volumes. He adopted both the principle of *Ijma* (or consensus of opinion) of Abu Hanifa, and *Istadlal*, or the logical conclusions of Imām Mālik.

Imām Ahmad Hanbal was more a Traditionist than a theologian. His chief work is a collection of Tradition, numbering about 50,000.

Besides these four Imāms, there were other theologians who had founded separate schools among the *Sunnat Jama't*, but, as they did not find followers, they ceased to count after a time. Among these are:—Abu Abdur Rahman, known as Āuzai. Imām Daūd, son of Āli, son of Khalaf of Ispahan, known as Az-Zāheri, a voluminous writer. His system was to interpret the Tradition in a literal sense. He rejected analogy and accepted *Ijma* to a limited extent, and leaned on the *Quran* and *Sunnat* (the usage of the Prophet). His school did not survive long, but appeared in the form of the present Wahabhi sect. Imām Jafar, the contemporary of Imām Abu Hanifa, developed Shiah theology. The sources of Shiah Tradition are derived through one of the twelve Imāms. Among the Traditionists of this school are:—Abun-nasr Muhammad, son of Masud Ayashi; Abu Ali Muhammad, son of Ahmad Junaid; Zararah, son of A'yun, and his sons Husain and Hasan. Shiah theologians did not admit *Ijma* (agreement) and *Qiyas* (analogy) as the Imāms of *Sunnat Jama't* do. In all fundamental principles of religion they agree with *Sunnat Jama't* but differ in detail, which will be found mentioned elsewhere in this work.

Texts of the *Quran* connected with the rules of Muslim Law occur in the following chapters:—

- (1) *Al-baqara*—cow chapter.
- (2) *An-nisa*—woman.
- (3) *Al-Imran*—the family of Imran.
- (4) *Al-maidah*—the food.
- (5) *An-nur*—the light.
- (6) *Bani-Israil*—a family of Israel.

These rules pertain to (1) reform in unlawful heathen customs, such as infanticide, gambling, drinking of intoxicants, usury, polygamy, etc.; (2) social reforms, such as marriage, position of women, divorce, chastity of men and women,

texts relating to which subsequently came to be quoted in connection with the use of the veil by women, their seclusion (*purdah*), succession, etc.: (3) criminal laws relating to punishment for theft, fornication, slander, murder, etc.: (4) directions relating to the treatment of enemy, the distribution of booty, etc.

For testing the genuineness of the precepts or traditions of the Prophet, the following grades were adopted :—

(1) *Khabar-e-Āḥād*, or isolated one, related by a single person in which case it was considered as not authentic.

(2) *Mash-hur*, or well-known, narrated by a number of persons, in which case it could be accepted.

(3) *Mutaratur*, or repeated, having been narrated by several well-known persons and recognised as genuine by the early companions. These were considered as most authentic.

Traditions were further tested by classifying them into :

Sahih, or correct, narrated by men known for their piety and integrity of character.

Hasan, good, but not up to the standard reached by *Sahih*.

Zaeef, or weak, of doubtful narrators.

The *Rāwī*, or narrator, should have possessed the following qualifications :—(a) He should have had a knowledge of Arabic as spoken in Mecca and Medina. (b) He should have understood well the sense of what he heard. (c) His chain of narration should enable him to reach the Prophet. If the chain is disconnected anywhere, the tradition concerned was called *Maqtu* or *Mursil*, and was considered not authentic. For example, if A says that he had heard from B and B says that he had heard from C and leaving several names in the middle, says that X heard from the Prophet. There are, however, exceptions in a narration of this kind. If the narrator was a known companion of the Prophet, his narration, even if the chain is broken, has been accepted by some theologians. (d) The narrator should be able to specify the names of other narrators and say thus :—I heard from A, and he from B and he from C and he heard from the Prophet, who said so and so ; but if, instead of saying, "I heard", the narrator said, "I was informed," his narration would be counted weak and prove unacceptable. (e) The narrator should not be a boy of tender age, lunatic, idiot or man of bad character. (f) He should not be a non-Muslim. (g) There should not be any suspicion that the narrator transfers a saying from the Jewish, Christian or other sources in the name of the Prophet to obtain currency for it. (h) There should not be any doubt that the tradition contains some words actually pronounced by the Prophet, while the others were added to it by the narrator. (i) The

circumstances under which the tradition was heard by one or more narrators should be considered. (j) It should also be considered whether the narrator or narrators were men of good memory and could retain what they had heard. The narration of a woman, a blind person, or a Muslim-slave was also accepted on the above conditions.

Among the *Sunnat Jama't*, the following compilers and books are considered authentic on the subject and are called *Sihah-e-Sittah*, or the six correct works :—

(1) Al-Bukhāri, who carefully and patiently scrutinized and selected tradition by Imām Muhammad, the son of Ismail, born at Bokhara in 810 A.D. and died near Samarqand in the village of Kartang in 870 A.D. He selected from about six hundred thousand traditions, seven thousand, after working hard for sixteen years. It is said that before selecting a tradition, he used to prostrate and seek God's help as to the truth of the recorded tradition.

(2) Imām Muslim, born at Nishapur, in East Iran, in 204 A.H. (826 A.D.) and died in 261 A.H. (883 A.D.). His collection contains three thousand traditions and is as authentic as Bukhāri's.

(3) Abu Isa Muhammad of Tirmiz, born in 209 A.H. (831 A.D.) and died in 279 A.H. (901 A.D.). His collection is entitled *At Tirmizi*.

(4) Abu Daūd of Seistan, born in 202 A.H. (824 A.D.) and died in 275 A.H. (897 A.D.). His compilation contains 4,008 traditions, which have been selected from a collection of five hundred thousand traditions.

(5) Abu Abdur Rahman of Nisa in East Iran, 303 A.H. (925 A.D.).

(6) Abu Abdulla Ibn-e-Mājah of Qazvin, North Iran, born in 209 A.H. (831 A.D.) and died in 273 A.H. (or 895 A.D.).

Besides these, the collections of Imām Shāfai, Ibn-e-Hanbal, Imām Mālik and some others are also considered authentic. The total number of works on Tradition is over 1,465.

The Shiahs possess the following collections of Tradition :—

(1) *The Kafia*, by Abu Jaffar Muhammad known as Kulaini (329 A.H. or 941 A.D.).

(2) *The Man la Yas-tah-Zirahul-faqih* by Shaikh Muhammad, the son of Ali, 381 A.H. (or 991 A.D.).

(3) *The Tahzib* by Shaikh Abu Jafar Muhammad, the son of Hasan, 460 A.H. (or 1067 A.D.).

(4) *The Istabsar* by the same author.

(5) *Kitabur-Rijal* by Ahmad, son of Annijjāshi (1063 A.D.).

V. PERIOD OF DEVELOPMENT

The fifth period of the development of Muslim Law begins with the conquest of Muslim territories between the Jaxartes and the Euphrates by the Mongols, and finally when Baghdad was captured and the last Abbaside Khalif was deposed, imprisoned and murdered. This period is specially noteworthy for the large number of commentaries and annotations on the work of past authorities belonging to the four schools of the *Sunnat Jama't*. In Iran, the hold of the long established schools of Hanafi and Shāfai was weakened by the neutral attitude of Moghal Emperors, and the rise of Shiahism which gradually became the State religion of Iran. When the Safavid dynasty succeeded the Timurid, about the beginning of the 16th century, Iran was split up into two divisions, the West, or what is now called Iran, becoming the centre of Shiahism, and the East, i.e., Bokhara, Khiva and the present Afghanistan, remaining attached to the *Sunnat Jama't*. Besides these, Turkey and Egypt in the West, and India in the East also remained great centres of the *Sunnat Jama't* theology while Mesopotamia gradually became the chief centre of Shiah learning. This period ends about the beginning of the 19th century, when the Westernizing process of even theology began and is still in progress. Among the more notable authorities of this period are :—

(1) *Multaqal-Abhar*, which expounds the opinions of the four great founders of the *Sunnat Jama't* theology. It became a text-book on law in Turkey. It was written by Sheikh Ibrahim Halabi, who died in 956 A.H. (or 1598 A.D.).

(2) *Bahrur Raeq* by Zainul-abedin, the son of Nujaim or Ibn-e-Najm, 970 A.H. (or 1592 A.D.).

In India, Muslim Law is divided into *Fiqh* and *Faraiz*. The following works are considered as most authentic :—

(1) *Fiqhul-Akbar*, commented upon by several important writers.

(2) *Mukhtasare Qudūri* by Abul Husain Ahmad, the son of Muhammad-al-Qudūri (288 A.H. or 910 A.D.); with a commentary on it, entitled *al-Jauharatun-nayyerah*.

(3) *Al-mohit*, a famous work on the subject by Abu Bakr Muhammad Sarkhasi.

(4) *Al-Hidayah* by Shaikh Burhan-ud-din (593 A.H., or 1215 A.D.), which, according to the Turkish writer Haji Khalifa, like the *Quran*, supersedes all other books on the law. A commentary on it by Shaikh Akmal-ud-din Muhammad (d. 1384) entitled *Inayah* is well known. Several other commentaries have been written on it, such as *Nihayah* and *Fatuhul-Kabir*.

(5) *Sharhul-viqāyah* a commentary on the *Viqāyah* (by Ubaidullah, the son of Masud (d. 745 A.H. or 1367 A.D.) which is widely read in India.

(6) *Chalpi*, a commentary on the above commentary, written by Akhi Yusuf, the son of Junaid (901 A.H., or 1523 A.D.) was published in Calcutta in 1829.

(7) *Tanvirul-absar*, by Shumsud-din Muhammad, the son of Abdulla Ghāzi (995 A.H., or 1617 A.D.). A popular commentary on this work is *Durul-Mukhtar* by Muhammad Ala-ud-din, the son of Shaikh Ali (1071 A.H., or 1693 A.D.).

(8) *Sirajīyyah*, by Siraj-ud-din Muhammad, the son of Abdur Rashid Sajawandi, is much used in India on questions relating to inheritance. It has been commented upon by many writers, among whom Syed Ali Gorgani's (d. 814 A.H. or 1436 A.D.) *Sharafīyyah* is the most read in *Madrasas*.

(9) *Fatawæ-ālamgiri*, compiled by order of the Moghal Emperor Aurangzeb, is considered a highly authentic code of law in India. It was translated from Arabic into Iranian by order of the Princess Zibun-Nisa, the daughter of the Emperor. A portion of it was again translated into Iranian and published by order of the Council of the College at Fort William, Calcutta, in 1813.

(10) A collection of *Fatwās* (or judgments) were compiled by order of Tipu Sultan in Iranian in 313 chapters, under the title of *Fatāwæ-Muhammadi*.

(11) Mr. Neil Baillie wrote *Muhammadan Law of Inheritance* according to the Hanafi School, which was long used in the Indo-British courts of justice.

(12) Sir Abdur-Rahim wrote a book entitled *The Principles of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* in 1911, which has been translated from the original English into Urdu by the Osmania University.

(13) Syed Amir Ali compiled a book on Sunni and Shiah Jurisprudence under the name of the *Personal Law of the Muhammadans*, which has been translated into Urdu by Syed Abul Hasan.

A very large number of other works on law have been written in Iranian, Arabic and Urdu and translated into the European languages, details about which lie beyond the scope of this work.

PROMINENT SHIAH THEOLOGIANs

In Iran, during the Safavid and Qajar periods, many prominent Shiah theologians and writers on Jurisprudence flourished. The most celebrated among these are:—

(1) Yahya, the son of Ahmad Hilli, the author of two esteemed works, viz., *Jāma-ush-Sharāʿ* and *Mudkhul der Usul-e-Fiqh*.

(2) Baha-ud-din Āmeli (d. 1031 A.H. or 1653 A.D.), the author of *Jāma-e-Abbasi*, a concise but most important work in twenty chapters in Iranian.

(3) Muhammad, the son of Murtaza, known as Muhsan, the author of *Mafātih*.

(4) Muhammad Baqir Majlisi (d. 1699), a voluminous writer, whose work *Bahrul-anwār* is a large compilation of Shiah traditions. His *Haqqul-yaqin*, in 14 volumes, deals with various questions relating to theology and is much esteemed.

THE SHARI'AT

The *Shari'at*, or the law of Islam, distinguishes between what is *Sahih* (lawful) and what is *batal* (forbidden). Some Acts are termed rights of God and others rights of men. The former again are classified into *complete* and *partial*; likewise the latter. Among the *complete* rights of God are :—

- (1) Faith or *Iman* ;
- (2) Prayers at the five different times fixed ;
- (3) Fast of Ramzan ;
- (4) Alms or *Zakat* ;
- (5) Pilgrimage ;
- (6) Khums, paying one-fifth of the booty acquired in fighting the enemy ; or one-fifth of what is obtained from a "mine" to the State ;
- (7) Abstaining from murder ;
- (8) Abstaining from drinking intoxicants : and
- (9) Abstaining from adultery, gambling, etc.

The *partial* rights of God are those which are connected with an individual but remain under the supervision of the State, such as theft, etc.

Among the *individual* rights are :—

- (1) Safety of person.
- (2) Safety of honour.
- (3) Safety of possession.
- (4) Safety of marital relations.
- (5) Safety of guardianship.
- (6) Safety of rights in inheritance.
- (7) Safety of freedom in all lawful action.

The *partial individual* and *State* (God) rights are those relating to attack on the honour of another ; or those which attack the chastity of another ; in which case the State should also take independent action against the aggressor. The acts are of two kinds :—

(1) The external, done by the body such as speaking, seeing, touching, tasting, smiling, using the hands and other limbs of body.

(2) *Qalbi*, or Internal acts of mind such as thinking, believing, desiring, etc. The *Shar-a* (law) can deal with external acts alone. If a man admits that "there is no God but Allah", he is considered by Muslim law as a member of Islam, though he may be an infidel in his mind. The acts done by the body are either *Qaul*, or speech, or *Amal*, action. These again may be *Isbatāt* or positive, such as giving or taking anything, in or without exchange for example, by way of sale of a property or gift; or *Iqatat*, or negative, such as divorce. Among these, the *Shar'a* distinguishes between that which is *rawā* or lawful, and *narawā*, or unlawful. The *rawā* have been graded into :—

(1) *Farz*, or obligatory in the first degree, in which the pure rights of God are prominent, such as prayer five times a day, fasting, etc. There is besides a *Farz-e-Kifāyah*, which is obligatory in the first degree, but which if done by a few, there is no necessity for others taking part in it, in which case they are not considered responsible, for example, in regard to the burial of a dead body or fighting an enemy.

(2) *Wajūb*, or obligatory in the second degree, such for example as the maintenance of one's own wife and children.

(3) *Sunnah*, or that which was done by the Prophet or said or done by others and approved by him.

(4) *Mustahab*, commended, such as charity.

(5) *Mubāh*, or permitted, which may or may not be done.

The *Na-rawā* (or unlawful acts) are classified into :—

(1) *Fasid*, or vicious.

(2) *Haram*, or forbidden by law.

(3) *Makruh*, or unclean, for doing which the law cannot take action against an individual but abstinence from it is enjoined or said to be desirable.

THE FUNDAMENTAL MUSLIM LEGAL PRINCIPLE

Equality is the fundamental principle of Muslim legal and social code. All Muslims are equal before God, who is the supreme head, the only sovereign, ruling over men, through His messengers and His revealed books.

The *Quran* says :—

"Obey God, the Prophet, and the one who (in his absence) rules over you." Islam possesses neither church, nor priest nor a temporal power (king). Man must address God directly without seeking any mediator and the judge must give judgment according to the will of God as stated in the *Quran*.

Thus *Quran* is the fountain head of Muslim law, supported by tradition, agreement, analogy and preference, as to which all Muslim sects, *Sunnat Jama't*, *Shiahs*, *Ahle-Hadis*, are unanimous. The differences only arise in regard to the selection of a particular tradition or preference given to one tradition over any other or the interpretation attached to certain of the texts in the *Qurānic* passages.

PRINCIPLES OF ISLAM

Actions in Islam are divided into:—

- I. *Eteqādāt*, or belief in
 - (1) God.
 - (2) His angels.
 - (3) His revealed books.
 - (4) All prophets, as the *Quran* states "Each nation has its own Guide", of whom the last is Muhammad.
 - (5) Day of resurrection and judgment.
 - (6) The decrees of God.

Iman (or faith): A possessor of faith (or *Iman*) is called *Momin*, or believer. He must believe in the abovementioned fundamental principles of Islam. Those who believe and have faith in Islam but are indifferent to the rituals and commit unlawful acts, will be punished in Hell though they will be finally saved. Thus Paradise is the final abode of all believers. According to the *Sūfis*, faith is inner illumination and vision, which is perfected by devotion and virtue, till man is absorbed in God. All Muslims may not be *Momin* but all *Momins* are Muslims, which means when a Muslim acts as he believes, he becomes a *Momin*, i.e., true in his faith. The following texts from the *Quran* are related concerning the idea of *Muslim* and *Momin* :

"Successful indeed are the believers who are humble in their prayers ; and who shun vain conversation and who pay the *Zakat* (alms); and who guard their chastity ; keepers of the trust and their covenant."

"These are the heirs, who will inherit paradise." (Ch. XXIII. 8, 10, 11 and 15.)

"Those who believe and do good, enjoin on each other the truth and patience." (Ch. III. 1-3.)

"A'rab say *amanna*, i.e., we have faith (say : you O Muhammad) you do not have faith but say *aslamna* (we submit) and *Iman* (faith) has not yet entered your hearts. The *Mominun* (faithful) are those who have faith in God, in apostle and they doubt not and strive hard with their wealth and their lives for the cause of God, such (believers) are sincere." (Ch. XLIX. 14-15.)

A non-Muslim who embraces Islam must have faith in the Islamic tenet that "There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is his Prophet" and he must repeat the following:—"I believe in God, His attributes and name; obey His commands as prescribed in the *Quran* and Tradition."

The faith must be both by *Tasdiq*, internal conviction, and *Iqrar*, external admission.

II. *Ādāb* (or moralities) in theology are those which are mentioned in the *Quran* and the tradition, for example:—

Sincerity and honesty in dealing, trust in God; humility towards all, particularly towards parent. In the following text of the *Quran*, we have laid stress on these qualities:—"Goodness to your parents, if either or both of them reach old age, say not to them 'fie', nor repulse them": "and lower unto them the wing of submission." (Chapter XVII. 23-24.)

Contentment, patience in distress and in the time of fighting with enemy, charity, moderation in food and every good action, forgiveness, love and fear of God, obedience to God and His revealed law, toleration, speaking the truth, using power without violation of other's rights, guiding a wrongdoer towards the truth without hurting his feeling, as God recommended to Moses, when He sent him towards Pharaoh, who claimed divinity for himself, as thus stated in the *Quran*:—" (O Moses and Aaron) go both of you unto Pharaoh, surely he has transgressed (the limits) and speak unto him a gentle word, that he may heed or fear." (Ch. XX. 43-44.)

PLACE OF WORSHIP IN ISLAM

Ibadāt (or worship) are:—

(1) *Salāt* or prayer is classified as under:—

(a) Daily prayers, to be performed five times in the twenty-four hours of day and night, i.e., (1) Morning before sunrise *Farz-q-Rukat*. (2) Noon 4 *Rukats*. (3) Afternoon 4 *Rukats*. (4) After sunset 3 *Rukats*. (5) Night 4 *Rukats*.

Besides these, it is left to the option and will of each individual to perform the prayers named *Ishraq* (after sunrise—8 *Rukats*), *Zuha* (about 11 a.m.—8 *Rukats*) and *Tahajjud* (midnight—9 *Rukats*). There are very few pious Muslims who perform the last three prayers.

Each *Rukat* consists of:—

1. Standing prayer.
2. Bent prayer.
3. Prostrated prayer.

There are a number of *Rukats* going under the names of *Sunnat*, *Nafl* and *Witr* performed in addition to those mentioned above with each period of prayer. Thus, in the morning prayer, there are, according to *Sunnat Jama't*, two more

Rukats, named *Sunnat*; in the noon, eight *Rukats*, *Sunnat* and *Nafl*; in prayer before sunset four *Sunnat*, or after sunset two *Sunnat* and two *Nafl* and in the night prayer four *Sunnat-ghair-maokkadah*, two *Sunnat* after *farz*, two *Nafl* and three *Witr*, but all these are seldom performed by ordinary Muslims. Shiahs combine the prayers of noon and afternoon, and after sunset and night and thus they have shortened the times of prayer from five into three. Prayers are preceded by *azān* (or the call for prayer) and ablution, as shown below. In calling for prayer—the *Moazzin*, or crier, says:—

- | | | |
|---|---------|---------|
| (1) God is great | | 4 times |
| (2) I bear witness that there is no God but Allah | | 2 .. |
| (3) I bear witness that Muhammad is God's apostle | | 2 .. |
| (4) Hasten to come to prayers | | 2 .. |
| (5) Hasten to come to salvation | | 2 .. |
| (6) There is no God but Allah <i>Sunnat Jama't</i> once, and Shias | | 2 .. |
| In the morning <i>azān</i> , the <i>Sunnat Jama't</i> add "Prayer is better than sleep" | | 2 .. |

This is omitted by the Shiahs but they add in all *azāns*: "Hasten to the best action."

Ablution:—*Wazu* is mentioned in the *Quran* as following:—

"When ye rise up for prayer, wash your faces and your hands up to the elbows, and rub your heads and (wash) or rub your feet up to the ankles, and if you are unclean purify yourselves, and if you are sick or on a journey, or one of you cometh from the closet, or ye have had contact with women and find no water, then go to clean high ground and rub your faces (two sides) and hands with it." (Ch. V. 6.)

"When you are under obligation to perform a total ablution (bath), unless (you are) travelling, (pray after) you have washed yourselves." (Ch. IV. 43.)

Thus ablution is of two kinds, the one which is the cleaning of the exposed parts of the body, which must be performed after rising from the bed for the morning prayer and not necessary for others, unless when a man has answered a call of nature; where a man has had sexual intercourse, he must take a full bath, before the prayer. When sick or on journey or not finding water, one can do *Tayummum*, which means, instead of water, he may touch both his hands on clean dust or earth and wipe his face and back of his hands, both for ablution and bath. The ablution is performed by cleaning hands, and then mouth and teeth by means of *Miswak* (a tooth-cleaner made from the smaller twigs of a tree) or water,

then, within nostrils, then face, right arm and left arm upto the elbow. After these the head should be wiped with wet hands and likewise the ears and round the neck. Lastly, the *Sunnat Jama't* wash their feet up to the ankles and put fingers between the toes, but Shiah's wipe the feet.

PRAYER IN ISLAM

The form and detail of the prayer is not mentioned in the *Quran*, but the time, the significance and the spirit in which prayer should be performed is stated in the following passages :—

The Time of Prayer

"Guard your prayers and of the mid-most prayer." (Ch. II. 238.)

"If you are in danger, then (pray) standing or on horse-back in time of war or journey." (Ch. II. 239.)

"And when you journey in the earth, there is no blame, if you shorten the prayer, if you fear that those who disbelieve will cause you distress." (Ch. IV. 101.)

"When you have finished the prayer, remember God, standing, sitting and reclining (in whatever condition possible for you)." (Ch. IV. 103.)

"Keep up your prayer from the declining of the sun till the darkness of the night and morning recitation, surely the morning recitation is witnessed. And during a part of the night, forsake sleep by it, beyond what is incumbent on you." (Ch. XVII. 78-79.)

"Glorify your Lord by praising Him before the rising of the sun and before its setting and during hours of the night do also glorify (Him) and during parts of the day." (Ch. XX. 130.)

The Significance of Prayer

"Surely prayer keeps (one) away from indecency and evil." (Ch. XXIX. 45.)

The Spirit in which Prayer should be Performed

"Say surely my prayer, my sacrifice, my life and my death are (all) for God, the Lord of the worlds." (Ch. VI. 163.)

In prayer, a Muslim is expected to observe the external form as well as the internal devotion and attention. His inner self must be absorbed in God, so that for the moment his soul must enjoy perfect peace and calmness. It must be detached from all worldly cares and remain attached in concentration on the Supreme Being.

Every person who prays should first stand up and face towards Mecca, although the *Quran* clearly states that the :—

"East and the West everywhere is God, therefore whither you turn, thither is God's countenance, surely God is all-embracing and all-knowing." (Ch. II. 115.)

Therefore the object of facing Mecca is to bring uniformity among Muslims while they pray.

Then raise both hands upto the ears, and after the words "God is great" and then the following *surah* of the *Quran* should be recited :—

"By the name of God, the beneficent, the merciful."

"Praise be to Allah, Lord of all the Worlds!"

"The compassionate, the merciful."

"King of the day of reckoning."

"Thee alone do we worship, and to Thee alone do we beseech for help."

"Guide us on the right path."

"The path of those to whom Thou hast been gracious."

"Not of those with whom Thou art angry."

"Nor of those who go astray."—*Amen*.

Next a few verses from other parts of the *Quran* are to be repeated or the following *surah* which is commonly recited :

"Say! He is God alone."

"God, the eternal!"

"He begetteth not."

"He is not begotten."

"And there is none like unto Him." (Ch. XII.)

Then saying God is great, the worshipper goes in *ruku* by lowering his head down and bending his body, so that the palms of the hands are placed on the knees, and says, "Glory be to my Lord the Great", and rising again, says :— "God hears him who gives praise to Him," and then prostrates himself, till the forehead touches the ground and says "Glory be to my Lord, the most high". Then the supplicant sits down and again prostrates himself and repeats the same words, and rising, assumes the standing position. This is what is called one *rukut*. At the end of prayer, sitting in a reverential and humble posture, and glorifying God and wishing peace for the Prophet, to one's brother believers, to oneself and all others, the worshipper ends the prayer, and raises his hands offering further supplications (*munajat*) in which selected passages from the Tradition or sayings of pious and holy persons are recited.

Besides the daily prayers, the following are performed on specified times :—

Friday, or congregational prayer, performed about one o'clock. when people, before prayer, listen to *Khutba*, or address, delivered usually by the one who leads the prayer.

Those who attend the Friday prayer take a bath before going to the mosque.

Festival prayers. (For example on the occasion of the *Ramzan* and *Baqarid*.) People are assembled in large numbers in an open place or mosque and perform two *rukat* prayers and listen to the address delivered by the *Khatib* after prayers, in which the significance of the festival in question is explained, and praise offered to the Prophet and to his virtues.

Eclipse prayer : Consists of two *rukats*.

Prayers for the dead : The *Imām* stands near the corpse and the others stand behind him in rows. The prayer begins by the *Imām* raising his hands and saying, "God is Great", then repeats :—

"Holiness to Thee, O God
 "and to Thee be praise
 "Great is Thy name
 "Great is Thy greatness
 "Great is thy praise
 "there is no God. but Thee."

Again raises his hands and says, "God is Great" and in this manner after four times raising hands and saying "God is Great", he completes the prayer.

During a journey or when at war, the prayers are shortened from four to two *rukats*, but two-*rukat* and three-*rukat* prayers of the early morning and after sunset are performed as usual. Women, during the menses, are excused from performing prayer.

Bath (or *ghusl*) is taken after :—

- (1) Menses.
- (2) Child-birth, in which a woman remains unclean for ten or forty days.
- (3) After sexual intercourse.
- (4) Physical pollution by dream.
- (5) Before the Friday and festival prayers.
- (6) After washing a corpse.
- (7) After death, when the corpse must be washed.

Added to these cleansing the nostrils, mouth, teeth, head, finger-nails, abstersion (*Istinja*) after passing urine, washing hands before and after meals, combining the head, etc., are attended to by all orthodox Muslims.

FASTING IN ISLAM

Fasting is common among many nations, and with the exception of Zoroastrianism, it has been commended by all religions. The reasons assigned vary :—On the supposition that

food has an evil influence over the body (as believed by the Mithraists);⁷⁸ to initiate a youth in society; a source of dreaming the desired object and of ecstasy in which vision or communication with the deity, or an angel or a sacred person is expected; following an old custom, for instance, among the Jews, it is said that Moses fasted for forty days and Daniel abstained from eating flesh or bread for three months; the belief with those who perform magic that success in magical performances is attained by practising it: the belief that it is a war for capturing genii or other supposed spirits or forces in nature;⁷⁹ a sign of repentance and to obtain Divine mercy and compassion.

Fasting is common among Muslim and non-Muslim ascetics, being considered a mode for subduing passions. The reason assigned in the *Quran* for fasting is that it is intended to prevent evil tendency and to purify one's soul.

The following are texts from the *Quran* in regard to fasting, which appear to support this view:—

"O Believers! fasting is prescribed for you, as had been prescribed for those who were before you, that ye may guard against evil. (Fast) for a fixed number of days but whoever who is sick among you, or on a journey, then (the same) number of other days (he must fast) and those who can afford a redemption by feeding of a man in need—but whoever does good of his own accord, it is better for him: and that you fast is better for you if you know. The month of *Ramzan*⁸⁰ is that in which the *Quran* was revealed, a guidance for mankind and clear proofs of guidance and the distinction (of good and bad): therefore whoever of you observes (crescent of) the month, he shall fast, and whosoever of you is sick or on a journey, then (he shall fast the same) num-

⁷⁸ The religion of *Mithras* (or the friend). *Mithras* is the highest of the Second Order of deities in the ancient Iranian religion, the friend of man in this life and his protector against evil in the world to come. He is said to have sided with Ormuzd against Ahriman, incarnating in the sun. He is represented as a youth kneeling on a bull and plunging a dagger into his neck, while he is at the same time attacked by a dog, a serpent, and a scorpion.

⁷⁹ *Genii* or *Jinnie* (pl. *Jinn*): In Islamic myth, one of a race of spirits, some good, others bad.

⁸⁰ *Ramzan*: Also *Ramadan* and *Ramadhan*; from *Ar-ramāda*, to be hot; hence the hot month. The ninth month of the Muslim year kept as a great annual Muslim fast. A sort of Lent. It was the month in the life of Muhammad when, as he spent it alone in meditation and prayer, his eyes were opened to see, through the shows of things, into the one Eternal Reality, the greatness and absolute sovereignty of Allah.

ber of days in other time. God desireth ease for you and does not desire hardship." (Ch. II. 83-185.)

The fast of *Ramzan* lasts for one whole month during which a Muslim must eat light food between four and five before the day-break and remain without food, including water, till sunset. He must abstain during these hours from all vicious action, such as abusing, backbiting, anger, jealousy, sexual intercourse. Thus, fasting among the Muslims does not mean remaining hungry for certain hours but to abstain from all evils and restrain one's eyes, tongue, ears and all other members of the body from lust and passionate activity. Even the heart should, it is said, be filled with good thoughts and remain absorbed in God. It is a month in which every Muslim is expected not only to *restrain* appetite but also passion and should pass most of the time in contemplation of God. The fast must be broken only after sunset, after which a *Sunnat Jama't* Muslim goes to the mosque and joins in the prayer known as *Tarawih*, which is held in addition to the usual prayer in twenty *rukats*. During the period of this great fast, in all Muslim countries, restaurants and tea-houses are kept closed during the entire day and are opened only after sunset, though kept open the whole night. Drinking of water and taking of food in the street is also prohibited. The nights are passed in visiting friends or in reciting the *Quran* and offering prayers. Sermons are delivered in mosques on morals, the Traditions and duties involved in fasting. The *Hafiz*, or the reciter of *Quran*, reads a portion of the *Quran* every night, so that he may complete the whole on the 27th night of *Ramzan*.

PILGRIMAGE IN ISLAM

A religious undertaking resembling the Hindu *yatra* used to be celebrated annually by heathen Arabs round the Ka'aba, the ancient temple at Mecca. The Prophet after removing all idols and signs of idolatry from the temple and making certain modifications in the rituals observed by the pilgrims, permitted the pilgrimage to his followers. The ceremonies begin at the last stage of the journey, near Mecca, in the following manner :—

(1) The pilgrim, after taking a bath and performing two *rukat* prayers, removes his dress and wears two pieces of cloth, one of which covers the lower extremities of his body and the other his chest and shoulders. The head remains uncovered. None is exempted from this rule and all Muslims, from a king to the poorest peasant, has to observe it. This is called *ahrām* ; after this is done one must not shave or anoint his head, remove his nails or kill any living being. He must not even scratch his body lest he may kill a vermin.

(2) The pilgrim must take the vow to abstain from worldly affairs and continuously call on God and recite *Talbiah*, i.e., say : *Labbaik allahumma, Labbaik*, i.e., I stand in thy service, O God, I stand in thy service.

(3) The pilgrim must next perform *Tawāf*, i.e., make circuit round the Ka'aba, thrice at a quick pace and four times at a slow pace.

(4) The pilgrim must next kiss the black stone built inside the mosque.

(5) The pilgrim must then perform two *rukat* prayers at a place known as *Moqām-e-Ibrahīm*.

(6) The pilgrim must next perform *Sa'y*, i.e., run from Mount Safa to Mount Marwah seven times (this being done on the sixth day of *Zil-hijja*).

(7) The pilgrim next listens to the *Khutba* or sermon in the great mosque at Mecca (this being done on the 7th of *Zil-hijja*).

(8) On the 8th called *Tarwiyah* (i.e., satisfying thirst), the pilgrim proceeds to *Mina* (which is about 3 miles from the city of Mecca) and remains there the whole night.

(9) On the 9th day, the pilgrim proceeds to the plain of "*Arafat*" (which is further away from *Muzdalafa*, which is over two miles from *Mina*) and there listens to sermons and leaves for *Muzdalafa*, where he arrives for the sunset prayer.

(10) After praying at *Muzdalafa*, the pilgrim proceeds to the three pillars at *Mina* (which are named *Jamarat*; the first pillar is called *Jamrat-ul-oula*, the second *Jamrat-ul-wosta*, and the third *Jamrat-ul-uqba*) and at each pillar throws some pebbles. This is called *Ramyut-jamar*.⁸¹ He remains at *Mina* and performs the animal sacrifice, which is the concluding act of the pilgrimage. The pilgrim then returns to Mecca and again after going round the Ka'aba once again, completes the pilgrimage. The 11th, 12th and 13th days of the pilgrimage are called the days of *Tashriq*, moonlight nights⁸²; sun. The minor rituals connected with the pilgrimage are:—Drinking of the water from the well near the Ka'aba, known as *Zamzam*; fasting and the further throwing pebbles and visiting the tomb of the Prophet at Medina, etc.

⁸¹ One of the three pillars is called the Great Devil. When throwing the pebbles, the pilgrim says: "In the name of Allah, and Allah is Almighty, (I do this) in hatred of the Fiend and to his shame."

⁸² The Arabs, during their pre-Muslim days, after performing the pilgrimage, used to pass three days in recounting the heroic deeds of their ancestors. There was feasting and enjoyment, somewhat like the *yatras* and *katha* recitation current to this day in India. *Tashriq* may represent sun-rise, the idea being that the slain animal's flesh is dried under sunshine.

Those who perform the pilgrimage are called *Hajis*. The *Umrah*, or the lesser pilgrimage, is performed on any day excepting the 8th, 9th and 10th of *Zil-hujja*. The following rituals are omitted in connection with it :—

- (1) *Ahrām* ;
- (2) The Running between Safa and Marwah ; and
- (3) The Sacrifice of animals.

The following are the texts of the *Quran* relating to the Haj pilgrimage :—

“Perform the pilgrimage (*Haj*) and the visit (*Umrah*) to Mecca, for God. And if you are prevented, send such gifts as can be easy for you to obtain, and shave not your heads until the gifts have reached their destination. And those among you who are sick or has an ailment of the head must pay a ransom of fasting, alms giving or sacrificing. And if you are in safety (from enemy) then whosoever profits by combining the “*Umrah*” with the pilgrimage (should give) such gifts as can be had with ease and if you cannot find (such gifts) then a fast of three days while on the pilgrimage, and of seven when you have returned.” (Ch. XI. 196.)

“The pilgrimage is in well-known months (*i.e.*, *Shawwal*, *Ziqad* and *Zil-huj*), so whoever determined the performance of the pilgrimage therein (he must remember) there shall be then no foul speech nor abusing nor disputing in the pilgrimage.” (Ch. XI. 197.)

“There is no blame on you in seeking bounty from your Lord (by trading), but when you advance from Arafat in multitude (of pilgrims) you must remember God near the sacred monument (*i.e.*, *Mazdalafa*, where the pilgrims halt for the night).” (Ch. XI. 198.)

“Then hasten onward from the place whence the people (pilgrims) hasten on, and ask forgiveness of God.” (Ch. XI. 199.)

“And when you have completed your devotions, then praise God as you praised your fathers even with a more (intense and devotional lauding).” (Ch. XI. 200.)

SACRIFICE OF ANIMALS

“And proclaim among men the pilgrimage: they will come to you on foot and on every fleet camel, arriving by every deep defile. They may witness of its advantages for them, and may make mention of God’s name on the appointed days (of the first ten days of *Zil-hujja*) over what He has given them of the cattle quadrupeds, then eat of them and feed the distressed one, the poor. Then let them accomplish their needful acts of shaving and cleansing and let them fulfil their vows

and let them go round the ancient house (of Ka'aba)." (Ch. XXII. 27-29.)

Must not kill living beings :—"O Believers! do not kill game while you are on pilgrimage and whoever among you shall kill it intentionally the compensation is the like of what he is killed, from the cattle, as two just persons among you shall judge, as an offering to be brought to the Ka'aba of the Kaffara (atonement of it), is the feeding of the poor or the equivalent of it in fasting, that he may taste the unwholesome result of his deeds." (Ch. V. 95.)

"Safa and Marwah are among the signs of God : (therefore) whoever maketh a pilgrimage to Ka'aba or maketh 'Umrah', shall not be blamed if he go round about them both." (Ch. XI. 158.)

ZAKĀT OR ALMS

One of the five foundations of religion, incumbent upon a Muslim who is an adult, free, sane and possesses *Nisab*⁸³ is to give alms.

The portion is fixed at one-fifth of the total income derived by him. This income is distributed by the State among the following :—

(1) People in hard circumstances, whose income is less than their necessary expenditure.

(2) *Miskin*, the needy, who possess no property.

(3) The collectors of *Zakāt*.

(4) Non-Muslims who embrace Islam, for whom help is to be extended.

(5) To free captives.

(6) To help the debtors, who cannot pay their debts.

(7) To help travellers, who, though in good circumstances in their own homes, have accidentally met with difficulty, owing to the loss of their money at the hands of thieves or sickness or some other valid reason or have to be helped from the State treasury.

(8) "In the way of God." For advancing the defence of Muslims, which means, on the purchase of arms and other necessary things for the equipment of the army for defending Muslims.

⁸³ *Nisab* means property, such as a saving of silver weighing 40 tolas or valued at about Rs. 50; or gold worth £ 12, both saved at the end of one year; or camels over five in number; or bulls, cows, buffaloes more than thirty in number; or sheep and goats, over forty in number; articles of trade, exceeding 200 *dirhams* in value; and mines of gold, silver, etc., provided the mine should not be within the boundary of one's dwelling.

The following are texts from the *Quran* in regard to *Zakāt* above referred to :—

"The alms are only for the poor and the needy, and those who collect them, and those whose hearts are to be reconciled and to free the captives and the debtors, and for the cause of God, and for the wayfarer ; a duty imposed by God." (Ch. IX. 60.)

The approximate *Zakāt* duty imposed on various sources of wealth is as follows :—

(1) On gold, one *Misqal* for 20 *Misqals* of gold.

(2) On silver, 5 *dirhams* for 200 *dirhams* of silver and above that quantity, for each forty *dirhams*, one *dirham* is imposed.

(3) On all articles of trade exceeding the value of 200 *dirhams*.

(4) On all kinds of fruits, one-tenth of their market value.

(5) On sheep and goats, for each forty head of sheep or goats, one sheep or goat, and from 121 to 200, two, and over that, for every hundred, one is to be received by the State.

(6) Bulls, cows and buffaloes—on thirty or above that number up to forty, one calf of one year : and for every forty, one calf two years' old.

(7) On camels—every five camel, one goat or sheep ; and from 10 to 14, two goats ; and from 20 to 24, three goats ; and from 25 to 35, a female camel and so forth proportionately according to the number of camels, provided these animals, or silver, gold, etc., remain with the owner for about one year.

Kaffarah, or expiation, for not performing a religious ritual, such as daily prayer, fasting, paying of *Zakāt*, pilgrimage or vows, is incumbent on all Muslims. The rituals or vows are considered as a debt or duty, which, if performed at the specified time and manner, is called *ada*. If one fails to perform them, he must make a *Qaza* by some deed equal to what he should have performed. The following text of the *Quran* relates to this matter :—

"Whosoever remitteth it as alm, shall have expiation for his sins." "God does not call you to account for what is vain in your oaths but He calls you to account for the making of deliberate oaths : so its expiation is the feeding of ten poor men out of the middling (food) you feed your families with, or their clothing or the freeing of a neck (captive) but those who cannot find (means) then fasting for three days ; this is the expiation of your oaths when you swear ; guard your oaths." (Ch. V. 89.)

If one cannot fast in the month of *Ramzan* for one or more days, owing to illness, the performance of a journey, or some other reason, such as menses in the case of women,

he or she must fast at other times or feed a number of persons. A slanderer must ask the man whom he has injured to forgive him. The substitute presented is, in many cases, to free slaves, fast at another time, or the performance of charity.

Jahad, or Holy War.—In theory, it becomes a duty on every Muslim to defend Muslim territory and faith against non-Muslim aggression as the following texts of the *Quran* show :—

"Permission is given (Muslims) to fight because they have been wronged and most surely God is able to give them (Muslims) victory. Those (Muslims) who have been driven from their homes unjustly only because they said: Our Lord is 'Allah'. And had these not been Allah's repelling some people by others, certainly there would have been pulled down cloisters, churches, and synagogues and mosques in which God's name is much remembered." (Ch. XXII. 39-40.)

"And fight in the way of God with those who fight with you (but) do not exceed the limits." (Ch. XI. 190.) (And when you are in the state of war) kill them (enemies) whom-ever you find them and drive them out from whence they drove you out, and persecution is severer than slaughter, and do not fight with them at the sacred mosque, until they fight with you in it, but if they do fight you, then slay them, such is the recompense of the unbelievers." (Ch. XI. 191.)

"But if they desist, then surely Allah is forgiving, merciful."

"And fight them until there is no persecution of (Muslims) and religion should be one only for Allah." (Ch. XI. 192-193.)

Jihad means to defend or to strike, as the following texts from the *Quran* show :—

"O Prophet! strive hard against the unbelievers and the hypocrites and be unyielding to them." (Ch. IX. 73.)

"Do not follow the unbelievers, and strive against them a mighty *Jihad* (striving)." (Ch. XXV. 52.)

"O Prophet! strive (*Jihad*) hard against them." (Ch. LXVI. 90.)

But the early defensive attitude was changed gradually into aggression on the part of Muslims, when, after the death of the Prophet, they became conquerors and Empire-builders. Their conquest was on political grounds, particularly when the lead of Islam was taken by Turkish and Moghal rulers.

MŪĀMLĀT

The fourth division of Islamic Sha'ra (law) is Mūāmlāt or transactions and is subdivided into :—

(1) *Marriage*.—Marriage is encouraged by the Prophet, while celibacy is condemned by him. Even Sūfī ascetics have lived a married life and have had large families, such, for example, as the celebrated Shaikh Abdul Qader Gilani, who had as many as about forty children. Men and women must marry, not once in their lives, but so long as they have strength and can afford to support each other. In the early days of Islam, women belonging to the most respectable families in Mecca, married several times after becoming widows or after having been divorced by their husbands. For instance, Khadija, the first and most honoured wife of the Prophet, had been twice married before accepting the Prophet as her third husband. There are numerous other instances that may be quoted among Muslim men and women. Aiyasha was the only wife of the Prophet who was married a virgin girl to him. There is a tradition that the Prophet said :—“A married man perfects half of his religion.” During the pre-Islamic periods of the Arabs, there was no limit to the number of wives they could take, but Islam limited the number to one, with permission to marry, if necessary, two, or three or even four, *provided* one can treat them with justice and equality in his relations with them as a husband ; which is extremely difficult, if not impossible. Hence, the tendency of Muslim Law is towards monogamy though it does not definitely bind a man saying that he can take only one wife. At present, the concession of marrying more than one wife is enjoyed by very few, as the economic conditions, the social habits, the cost of education and the practical difficulties involved in bringing up a large family are against polygamy. In the early days of Islam, the circumstances were rather different, owing largely to the then prevailing social and political conditions. Wars of conquests ended in the capture of a large number of women, some of whom were of respectable families, and had to be taken as wives and supported by the conquerors. Polygamy thus became a necessity and offered a ready solution to social difficulties. Among Shīahs and the Māleki sect, a temporary marriage named *Mut'ā* is allowed, according to which, after the lapse of a fixed period mutually agreed to, both the parties become free of each other, without the need for pronouncing divorce on their part. Such a marriage is permitted for the convenience of travellers, strangers in a place and poor but young widows, for whom it is difficult to find suitable permanent husbands.

In Islam, marriage is a civil contract made by mutual consent between man and woman. Among the Sunni Muslims, the presence of two male or one male and two female witnesses and a dower are necessary. A woman who has reached

the age of puberty is free to choose, to accept or to refuse an offer, although such conduct may be against the declared wishes of her parents or guardians. If a woman was married in her infancy, she may renounce and dissolve the contract on reaching her majority. Her consent in any case is necessary, though parents are allowed to find a suitable match and even in some cases to force her to give her consent, which, however, is not legal. She can make her own terms before the marriage, as to the amount of the dowry to be paid to her, the dissolution of marriage in case her husband leaves the place and goes to some other country, or in regard to any other matter. All terms and conditions agreed to mutually would be binding on the husband. Freedom, age and health are the conditions for a marriage. In the case of impotency, insanity or extreme poverty, which disallows a husband so much as to render it impossible for him to support his wife, she has the right to divorce him. A man may see the face of his future bride before the marriage but in practice, this legal concession is not utilized. Future husbands in India receive information about their spouses through their women relations who arrange the marriage or meet her in his or in her house. A man may divorce and re-marry the divorced wife, but if he pronounces divorce on three occasions, she cannot return to him, unless after having married another man, has lived with him as his wife for a period of time. She may be divorced by the second husband and then she may re-marry the first. This, however, happens only in extremely rare cases. The object of this law is the husband who has divorced his wife feels ashamed and disgraced to take her back after she has re-married and lived as the wife of another man. Thereupon, in practice, few people resort to take advantage of the right to divorce. Divorce is condemned by the Prophet and is not to be resorted to except in unavoidable circumstances, such as the infidelity of a woman or other serious cause. Divorce is of two kinds:—

- (1) *Rajaī*, or revocable.
- (2) *Ba'en*, or irrevocable.

A husband has the right to divorce his wife. This right is not effective until the period of *iddat* (probation) is over. This period, according to the Hanafi school, is three menstrual courses or three months, and during this period the right to revoke the divorce is available. After the death of the husband, the period of *iddat* is prolonged to four months and ten days. If a woman is enceinte, and divorce has to be resorted to, the *iddat* period continues till the delivery takes place. In this case, the wife has the right to reside in her husband's house and be maintained by him. A child born six months

after the marriage is considered the child of the married husband and so after his death until about two years (according to Hanafi school). But if a child is born earlier than six months after the marriage, it is not considered to be legitimate. The following are the different forms of divorce current among the Sunnis and Shiahs. Among the Sunnis:—

Besides impotency on the part of a man and certain defects in a woman, a divorce may be approved by the Qazi on the grounds of:—

- (1) Unequality of status of the men and women.
- (2) Insufficient dower.
- (3) If either non-Muslim husband or wife embraces Islam or Muslim wife or husband are converted to paganism.
- (4) La'an, if a husband charges his wife with adultery and, if she swears that she is innocent and the husband swears that she is not.
- (5) Eela (vow) if a husband makes a vow that he will have no sexual intercourse for a period of four months or more.
- (6) If a husband becomes a slave of his wife or she of her husband.
- (7) If a husband is obliged to flee from a country ruled by non-Muslims to a country ruled by Muslims.
- (8) *Khula*, which means continuous disagreement between husband and wife, when the wife is willing to pay a certain ransom and free herself from her husband. On mutual agreement, the ransom may not be demanded by the husband.
- (9) *Zihar*, if a husband says to his wife: "You are to me like the book of my mother", or say, "you are free", etc. In each of these cases, if he changes his mind, he may take her back by freeing a slave or fasting two months or feeding sixty poor men.

The Shiahs have little difference with the Sunnis in this connection. Among them, a divorce cannot be effected in a language that is not clear. The husband must know the language or at least understand and intend to pronounce divorce. He must be an adult, free and declare his intention to divorce and the divorce should be pronounced in the presence of two just persons as witnesses. The expression of divorce should preferably be pronounced in Arabic.

The following are few of the texts of the *Quran* usually quoted in connection with marriage and divorce:—

"And marry those among you who are single and those who are fit among your male slaves and your female slaves, if they are needy, God will make them free from want out of His grace and let those who do not find a match keep chaste

until God makes them free from want, out of His grace." (Ch. XXIV. 32-33.)

"And marry not those women whom your fathers married."

"And forbidden unto you are :—Mothers, your daughters, sisters, father's sisters, mother's sisters, and brother's daughters, sister's daughters, foster mothers, foster sisters, mothers-in-law, step-daughters, or two sisters together." (Ch. IV. 22-23.)

Among the sayings of the Prophet are :—

"All young men must marry, because marriage prevents sins. Those who cannot marry must fast." "Marriage perfects half the religion." "A man who wishes to marry a woman, let him see her before marriage."

Inheritance.—Inheritance, technically called *Ilmul-Fāraez*, is based upon the following text of the *Quran* :—

"The male shall have the equal of the portion of two females. If there are more than two females, they shall have two-thirds of what the deceased has left, and if there is one, she shall have the half. With regard to parents, each shall have one-sixth, if (the deceased) has left a child. If there is no child, his parents (father and mother) only inherit him, the mother shall have the third, but if he has brothers, his mother shall have the sixth after payment of debt. And you shall have half of what your wives leave if they have no child, but if they have a child, you shall have one-fourth. And they (wives) shall (inherit) the fourth of what you have if you have no child, but if you have a child, they shall have the eighth of what you leave after payment of the debt ; and if a man or woman leaves property to be inherited by neither parents nor offspring and have a brother or a sister, each of them shall have the sixth, but if there are more of them, they shall be sharers in the third after paying the debt ; concerning those who have neither parents nor offspring, if a man dies and he has no son and has a sister, she shall have half of what he leaves (*vice versa*), he shall be her heir if she has no son ; but if there be two (sisters) they shall have two-thirds of what he leaves, and if there are brethren, men and women, male shall have the like of the portion of two females." (Ch. IV. 11-12 and 177.)

During the pre-Islamic period, Arab women and children could not inherit, because the idea prevailed that inheritance was for those who could fight and defend the family. All differences among Muslims concerning the distribution of the inherited property arise from the interpretation of the words occurring in the text of the *Quran* or in fixing the nearest relations. A Muslim is free to spend or dispose of his property as he wishes during his life-time. If he gives the whole or

a portion of it to a charitable institution or to a relation or friend, he must part with the same and give over full possession of it to the party concerned. As regards making a will, he or she has the right to dispose of one-third of the property after his or her death, the remaining two-thirds being distributed according to the law of inheritance, in which the owner cannot make any change, unless such changes are agreed to and accepted by his legal heirs. The testator must not be insane, a minor or under any compulsion to make a will. He must be free and independent to dispose of his property. After making the will, he or she may revoke it from time to time, if he or she thinks it necessary. Both Sunnis and Shiahs agree that a relation connected with the deceased through another relation, cannot inherit, so long as the direct heir is alive. This is called *Hujub*, or rule of exclusion. For instance, a grandfather cannot inherit while the father is alive, and a grandson cannot inherit so long as there is a son alive. They also agree that propinquity is essential in regard to inheritance, but authorities differ in fixing the "near relative". Sunnis give preference to the male line, though it may not be direct to a female descendant; for example, they prefer a brother's son to the daughter's children. Supposing 'A' dies leaving a grandson by his daughter and a cousin of his father, the grandson has no right to inherit but this cousin of the father does inherit. Both Shiahs and Sunnis agree that if 'A' has two sons and one of them has predeceased and has left children, when 'A' dies, his son inherits the whole property. But Shiahs take the nearer blood relation and give preference to the grandchildren through the daughter to the brother's children. The property is divided in the following manner:

- (1) Payment of funeral expenses of the deceased.
- (2) Payments of debts of the deceased.
- (3) Disposal of one-third according to the will (if there be any).
- (4) Balance or whole (if there be no will) among the undermentioned relatives:—(a) *Zu-wul Farāz* or closest relation; (b) *Asabah*, next to the above; and (c) *Zu-wul Arhām* next to *Asabah*.

Descendants take precedence over the ascendants, as son over father, and, in each class, next of kin take first, as grandson before the great-grandson, and grandfather before great-grandfather. The woman relations inherit half of what male relations get. Where full brothers or sisters are alive, half-brothers or sisters cannot inherit. Among the *Sunnat Jama'at*, if a woman dies leaving behind her husband, mother and brothers born of her mother, but by a different father, and also

full brothers, the husband receives half, the brother one-sixth and the half-brothers one-third each, but full brothers being residuaries get nothing. The murderer of the deceased, though related to him, is deprived of the inheritance, and so one who has been converted to another religion, and illegitimate issue. The Sunnis allow inheritance to such children from the mother because there cannot be any doubt of her being the mother, but among the Shiahs, an illegitimate child neither inherits from the father nor the mother, and parents also cannot inherit from illegitimate children. Adopted children are also excluded from inheritance, though marriages between the adopted parents and children are not encouraged.

Contractual Transactions.—Among the recognised contractual transactions are sale, barter, agency, etc. *Bāī* means barter or sale of property for money or goods. Things are divided into :—

- (1) Similar ; and
- (2) Dissimilar.

Similar things are those which are sold by weighing and measuring ; and dissimilar things are different in quality but sold in exchange, such as wheat for its price in coin. Similar things, as wheat for rice, when sold after being measured or weighed, delivery should take place at once. When these are sold unconditionally, the buyer has no right to choose the best part of it from the whole, unless the seller consents and desires to please him. Things sold or exchanged cannot remain undelivered or unadjusted on the mere responsibility of the parties. But if a thing is sold against its value in money, time is allowed in receiving money. Among similars, there are similars of capacity, weight and sale. The seller must express clearly the quantity and quality of the thing exactly as it is, so that any doubt or misunderstanding may not arise in regard to it later on. He must fix the price and say that such a thing, of so much value and on such terms and conditions (if there be any), he is willing to sell to so and so : the buyer must accept the offer in clear language. If the seller himself cannot do this, he must appoint an agent, with sufficient authority to dispose of his goods. If a contract takes place through a broker, it must be ratified by the actual buyer. Option is allowed to the buyer and seller for three days (in case a thing is not removed from the seller's premises) to avoid the transaction. If a thing is purchased without inspection or examination and afterwards a difference is found in the quantity or the quality specified by the seller or asked for by the purchaser, the latter may refuse to take delivery of it. There are twenty different kinds of sale recognised, of which a few are :—

(1) Sale of a specific thing for a specific price or by way of barter ;

(2) Sale of silver for gold or gold for gold or banking, in which the exchange of coins, either silver or gold must be exact in weight or quality, so that there may be no chance of resorting to usury.

(3) Sale in advance when the price is deposited before taking delivery of goods ;

(4) Loan, etc.

The quality of the thing, when lent, is specified and the thing to be given back should be of the same quality.

One can mortgage his property, but here also usury is avoided. The theologians have permitted only such bargains in which a lender of money can be benefited without transgressing the law, for example, the use of a thing or property which has been mortgaged ; or make a condition precedent that if, within a specified time, the money is not repaid, delivery of possession of the property mortgaged will be given to the lender, etc. *Reba*, or usury, is strictly prohibited under Islamic law. It means the taking advantage of an individual in distress, by giving him momentary relief, with the intention of bringing more misery upon him. One is forced to ask for a loan on the condition that it would be repaid, as agreed, to the lender ; often, much more has to be paid to the lender than he has actually paid. In some cases it may be deemed harmless, but often it brings ruin to whole families, of which the lender is conscious. Such exaction is against the spirit of Islam. The lender may intentionally lend money to possess the property of one who may, owing to hard circumstances, be forced to seek its help. Islam inculcates moderate socialism and with it prescribes a rational and just mode of dealing as between members of the Muslim community. Each individual has the right to possess what is his own property and to enjoy what is his own wealth, but only to the extent that by that he does not injure others' happiness or interests. He may amass wealth but the surplus wealth, which he is not in need of immediate use, must be used for helping those who badly need it. Usury as practised in the time of the Prophet was against such democratic principle and therefore it was prohibited. It is difficult to say whether the modern method of banking and charging of interest on amounts lent out is based upon the doctrine of mutuality, service and mutuality of benefit as between lender and borrower. If the benefits are deemed to be one-sided, it cannot be said to be permitted by Muslim law. If, on the other hand, there is mutuality of service, it would, in the judgment of Muslim theologians, be permissible as it would be held by them a kind

of transaction. The following are the texts of the *Quran* relating to trade and usury :—

"They say that trading is just like usury, while God allows trade and forbids usury." (Ch. XI. 275.)

"God does not bless usury but make charity fruitful."

"When ye contract a debt for a fixed time, record it in writing ; let a scribe record it in writing between you (two parties) in term of equity. But if a debtor is a minor, weak (in brain, i.e., insane) or unable to dictate, let his guardian dictate, and call two men to witness : if not one man and two women. Do not be averse in writing the contract whether small or great, and record the term. (Ch. XI. 281.)

"If a debtor is in straitened condition, postpone until he finds it easy to pay back the debt, or (better) if you (can) remit the debt as almsgiving (this in case of extreme poverty and inability on the part of a debtor to pay back his debt) who, instead of persecution and imprisonment, deserves sympathy and help."

"And if you are on journey and cannot find a scribe (to write the terms of transaction) then (give) a pledge in hand, or if one of you trust the other, the one who is trusted (must) deliver up the thing entrusted to him."

"Do not eat (take) usury in compound interest." (Ch. CXI. 129.)

"Allah does not bless usury (but) He causes charitable deeds to prosper."

"Fill the measure when measuring, and weigh with a right balance." (Ch. XVII. 35.)

"And the heaven, He raised high (and keep them suspending by a law of nature always balanced) and He made (this) measure (so that) you may not be inordinate in respect of the measure (in your actions), and keep up the balance with equity and do not make the measure deficient." (Ch. LV. 7-9.)

"Woe unto the defrauders, who, when they take demand in full measure, but when measure unto others, cause (to make it) less. (Ch. LXXXIII. 1-4.)

Ownership, termed *milkiyyat*, or possession, is of two kinds :—

(1) *Umumi*, or things in common or joint use, such as public roads, gardens, water, pasture, light and fire lighted in a desert to which any man has a right of warming himself.

(2) *Khususi*, or private concerns, limited to the ownership of an individual, may be classified under the following sub-heads :—(a) *Milkul-raqba*, or right as the proprietor of a thing ; (b) *Milkul-yad*, or right of being in possession ; and (c) *Milkul-Tasarruf*, or right of disposition.

Property is divided into :—

(1) *Manqul*, or moveable, which is subdivided into (a) *Mekyal*, or that which is measured, such as rice : (b) *Mauzunāt*, or that which is weighed, such as silver : (c) *Mozruāt*, or that which is measured by a linear measure, such as cloth : (d) *A'dadiyāt*, or that which may be counted, such as animals, etc.; (e) *Urooz*, or articles of furniture and miscellaneous things.

(2) *Ghāir-e-Manqul* or *Āqār*, which means immovable property such as buildings, land, etc. A man may not be the owner of a property but may have a share in its income, through hard labour or skill, in which case, he is not concerned with the loss. But a full owner or member of a company is affected both in the loss and the profit. As part-owners in property, each part-owner is co-owner and bears the responsibility of sharing in the responsibility of maintaining it, repairing it, etc. At the same time, each co-owner enjoys the right of demanding his or her share and resolving to separate his or her own share of it from the joint ownership. There are partial or temporary rights, such as the right of *murur*, or passing through the land of others, and the right of *majra*, or *mosth*, i.e., benefiting from the water passing through another's land and the right of *shufa*, or pre-emption, which means a co-partner in a certain property must be given preference in the matter of its purchase before the property is sought to be sold to a stranger, and next to him to a neighbour (if the property is immovable, such as a building or land). If there are more partners than one, the preference is to be given according to the proportion of the share, of need as between the parties or on other considerations. But if the sharer or sharers do not assert their claim at the proper time, their claim lapses. Therefore, the Qazi, when he announces the sale of such property, fixes a time for the exercise of the right. Waste land belonging to the State may become private property by cultivation after permission from the authorities concerned. Land belonging to an individual cannot, however, be acquired through cultivation or effecting other improvements on it. Muslim law prevents an individual from becoming a nuisance or a source of annoyance to others in exercising one's own right of ownership. For instance, a man may not build his house so close to his neighbours as to prevent the access of light and air to them ; nor could he discharge rain or waste water on his neighbour's property, etc.

Possession is transferred by *aqd*, which means tie, by the original possessor proposing its transfer on certain terms or unconditionally and the receiver accepting the same. This

is called *Ijab* (proposal) and *Qabul* (acceptance). Offers and acceptances of transfers of this kind are classified as follows :—

(1) *Hiba*, a gift or a transfer of property without any exchange. This is affected by a decree of the court (*Qazi*).

(2) *Bai*, or sale, which is a transfer of property in exchange for something else. This may be effected by (a) payment of cash : (b) barter (*muqayyaza*) ; (c) banking (*Sarf*), in which the transaction is in cash for cash ; (d) sale *in futuro*, or paying in advance so that the goods sought to be bought may be delivered on a future date ; and (e) sale in advance, or *Istisna*, which occurs when goods are made only on receiving an order, its value being paid, in whole or in part, in advance.

(3) *Rehn*, or mortgage.

(4) *Ijāra*, or rent.

(5) *Wassiyat*, or bequest of property which takes effect after the death of its owner. The testator is called *Musi* ; the legatee, *Mūsa-lahu* ; the legacy itself, *Mūsi-be-hi* ; and the executor, the *Wasiy*.

The testator has the full right of bequest in one-third of his or her property for private and charitable purposes after paying the debts (if any) and funeral expenses incurred, the remaining two-thirds being distributed according to the law among his heirs. If he or she desires to bequeath more than one-third of his or her property for charitable purposes, he or she must take the consent of the future heirs. A testator must not be insolvent at the time he or she bequeaths the property in question, or in debt, to an extent exceeding the value of the property. He or she must be an adult at the time the bequest is made. The bequest can be made in writing or verbally in the presence of two males or one male and two female witnesses. An executor after accepting the responsibility cannot decline to discharge it. He must administer the property in case the heirs are minors and distribute the property among them according to the will, on their attaining majority. He may sell, pledge, or let the land or house for absolute advantage or for meeting a necessity. But he cannot trade with it unless specifically permitted by the will. A bequest made must be accepted by the legatee. It may be in favour of one or more persons of his own family or to outsiders, who may be Muslims or non-Muslims.

The duties of an executor, beside generally administering the property, are :—

- (1) To pay the funeral expenses ;
- (2) To discharge all debts due, if any ;
- (3) Collect all dues and debts owing to the testator ; and
- (4) To act according to the intention of the testator.

A bequest may be revoked during the life-time of the testator and all changes he desires may be effected by him in regard to it.

(6) *Waqf or Endowment*.—*Waqf* means suspension or standing, a word used in the sense of transferring an individual's property and its income for some charitable purpose. The number of *Waqfs* in Muslim countries is very great. The meeting of *Waqfs* has been attended with good and evil results. Evil in the sense that in many instances it has become a source of income for an undeserving class of people.

Endowments among Muslims are made for the erection and maintenance of :—

- (1) Mosques ;
- (2) Hospitals ;
- (3) Schools ;
- (4) Sacred Shrines ; also for
- (5) The benefit of the poor ;
- (6) The maintenance of a monastery. (*Khanegah*.)
- (7) Maintaining reservoirs, water works, streams ;
- (8) Carrying out Caravan services, hostels, cemeteries ;
- (9) Supporting a family (whole or its poorer members).

The idea of a public charity of this kind began as early as the time of the Prophet, but it developed and took a definite and legal form about the end of the first or the beginning of the second century of the Hijra. Its motive, from the very start, was the promotion of charity, seeing the divine, pleasure, and encouragement of learning, particularly religious learning. Accordingly, Muslim law forbids such endowment for purposes opposed to Islamic teaching. A non-Muslim is permitted to make endowments under the same conditions as a Muslim could. The donor of *Waqf* must be in full possession of the property. He must be *āqil*, a possessor of understanding, i.e., sane ; *Bālegh*, of age ; *hurr*, free ; and of good health at the time he makes the endowment. He must not be in debt for an amount exceeding the value of his property. The object of the endowment must be of a permanent nature and the property must yield *manfa*, profit, i.e., it must be productive or beneficial in some other way, as, for instance, endowment of a library by presenting number of books, which though they may not yield an income may be studied for a very long time. Endowments may take the form of immovable property such as land, buildings, etc., but certain kinds of moveable property may also be accepted, such as animals for the milk they might yield.

Waqfs may be divided into :—

- (1) *Khairi*, charitable, such as mosques, etc.

- (2) *Ahli* or *Zurri*, to support a family, in which the object aimed at is the perpetuation of a family in good circumstances, by affording it the support of an income of an estate.

A *Waqf* need not necessarily be executed in writing, but in case it is not in writing the donor must expressly declare it before witnesses, i.e., state specifically before them:

- (1) His intention to make the endowment ;
- (2) Describe the nature of the endowment, its income, etc.: and
- (3) He must provide for its coming into force immediately the declaration is made.

A *Waqf* can be made from one-third part of the donor's property, the remaining two-thirds being left to his heirs, but the donor may increase the quantity by making in its favour a gift during his life-time. Once a *Waqf* is properly made and comes into force, it cannot be revoked, even by the donor. In case a mosque is erected, it becomes public property soon after a man performs his prayer in it. A *Waqf* is administered, according to the terms of its endowment, by one or more trustees. A single person supervising the administration is called *Nazir*. *Mutavalli*, or *Qayyim*, is paid from the income of the estate. The founder himself can become a *Mutavalli* and be succeeded by the members of his family. But in case another is appointed under the terms of the endowment, he or his descendants cannot interfere with the management, so long it is administered according to the terms and conditions laid down in the endowment. If a *Mutavalli* fails to carry out his duties honestly, or if he is proved incompetent, it is left to the magistrate (*Qazi*) to dismiss him and to appoint a competent man. If an endowment is not utilized for the intended purpose, it becomes the property of the donor or his heirs. The endowed property must be free from the claims of creditors. A man cannot make an endowment of his property in favour of his children, if he is in heavy debt, and if his object is to escape payment of his lawful debts. In Islam, the kinds of endowment being many and varied, it is often a problem how to utilize the income derived from an endowment. The present tendency is to nationalise *Waqf* property and spend the income on education and public works. At present, in Iraq, *Waqf* property is under the Ministry of *Waqfs* and the income derived is spent on the repair of sacred shrines, mosques and other purposes as sanctioned by Parliament. In Turkey, the Ministry of *Waqfs* spends the income derived on various useful public purposes other than the maintenance of religious institutions, for which the endowments may have been made. The same rule obtains in Iran.

UQUBAT

The fifth division of Muslim law is *Uqubat*, or punishments for intentional injury to :—

- (1) Human body, such as murder or causing a wound.
- (2) Human property, by usurpation, theft or damage.
- (3) Human honour, such as by slander. Also
- (4) Breach of public peace, such as rioting, highway robbery, etc.
- (5) Offences against religion, such as not attendance at prayers or non-payment of *Zakāt*, etc.
- (6) Offences against decency, such as adultery, use of intoxicants, gambling; and
- (7) Offences against the established government, which means rebellion.

Muslim criminal law is known as *Sisat-ul-Shariah*. The extent of punishment for the abovementioned crimes extends from administering a warning, or the infliction of a fine. *Hadd*, or bodily chastisement by means of stripes, to imprisonment, transportation, cutting off of hands, feet and lastly putting to death.

Guilt is proved when a man intentionally acts to cause injury to another man. If a man is hurt, but the doer never intended to injure him, he is not held responsible for the injury. For example, when a man keeps a dog in his house and a stranger without warning or permission enters it, and is bitten by the dog, the owner of the dog is not held responsible for the consequences. But when a man leaves his horse on the public road and the horse kicks a passer-by and hurts him, the owner is punished for the same. In the case of murder, the punishment inflicted is the infliction of a like injury on the murderer, which is called "*Qisās*" or retaliation *lex talionis*. Though the murderer must be put to death, Muslim law does not insist in such punishment. On the other hand, it recommends the relatives of the murderer to accept *compensation*. Punishment by way of *Qisās*, or the infliction of a like injury is not permitted in doubtful cases. For example, when a man causes fracture of the bone to another, he cannot be punished with the infliction on him of the same kind of injury. Thus the doctrine of *Qisās* is limited to certain specified cases. Muslim law, however, punishes, in a milder manner, the guilty in case of this nature by the administration of admonition or scorn, by inflicting imprisonment, whipping and finally by taking the life of the criminal. It depends upon the character of the offence and the circumstances under which the offence was committed, the intention of the party and his age. All these are left to the consideration of the

Qazi, whose discretion and judgment are depended on. His guide in these matters is *Quran*, the Tradition and the legal codes as arranged by eminent scholars learned in the law. Lenity may be shown in the infliction of punishment but once it is pronounced there can be no lenity in regard to its being carried out. As, for instance, the magistrate may show leniency in ordering twenty stripes instead of fifty, but the twenty ordered stripes must be real hard blows, as the *Quran* says :—

“And let not pity detain you in the matter of obedience to Allah’s (Command).” (Ch. XXIV. 2.)

Among the *Jinayat*, or crimes, are :—

Murder.—A murderer must either be put to death by order of the magistrate or if the relatives of the murdered man or woman are willing in certain cases to forgive the murderer and forego their claim, the guilty party may be made to pay compensation as ordered by the court with the mutual consent of the relatives of the murdered man and the murderer.

As the *Quran* says :—

“Retaliation is prescribed for you in the matter of the slain, the free for the free, and the slave for the slave and the female for the female, but if any remission is made to anyone by his (injured) brother, then prosecution should be made according to usage, and payment should be made to him in a good manner : this (ordinance) is an alleviation from your Lord and a mercy.

“There is life for you in (the law of) *Qisās* (retaliation). O Men of understanding, that you may guard yourselves.” (Ch. XI. 178.)

Qatl, or homicide, in Islam is classified into :—

(1) *Qatl-e-amd*, or intentional murder. In this case, the offender is to be punished both in this life and in the next. As the *Quran* says :—

“Whosoever kills a believer purposely, his punishment is hell.” (Ch. IV. 95, 93.)

A murderer cannot inherit from the murdered person.

(2) *Qatle, Shibhul-amd*, or analogous cases. Cases where the intention to kill may be inferred. For example, when a man strikes another with a stick, but he may or may not have intended the strike to result in his death. If the strike accident causes the death of the other, the punishment is if the intention to kill him is not brought home, he is fined heavily but not put to death.

(3) *Qatle-khata*, mistake. Murder may be committed under a mistake of fact or intention. The former occurs when a man strikes something else but it hits the slain man and the

latter, when a man has no intention to kill but his act accidentally causes the death of a person. The following text of the *Quran* bears on this point :—

“He who hath killed a believer by mistake must set free a believing slave, and pay the blood money to the family of the slain, unless they do not take it as a charity.” (Ch. IV. 92.) Or the guilty may fast for two months successively.

(4) *Qatl-e-qaim maqam-e-khata*, or the murder under a mistake. A man, for instance, accidentally falls on another person and his death occurs. The punishment in this case is the same as detailed for number three above.

(5) *Qatl-be-sabab*, or indirectly causing death, for example, when a man digging a well falls in it and dies. In such a case, if the act itself is wrong, i.e., if a man digs a well outside his compound, on a public road, or where there is possibility of people having to cross it, he is held liable and made to pay a fine. But, if his act *per se* is not illegal, the dead man having taken the risk, there is no reparation to be made for his having come by his death. According to Muslim law, the man who kills is alone held responsible for his guilt. It excludes his relatives from retaliation by the relatives of the murdered man, as it was the custom among the pre-Muslim Arabs. Therefore it is, that the *Quran* says a free man for a free man and a slave for a slave, etc. In the case of poisoning, canvassing of death through suffocation, etc., the law of retaliation does not operate. Punishment in cases of this nature is left to the discretion of the magistrate.

Adultery or Fornication.—Some Muslim jurists recommend that an eye witness in a case of this sort need not bring such an offence to the notice of the authorities or need he attend as a witness. But, if they do come and enquire of him, he must satisfy the court, as to what he saw with his own eyes. If he fails to satisfy the court, he is liable to be punished with eighty stripes. Therefore it is that the task of becoming a witness in a case of this sort is most onerous under the Islamic law. The object is to discourage such charges, which may arise from suspicion, doubt, wrong notion, jealousy or other similar cause and even if true, the effect is not likely to prove healthy on society. Adultery is either committed with an unmarried or a married person. In the former case, the punishment is not severe but in the latter, the punishment is stoning the guilty to death. A husband may slay his wife, if he finds her with her lover in the act of sexual conjunction. In other cases, an alleged act of adultery, if brought forward by any person, must be proved by four witnesses, whose statements should not differ or appear doubtful. These witnesses should

not contradict it themselves when cross-examined by the judge. The husband should not be himself guilty of privy. If the wife or husband voluntarily confess the guilt then the witnesses may be dispensed with. In the last of these cases, the wife of the husband must confess at four different times and on all these occasions the statement made should not differ or look doubtful. Even after these four confessions made at different times, if he or she retracts the confession, the retraction is accepted. If proved, the punishment for fornication (of an unmarried person) is one hundred stripes, inflicted on a man while standing and on a woman with leniency while sitting. At present, the punishment for adultery or fornication is much relaxed in Muslim countries. In the case of the unmarried, the law does not take any notice of her act, but in regard to married women, the punishment is left to the discretion of the court, although in theory the old Islamic punishment is supposed to be still in force.

The following texts from the *Quran* relate to adultery :

"The adulterer and the adultress scourge each one of them (with) a hundred stripes."

"The adulterer shall not marry save an adultress or an idolatress, and the adultress none shall marry save an adulterer or an idolater. All this is forbidden unto believers." (Ch. XXIV. 2-3.)

Slander.—In the case of slander, one who accuses a woman of adultery must produce the evidence of four witnesses, who must clearly state the crime or else the slanderer himself is to be punished. The *Quran* says :—

"Those who accuse free woman and cannot bring four witnesses, flog them, with eighty stripes and do not accept (afterwards) their testimony." (Ch. XXIV. 4.)

Theft and Highway Robbery.—According to the following text of the *Quran*, the magistrate may inflict any moderate or severe kind of punishment. It is left to his discretion and depends upon his interpretation of the text and his judgment :—

"The punishment for those who fight against God and his apostle and cause disaster in the land (by highway robbery) is :—(1) to be slain ; (2) crucified ; (3) have their hands and feet cut off cross ways ; (4) or to be banished from the land—unless he or they repent and reform before falling into your hand." (Ch. V. 33.)

"And (as for) the man or woman, who steal, cut off their hands as a punishment for what they have earned, an exemplary punishment from God." (Ch. V. 38.)

The judge according to Shāfi school, may pass the following sentence :—

(1) If the crime consists in making public highways unsafe for travellers and trade caravans, the punishment is deportation from the land.

(2) If anything has been robbed, the guilty parties may be punished by cutting off their right hands and left feet.

(3) If, besides interrupting caravans, public highways are made unsafe and those guilty are also held to have killed any man or woman, those adjudged guilty may be put to death or crucified, such a sentence being considered a deterrent one. But, if those guilty repent before being brought before the law officers, they may be forgiven, provided they return the stolen property; and if they have killed any one, they pay the *diya*, or the amount of money fixed by the judge and accepted by the murdered person's relatives, as compensation due to be given to his heirs. The Muslim law defines theft in the sense of stealing a thing considered as the property of another man kept in his shop or in any other safe place, such as a house. Many things are not considered property, such as :—

(1) Things which may decay or be wasted as milk, fruits, grain (not reaped), grass, fish, garden stuff, etc.

(2) Liquor in stealing which a thief may excuse himself by saying that he wanted to spill it.

(3) Instruments of music.

(4) Trifling things, such as fowls, wood or utensils made of wood.

(5) Books, including the *Quran*.

(6) The public treasure or *Baitul-māl*, being a property common to all Muslims, the idea being that an individual Muslim cannot be punished with amputation for an offence of this kind, because as a Muslim he is entitled to a share in it.

(7) A creditor may steal up to the limit of his claim from a bad debtor.

In case a theft is proved and the magistrate passes the judgment of cutting off the hands of the thief, it is cut at the joint of the wrist.

Intoxicants, gambling, etc., are forbidden according to the following texts from the *Quran*, and the punishment to be inflicted is whipping, as many stripes as might be ordered by the trying magistrate.

The testimony of a gambler or a drunkard is not to be accepted by the court :—

“Intoxicants and games of chance (before) idols and dividing by arrow are uncleanness, (and) the devil's work, therefore abstain from them.” (Ch. V. 91.)

“Satan sows hatred and strife among you by wine and games of chance and turn you aside from the remembrance

of God and from prayer, therefore abstain from them." (Ch. V. 91.)

The punishment for drinking wine is whipping, which may consist of as many as eighty stripes.

Such, in brief, is the criminal law of Islam, which has been much modified to some extent in modern Muslim States all over the world. No Muslim government, in these days (with the exception of Arabia) orders the cutting off of the hands of a thief; nor does it allow the ransoming of a murderer. Even as early as the Umayyad rule, Khalif Hisham modified the punishment for theft by limiting it to ordinary imprisonment extending to two years. With regard to other crimes, the punishment is to-day left to the discrimination of the judge and the nature of the crime alleged and proved. For instance, a noble found guilty of rebellion is forgiven, imprisoned, deported or put to death as the policy of the State and the will of the ruler might demand.

Sin.—According to Islam, a man does not possess evil in his true self but has the weakness of being tempted into evil. Therefore, evil is not a human disposition but an acquired habit. It is a mental disease and may be cured through right preaching and training. Satan, who is evil by nature, was the first to sin, i.e., to disobey the command of God. His sin was self-conceit and pride, enumerated among the great sins. The evil tendency is the bidding of an animal soul. A text of the *Quran* says :—

"Joseph says, I do not declare myself free (from human weakness); most surely the *nafsa-ul-ammara* (my animal soul) commands evil (and hence man does evil but one on whom) my Lord has mercy." (Ch. XII. 53.)

Therefore, if the carnal (animal) soul is brought under the control of true self, one may become free from evil.

Sins are classified into :—

- (1) *Kabirah*, or great.
- (2) *Saghirah*, or small.

This division is based upon the following text of the *Quran* :—

"To those who avoid the great sins and scandals but commit only the lighter faults, verily the Lord will be diffused of mercy." (Ch. LIII. 33.)

Among the great sins are :—

- (1) Association of a being with God.
- (2) Wilful murder.
- (3) Adultery.
- (4) Theft.
- (5) Unnatural crime.
- (6) Drunkenness.

- (7) Usury.
- (8) Disobedience to parents.
- (9) *Qazf*, or charging illegally a Muslim with fornication.
- (10) False witness.
- (11) Defrauding orphans.
- (12) Despair of God's mercy.
- (13) Cowardice in battle.
- (14) Neglect of prayers.
- (15) Gambling.
- (16) Neglecting fasts.

Sincere repentance from any sin may bring God's mercy and salvation. If a non-Muslim embraces Islam, his past shortcomings are all forgiven. A Muslim, by committing a great sin, becomes a sinner, but not an infidel. According to Shiah, the Prophet and the twelve Imāms, including Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet, are sinless. According to the Sunnat Jama'at, the Prophets do not commit the *great sins*, but are liable for any slight imperfections in action. For example, in the case of Adam, whose action in eating the forbidden fruit, it was not disobedience but weakness of the understanding. Therefore he is not to be treated as one who was disallowed from seeking pardon at the hands of God. Nor does seeking pardon mean committing any sin. It is only a sign of humility towards God Almighty. It is admitted that human beings in any stage of human perfection are not perfect and their imperfection is in itself sufficient reason to seek God's pardon, because an *imperfect* cannot act completely to the bidding of the *perfect* (i.e., God). There is a tradition that the Prophet said: "I ask pardon of God and repent towards Him, more than seventy times every day." Thus "sin" is human imperfection, a weakness to being tempted, though his real self remains pure in its essence.

Suicide.—Suicide is a sin, because the *Quran* says: "It is not (right) for a believer to kill a believer except by mistake." (Ch. IV. 93.) As suicide is considered a wilful act to kill oneself, it is considered a sin. According to Tradition, "Whoever kills himself will suffer in hell." In Islam, life is respected and its destruction, though it may be in one's own care, is severely forbidden. Accordingly, cases of death by suicide are rare in Muslim countries. A Muslim must submit to the decrees of God and accept cheerfully all unavoidable events. According to the following text of the *Quran*, some of these happenings should be taken to be trials ordered by God Almighty in the case of human beings:—

"And He will most certainly try you with fear, hunger, loss of property, lives and fruits, i.e., (result of your striving), and (O! Prophet) give good news to the patient (in all the

said trials). Who, when a misfortune befalls them, say : 'Surely we are God's and to Him we shall surely return.' (Ch. II. 155-156.)

From this point of view, a Muslim, in attempting to commit suicide, is really revolting against the trials sent down to him by God in the form of misfortunes.

Food also is divided into permissible and prohibited. Among the forbidden or *Harām* food are :—

(1) Quadrupeds that seize their prey with their paws and teeth or talons, such as cat, tiger, etc., and among birds crow, kite, eagle, etc. Besides these, the flesh of elephants ; the flesh of any animal which is dead of itself ; the flesh and blood of swine ; and the flesh and blood of those animals over which God's name has not been invoked. A man driven to the necessity in extreme cases of eating anything forbidden may eat it, even a dead body. For example, in a famine or when an army is besieged by enemy, the eating of forbidden food is allowed provided he does not desire to eat it for its taste or exceed the prescribed limit, i.e., as much of it as prevent death from hunger. The strangled animal, beaten to death, or killed by a fall, or smitten by a horn, or killed by beasts should not be eaten by as it is forbidden. (Ch. V. 3.)

An animal to be fit as food, must be slaughtered with a sharp knife, in using which care should be taken to avoid suffering to the animal as much as possible. Before killing, a few drops of water should be poured into its mouth, so that it may not die in a thirsty condition and the name of God must be recited before using the knife, signifying that it has been done by the permission of God. (*Ibid.*)

Sacrifice.—The idea underlying sacrifice in Islam is to help the poor or to satisfy the appetite. It is either an act of benevolence or an act of feasting. Among Jews, as well as Iranians and Hindus, sacrifice was shared with the priest and particular persons but among Muslims the flesh of the sacrificed animal is used by all those invited to the function. It is not a ritualistic act of worship. There is no recitation of prayer excepting pronouncing the name of God, which is recited on all occasions. There are no hymns to be recited in praise of the Deity, to whom the sacrifice is offered nor is any particular ceremony to be carried out on the occasion. There is no idea of atonement in it ; no libation offered for it ; and there is no idea of redemption from sin involved in it. The animal offered by a *Haji* is slaughtered on the 10th of *Zil-hujja*, after performing the pilgrimage, which is the continuation of a pre-Islamic practice, done in memory of Abraham, the great ancestor of Quraish Arabs. The animal is slaughtered at *Mina* (Mecca) and its flesh is eaten by the slaughterer and

the remaining portion is distributed among the poor. The number of pilgrims is large and the majority can afford to slaughter one or more animals. Therefore, the quantity of flesh available is always much greater than there is need for it and a good part of it is actually wasted. In killing an animal, there is a slight difference of opinion among theologians. Some hold that the severance of the windpipe and the gullet is necessary. Imām Malek says that the gullet and the veins of the neck must be cut. Some others believe that the two jugular veins or one of jugular veins must be cut. A camel is killed by *Nahr*, i.e., by stabbing his windpipe. But in the case of all other animals, except fish, the killing is done by cutting the throat of the animal concerned. Fish is taken out of the water, and this causes its death. The following texts occurring in the *Quran* relate to sacrifice:—

“He has given them of the cattle quadrupeds, then eat of them and feed the distressed and needy.” (Ch. XXII. 28.)

“And as for *Budn* (camels), we have made them of the signs of the religion of Allah for you. in them, there is much good: therefore mention the name of God on them as they stand in a row, then when they fall down (after stabbing) eat of them and feed the poor man, who is contented and the beggar, thus we have made them subservient to you, that you may be grateful.”

“There does not reach God their flesh nor their blood (as it is believed in other religions) but to Him is acceptable your (piety) the guarding (against evil).” (Ch. XXII. 26-27.)

Death and Resurrection.—A Muslim should not desire death, because if he is virtuous, that is likely to elongate his life: and if he is bad, he may have a chance of doing good and repent of his evil. When actually he is facing death, he must resign himself to the will of God and submit to it with a cheerful heart. According to the *Quran*, the hour of death is fixed for every living creature. After burial takes place, the dead person meets the two angels named *Munkar* and *Nakir*, who question him about his religion, God and faith and if they receive satisfactory replies from the dead man's soul, he is left in a calm and undisturbed state, till the day of resurrection. If not, he is to suffer torments till resurrection comes, when finally both good and bad will be examined and receive the last reward or punishment. The state between death and the day of resurrection is called *Barzakh*. According to the Sūfis, it is a semi-physical and semi-spiritual life.

The doctrines of Islam in this behalf are based upon the faith in:—

- (1) Unity of God;
- (2) Muhammad as His Prophet;

(3) Good deeds ; and

(4) The Day of Judgment or Resurrection.

Whoever does not believe in the four abovementioned fundamental principles, cannot be considered a Muslim. The Day of Judgment is mentioned almost in all the Chapters of the *Quran*, particularly in the short Meccan Chapters, to which various alternative appellations are given. For example, *Yaum-ul-Fasl* (reckoning); *Din* (judgment); *Saat* (hour); *Ba's* (awakening); etc. All Muslims believe that the dead will rise in bodies as they were born in their earthly life ; their actions will be examined and weighed : and in the short time of half a day or even less, divine sentence will be pronounced. All will have to pass over the bridge called *Sirat*, which is thinner than a hair and sharper than the sword. This, it is stated, will give way to the pious, who will pass over it with ease to Paradise : while the wicked will not be able to pass over it and will be thrown into Hell. Texts of the *Quran* descriptive of the Day of Resurrection must, it is held, be interpreted in an allegorical sense. The following are a few of them :—

“When the earth is shaken with her shaking (i.e., when the Day of Resurrection comes)”

“and the earth brings forth her burdens”

“and man says what has befallen her”

“on that day she shall tell her news”

“because the Lord inspireth her.”

“On that day men shall come forth in scattered groups that they may be shown their deeds.”

“He who has done an atom's weight of good shall see it.”

“He who has done an atom's weight of evil shall see it.”

Intercession and Salvation.—“*Shafa'at*, or the intercession of the Prophet on behalf of Muslim sinners on the Day of Judgment, is a common belief among orthodox Muslims, particularly Shiahs, who include the intercession as well of Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet ; her two sons, Hasan and Husain ; and her husband, Ali, the fourth Khalif. The *Motazala* school of Muslim scholasticism limits such intercession by the Prophet in favour of virtuous Muslims, so that their reward in the next life may be increased. Members of the Wahabi sect believe that the Prophet will be permitted according to the following texts, to intercede on behalf of those whom God may desire :—

“Who is he that can intercede with Him but by His permission.” (Ch. XI. 255.)

“On that day shall no intercessor avail except of him who the beneficent God allows and whose word He is pleased.” (Ch. XX. 109.)

The Sūfis believe that salvation is release from ignorance ; is nearness to the Deity ; and the attainment of the knowledge of God. In theology, submission to the laws of Islam, i.e., to the commands of God, leads human beings to salvation. Such salvation may, it is said, be attained by all Muslims, even by a sinner. The orthodox believe that salvation is release from punishment in Hell. In the case of Muslim sinners, such release may be postponed, but finally will come and they will be saved. According to the *Quran*, a Muslim must not lose hope in God's mercy. He will gain salvation by repentance at any stage of his life, as the following text of the *Quran* bears testimony to :—

“But as to him who repents and believes and does good may be he will be among the successful.” (Ch. XXVIII. 67.)

CHAPTER XIV

MUSLIM SOCIOLOGY

The Ethical Basis of Muslim Social Life—Position of Women in Islam—Purdah or Seclusion of Women—Marriage in Islam—Birth and Early Life—Circumcision—Concubines and Slave Girls—Position of Parents—Disposal of the Dead—Feasts in Islam—Saints and Shrines—Sacred Places in Iran—In Mesopotamia—In Arabia—Forms of Devotional Exercise—Moharrum—Blood-feud—Symbolism in Islam—Superstitions in Islam—The Evil-Eye—Magic or Sehr—Physical Beauty and Love—House, Furniture, Diet and Dress.

THE ETHICAL BASIS OF MUSLIM SOCIAL LIFE

Muslim society is rather difficult to write about in anything like adequate fashion. Islam is international and Muslims, who inhabit different parts of the world and live in different stages of social development, are attached to their inherited customs of ages, some of them of pre-Muslim origin. There is, however, uniformity in the semi-religious ceremonies observed by them. This aspect of their social life will be dealt with here at some length. The ethical basis on which Muslim society is built up may be traced back to the last address delivered by the Prophet soon after his farewell pilgrimage, in which he said :—

“O Men ! listen to me, for I may not be with you after this year in this place. Your lives and property are sacred and inviolable to each other. Every man will have his share of inheritance. The child belongs to his parents. You have rights over your wives and they have over you. They must not be faithless to you, and you must treat them with loving kindness. Do not transgress, and be faithful to the trust placed in you. Usury is prohibited, and also vengeance for blood. Treat your slaves with kindness, feed them with what you eat, and clothe them with what you wear. Forgive them if they commit fault. The slaves who perform prayers are your brothers and all Muslims are brothers to one another. Guard yourselves from injustice.”

Such was the fraternal spirit under which Muslim society came to be first established and later developed, first and foremost in Arabia and then in Central and South Asia, North Africa and Southern Europe. The same spirit made itself felt

in less or more degree, wherever Islam permeated even in a mild or attenuated form. Among the more important factors which influence the development of society is the status assigned to men and women as members of the family. In Islam, man is the maintainer of the family and as such holds greater power and responsibility, though women also take a prominent part in it. In fact, one of the most striking features in Muslim culture is the position assigned to women in social life.

POSITION OF WOMEN IN ISLAM

Among the pre-Muslim Arabs, the custom of polyandry was prevalent. A woman could break off her relations with her husband, simply by turning the side of her tent. She was free, too, to choose her husband, either directly or through her parents, and dismiss him at her pleasure. The prevalent custom was somewhat similar to that obtaining among the Nayars of Malabar, among whom a woman could, until not long ago, possess several husbands, and children were born to a known or an unknown father, and not knowing the father had to live with the mother. Thus, kinship was recognised from the mother's side and the affection of children was built up more among the relatives of the mother than of the father. According to Strabo, the Greek writer, the Arabs held property in common. The eldest member of the family was recognised as the head, and several brothers had one wife common between them, and the man who was with her at any time, used to fix his stick on the door of the tent, which was a sign for others not to enter it. According to Jewish tradition, Abraham, the great ancestor of the Mostaraba Arabs, married his half-sister Sarah, and among the Phenicians, King Tabnith married his father's daughter. It is said that Auf, the father of Abdur-Rahman, the famous companion of the Prophet, married Shafa, his half-sister. The same custom prevailed in pre-Islamic Iran and among the Macedonians as well. The Jews allowed marriage with a niece on the mother's side, and so do the Hindus at the present time. Kinship on the father's side also prevailed among the Arabs but that on the mother's side appears certainly to be the older of the two and the more prevalent. Women among the pre-Muslim Arabs were included in the property inherited, and on the father's death, a son could marry his step-mother. Mothers-in-law were also taken as wives. Islam, however, definitely abolished all these relations, and made the father's side stronger to safeguard the chastity of women, to prevent polyandry and to make man responsible for the support of his wife and children. Thus, while Arab women lost certain privileges and

their freedom, they gained security of livelihood and a higher social position. Islam also abolished the evil custom of female infanticide, which had become common among the Arabs, where a father used to consider it his sacred duty to take his daughter of tender age and bury her alive. This custom is referred to in several passages of the *Quran*. For example, we read :—"When men are united (on the Day of Judgment) and when the alive-buried (girl) will ask, for what sin she was killed." (Ch. LXXXI. 7-8.) "When anyone of them has tidings of a female child, his face is overclouded and is turned black and he is full of wrath. He hides himself from the public for the evil tidings he has heard, is he to keep the (girl) in disgrace or to bury her in the ground?" (Ch. XVI. 58-59.) The reason for resorting to such a terrible disposal of female children was partly ignorance and pride, and partly the economic condition of the Arabs of the time. As is explained in the *Quran* :—"And do not kill your children for fear of poverty; we give them and yourselves subsistence; surely to kill them is a great sin." (Ch. XVII. 31.)

The civilised propaganda in favour of birth-control was unknown in those far off days. Arab infanticide, however, was limited to daughters and, though undoubtedly crude and cruel in form, such a practice was prevalent in India as well, among the Rajputs, until historical times. The motive in both cases was the same, and the cause that led to it seems to have been identical. Among the heathen Arabs, the foster-mother was respected, and her children were treated as brothers and sisters. Islam contributed towards the improvement of the position of women in certain ways :—

(1) By retaining certain of the more ancient and healthy customs, such as respect and good treatment of a foster-mother. (2) By making woman the mistress of her own property, in which the husband had no right to interfere except with her permission. (3) By giving her the right of claiming divorce on the following grounds :—impotency of the husband; leprosy or insanity on his part; inferior social status; non-payment of the dowry; and conversion to other religions. Divorce was also allowed in certain other cases. Thus, if the wife is suspected and accused of adultery by her husband, and he cannot prove her guilt and swear that she is guilty, and she swears she is not guilty, she becomes free of her husband. If she accepts marriage on certain conditions, which cannot be fulfilled by her husband, she secures freedom of action. If, again, she is not paid her *nafaqah* (maintenance) or if she is highly ill-treated, or if she can establish sufficient reason why she should be allowed to have recourse to divorce proceedings, she becomes free. (4) She need not take part

in the fighting lines in case of war, though she may help the fighting men as a nurse or encourage them against the enemy.

(5) She can hold any public office, such as that of the head of an empire, a minister, a judge (except in criminal cases).

(6) She is free to re-marry after divorce. (7) She is encouraged to study and acquire learning. (8) Among the pre-

Muslim Arabs, as among certain classes of people in India, when a man wanted a healthy child, or for some other reasons, he used to permit his wife to sleep with another man, known for courage, wisdom or learning, and a son thus born came to be recognised as the son of the putative husband. The father is called *ab* in Arabic, which does not bear the meaning of *progenitor*, but *nurturer*, and the husband is called *b'al*, which, in its meaning, is equivalent to the Iranian *Paiti* (or the Sanskrit *Pati*). Islam abolished this ancient custom. (9) Then, again, if the husband remains absent from home and in an unknown place for a very long time and does not pay for her maintenance, the wife might procure a decree of divorce from a judge. Among the Berbers of Morocco, a married woman may take refuge in another man's house or tent and thus force her husband to divorce her. Among the Arabs and the North African Muslims, even at the present date, divorce is frequent, especially among the higher classes. In India, however, owing to Hindu influence, it is very rare. Among some nomads of Iraq, the wife has the same privilege as the husband and can divorce him at her desire.

Divorce was very common among the pre-Muslim Arabs and, though a lawful act, was condemned by the Prophet who has said :—"The thing most disliked by God is divorce." He has also praised a good wife by saying :—"The world and its pleasure are valuable, but more than all (pleasure) is a virtuous wife." The *Quran* says :—"Verily the contented men and the resigned women—for them God has prepared forgiveness and mighty rewards." (Ch. XXXIII. 35.) "The best of you in the eye of God is the one who treats his wife the best." It was common among high class Arab women to marry more than once by claiming divorce or after becoming a widow. The Prophet himself, with one exception, married widows. An Arab woman is known to have married as many as forty husbands. This right, though it was continued under Islam, was limited in its extent.

Temporary alliances, still prevalent among the Shiahs and the Shafai school of the Sunnat Jama'at called *Muta* or *Sigha*, had been long prevalent before the advent of Islam. According to it, matrimonial alliance is fixed from one hour or less to any length of time, after which both sides are free, without taking a divorce. This custom is not permitted by

other schools of the Sunnat Jama'at, and among the Shiah's, it is, in practice, limited to a few widows and to women in extremely poor circumstances, who cannot find suitable husbands.

In Islam, women have had their own institutions of learning, such as the Women's College of Medicine and Jurisprudence at Cairo, which was founded in the reign of Malik-ut-Taher, the Slave King of Egypt. Similar institutions existed at Damascus, Baghdad, Cordova and other important centres of Islam. Some brave ladies took part in expeditions specially in the early conquests of Islam, and helped their fighting husbands, brothers and fathers. They founded charitable institutions, such as caravanseras, mosques, monasteries, colleges, orphanages and hospitals and constructed bridges and canals, besides erecting shrines. There were women speakers, musicians, poetesses, theologians and mystics (see *Appendix A*). Arab ladies freely recited their compositions in the assemblies of men. Girl students were permitted to remain unveiled before their teachers. Women were free to go out shopping, to join prayers and to attend lectures on religion. Rural women, in almost all Muslim countries, and to some extent even in India, do not use the veil. They go about free and help their men in agricultural work and in tending cattle.

PURDAH OR SECLUSION OF WOMEN

The heathen Arabs, men and women, used to perform the circuit of the great temple of Ka'aba naked, while at prayer, because they believed that the gods had created human beings naked and therefore they had to appear naked before their gods. This custom reminds us of the naked appearance of Raja Duryodhana before his mother. The Prophet abolished this old custom and commanded that men and women must cover their bodies, while offering prayer at the Ka'aba, with two pieces of cloth. Afterwards, when the Prophet heard of some misbehaviour on the part of certain men towards women, he read the following revelation:—"Say to the believing men to cast down their looks and guard their chastity; this will be purer for them." (Ch. XXIV. 30), which means that men, when facing a woman, after the first look which is natural and harmless, must not stare at her once again with passionate eyes but control his passions by casting down his eyes. Likewise women were asked:—"To cast down their eyes and guard their chastity and not to display their ornaments except what appear (such as on their hands and feet).'" (Ch. XXIV. 31.) Further, women were asked to throw their head covering on their bosom, instead of on the back (as they

used to do), because it attracts the attention of men. This revelation must have been the beginning of what has become known as the regular *purdah* system among Muslim women. Originally, it was not so rigid as it is to-day. During the lifetime of the Prophet and during the period of his first four successors, the Umayyad and Abbaside Khalifs, women freely mixed with men and some high class ladies, such as Ayesha, daughter of Talha, even declined to wear the veil. The practice, however, gradually spread in its intensity according to the circumstances of the age, till it reached the present intolerable position. Strict *purdah* system probably became popular after the fall of Baghdad and the rise of Moghals and the Timurids in Iran and India. During this period, partly owing to the inclination of the Moghal rulers and partly owing to the insistence of the orthodox section, who became very powerful and laid emphasis on the complete seclusion of women, the present *purdah* system became effective. Amir Khusroe, the celebrated poet, who flourished under the Slave, Khilji and Tughlaq rulers, considered that women must be trained to perform household work, should receive instruction in moral and religious subjects alone, attend exclusively to the management and care of children, attend to the spindle and the kitchen, and obtain training in weaving, needle-work and in the work of decorating the house. Such was the condition of Muslim society between the twelfth and eighteenth centuries A.D. There were exceptions to this general rule in certain places and in particular circumstances.

According to strict Islamic doctrine, a man may see the face and hands of the girl whom he intends to marry but few or none take advantage of this permission. There is no uniform agreement among the theologians as to which ornament should be concealed by a woman when in *purdah*; nor is there uniformity in observing *purdah* as such in Muslim countries. In some places, such as Turkey, Egypt, Iran, Iraq and Syria, women used to go out with a cloak over their head, reaching just below the knees. In North Africa, this seclusion is partly intended to escape the evil eye. In Arabia, even handsome men and boys used to cover their faces, specially in public gatherings, fairs, etc., when they considered they would be exposed to dangerous glances. In the interior of Arabia, some Arabs observe strict *purdah* exactly as it is observed in India. It is said that when Emperor Timur invaded India and captured Delhi, he issued an order prohibiting Muslim women from showing themselves to strangers and directed them to travel in covered conveyances. If this story is true, it suggests that strict *purdah* had not been enforced till then in India, at least among Indian born Muslim women. The

orthodox Moulvis preached the covering of the whole body, including face and hands. Men of dignity and learning, such as Amir Khusroe, considered that perfection of womanhood and chastity was attained by the observance of strict seclusion. They appear to have thought that such seclusion was a distinction and a privilege to which female timidity and sense of pride, vanity and a false idea of chastity came to be added. The lower orders of society imitated the higher and the result was the present seclusion of women in India, which has excluded them from taking part in the performance of so many useful duties both for themselves and for society. The orthodox section claim certain advantages for the *purdah*. It is suggested that Muslim women, remaining strangers to the society of men, can exclusively attend to the work of the household and tend the children in which kinds of work they are likely to find sufficient occupation. It is further suggested that they may mix with members of their own sex and enjoy their company without suspicions being raised on the part of their husbands and their husbands may freely enjoy the society of their own sex without being suspected or misunderstood by their wives. In such a case, both would be contented and happy without being watched and oppressed by each other! Women's seclusion from men naturally brings them closer to their own sex and makes them familiar with one another. Last, but not least, women consider certain qualities, which they acquire in one another's society, make them perfect, which is possible if they move exclusively among themselves or at least do so to a very great extent. It is pointed out that a woman, who is masculine in her appearance, in her habits, in her speech and in her action, which is the case among most Western ladies, loses her feminine charms and attractions. The distinctive feature of femininity, that is feminine beauty, if it must remain predominant in women, seclusion may not after all prove so injurious to mankind—or even womankind—as it seems to be suggested in certain quarters. Such, at any rate, is the trend of the argument in favour of seclusion. The extreme argument in favour of the development of femininity in features, form and character is, however, a double-edged one when it is considered on its merits. It is forgotten that over-femininity is bad, and is likely to prove disadvantageous to the fair sex as much as the development of masculinity among women. Further, as against these real or supposed advantages of seclusion, those who espouse it never seem to have felt that there is a distinct economic loss in keeping half the population in thralldom, as it were—physical and intellectual. Men, in consequence, have to carry the greater part of the family burden and responsibility, especially in a poor country such

as India is. The economic condition of Muslim countries, including India, is now changed and the social needs of the present-day Indian Muslim are quite different from his compeer of the time of Amir Khusroe or even a hundred years ago. Turks were the first to study the problem of women's emancipation and, thanks to the bold action of Kamal Ata Turk, Turkish ladies to-day enjoy the same privileges and freedom as their sisters in Europe. Iran and Iraq have followed Turkey and it is to be hoped that it will not be long before Egypt and other Muslim countries will follow them in the good example they have set. In Albania, the present king is inducing the womenfolk of his country to abandon *purdah* and become free. Thus, there are signs that the long-established veil is everywhere breaking down to-day under the pressure of modern conditions. Perhaps, India will be the last country to follow the Western Muslims, but it is impossible to continue the *purdah* in its present state even in this country. *Purdah* is essentially a social problem and it is bound to be decided by social needs and necessities. At present, the Indian custom is restricted more to the middle classes than to the richer or the poorer. The villagers and poorer classes to a great extent are free, and the rich can afford to remain secluded in their big houses or to enjoy fresh air in motor cars. Some of them are indifferent, specially those who have received Western education. It is the middle classes, possessing neither big houses nor suitable conveyances, that suffer under the existing practice. They will probably give the lead in the matter and thus help to do away with a custom which has over-stayed its utility. That the *purdah* has had little effect on the progress of women is perhaps inferable from the great women poetesses and administrators that Islam has produced (see Appendix A).

MARRIAGE IN ISLAM

There were four kinds of marriage prevalent among the early Muslim Arabs, i.e. :—

(1) Marriage with a close relation. It was considered that the children of such a marriage would be of pure blood. Those born of such marriages, among the Quraish, were proud of their descent, especially if they were of a well-known tribe, such as Bani Hashim, from which the Prophet was descended. His grandsons, Hasan and Husain, being Hashimites, both from their father, mother, grandfather, and (paternal) grandmother's sides, were considered to be of the purest blood and of the best descent.

(2) Marriage with a stranger, because it was thought that those born by such connection would prove strong and healthy.

Women from war-like tribes or from families celebrated for their generosity and courage, were especially sought and taken as wives.

(3) Women taken captives (in war) were distributed among the captors and either kept as prisoners or let go free on ransom, or married, such as Safiyya, who was captured in the battle of Khaiber and was taken as wife by the Prophet himself. Many princes and ladies of noble descent, who were captured in the conquest of Syria, Egypt, Iran and India, were married to Arab generals and Khalifs.

(4) Slave girls, noted for their beauty, were sold in the open market by slave dealers and purchased, in some instances, at high prices and, after emancipating them were married by their masters. The majority of the Abbaside Khalifs were the children of such slave girls.

Marriage between cousins, both on the paternal and maternal sides, is permitted in Islam. Among the Arabs and the Iranians, a man had the right to claim the hand of his cousin, because the property, in such a case, would continue to remain in the same family and, if the family is not rich, the purity of blood would also be preserved. The Iranians prefer first cousins because of the feeling that where husband and wife are of equal status and possess the same family ties, harmony of life and domestic happiness would result. The ancient Hindu custom of carrying away the bride, by real or pretended capture, is prevalent among some Afghan tribes. A pretended opposition is made by the relations of the bride but indirectly the bridegroom is helped to carry away the bride. According to tradition derived from the Prophet, marriage with a stranger was believed not to bring weakness to posterity. Marriage with a heathen woman is not permitted, but a Sunni Muslim may take as wife a Christian, Jew or Zoroastrian. The custom of Mehr (settlement of Dower) or the payment of a fixed sum as agreed to between the agents of the bride and bridegroom, was to be paid to the bride on demand. This custom was common to all Semitic races. Among the Iranian villagers, besides the usual *Mehr*, a fixed amount is paid to the mother-in-law called *Shir-baha*, or the value of the milk (given by mother). In Gujarat, the Khojas pay rupees five and annas four indirectly to the common fund of the community, which is called the *Jama-at-Khāna*. This money is paid by the bridegroom's father to the father of the bride who pays it over to the *Jama-at-Khāna*. The amount of *Mehr* depends upon the position of the bridegroom and the demand of the bride. In some cases, it is normal and even insignificant. During the height of Arab power, it was increased from one hundred thousand to

fifty and even several million *dirhams*, and so it was among the Moghal princes and nobility. Even at the present time, it is an enormous sum with the aristocrats of Hyderabad (Deccan) and Northern India. If a person takes more than one wife, in most cases, the first wife has precedence and holds high rank, though she may not enjoy the favour and affection of her husband. All the children are considered equal in the eyes of the father, including those who are born in concubinage. The marriage ceremonies of a heathen Arab, especially among the Bedouins, were very simple and brief and, in most cases, did not last more than a week (*Isbu'*). The bride was adorned and carried to the bridegroom by her father, brother or a woman friend or relation of the bride who was received by the bridegroom in a special tent put up for the occasion.

Women belonging to the Meccan nobility used to wear rich garments and change them several times at the first meeting with the bridegroom and passed before him, accompanied by women singing songs. In pre-Muslim Iran and Syria, the wedding ceremonies were elaborate. Among the Arabs, from the earliest times, *Walima*, or feeding the guest, was the most important part of a wedding ceremony. The bride was conducted to the bridegroom in a procession of friends and relations, consisting of both men and women. The men used to sing war songs (as it was done at the marriage of Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet) in praise of their tribe or the bride and bridegroom, and women used to join with cries called *Hilhila* or *Zaghirat*. Sometimes, young girls used to sing verses suitable to the occasion and beat tambourines. The following instruments of music were permitted even by theologians to be used at a wedding:—(a) *Duff*, Tambourine; (b) *Ghirbal*, another kind of Tambourine; and (c) *Mizhar*, a kind of lute. As regards other instruments, there is unanimous agreement that they are forbidden. In Iran, an orthodox *Moulvi* or *Qazi* would leave the wedding assembly on hearing the sound of music. The giving of the *Walima*, or the wedding feast, is common among all Muslims and, indeed, it is given two or three times, i.e., at the time of the *Nikah*, and again when the bride is conducted to the bridegroom, and on a third occasion by some wealthy people at the house of the bridegroom. Among the primitive Arabs, when the bride was introduced to the bridegroom, he used to touch her head (as it was done by Khalif Usman, in the case of his bride Naila) or take her forelocks and pray for a blessed life. A bridegroom should not leave his bride at least for three days after they are united in holy wedlock. Among some, the bridegroom remains with the bride for seven days

after the marriage, but the Khalif Mamun was so much pleased with his bride **Pur** in that he did not leave her company for eighteen days. The following are among the important wedding ceremonies current in India :—

Every marriage starts with the *mangani* or negotiation for the marriage. The bridegroom's parents, after ascertaining the personal beauty, learning, character, health, age and descent of the proposed girl, go in person or appoint a relative or a friend to meet the bride's parent and settle the terms and, if satisfactory, come to a settlement. *Sherbet* and sweets are given to the party by the bride's father and a ring or bangles are presented to the bride-elect by the bridegroom's parents. The marriage proper starts with the ceremony of (2) *Manjha*, or sitting in state of the bride. This lasts for three days. The bridegroom wears saffron-coloured garments and the bride is left alone with intimate friends, and becomes, in the ceremonious sense, a *Dulhan*, or bride. (3) Next comes the ceremony called the *Sachaq*, a Turkish word signifying the *Henna*,⁸⁴ the leaves of which plant are presented to the bride, together with the wedding gifts. (4) Next comes the *Mehndi*, or using the leaves of the Eastern privet (*Lawsonia inermis*), for dyeing the hands, feet and hair. This custom is as old as the time of the Prophet, who recommended its use, especially for women. In Arabia and Iran, its use is general though in India it is restricted to marriage. (5) This is followed by the *Barāt*, or the ceremony of carrying the bride's clothes, ornaments and other things, in procession to her house. These are by some included in the *Sachaq*. (6) Next comes the *Rukht-borani* (Iranian), cutting of the cloths for the bride. Then follows the (7) *Sub-Gusht* (Iranian: *Shab*, night; and *Gusht*, passing), when the bridegroom goes in procession with candle lights to the house of the bride. Then we have the (8) *Haldi* (Indian), or the ceremony of rubbing turmeric, this being current only among Indian Muslims. Then follows the (9) *Chauthi*, which marks the end of the wedding, in which the bride and bridegroom play with each other. There are very large number of other minor ceremonies, in India, taken over or adopted from the Hindus. The sister-in-law plays an important role on behalf of her sister, teasing and playing jokes with her brother-in-law in the celebration of the *Mehndi* and other ceremonies.

The chief function of marriage, according to Muslim Law, is the ceremony of *Nikah*, an Arabic word, which means *conjunction*, and understood in the sense of *contract*. It is a simple

⁸⁴ *Henna*: Arabic. *Hinna*, a shrub, the leaves of which yield a reddish-brown or orange dye.

ceremony, for which the assent of the man and the woman to marry each other is necessary. Two men must be witnesses and the amount of *Mehr* payable must be fixed. It is performed in the presence of invited friends, relations and parents of the bride and the bridegroom. The *Qazi*, after receiving the consent of the bride or her agent, and after acceptance of the terms of marriage by the bridegroom, recites a few passages from the *Quran* and tradition in praise of sexual relation, and ends with blessing for both, in which the others present also join. Sweets, almonds and dry dates are thrown amidst the assembled guests, who try to pick up as much as they can. This ceremony is a very ancient one, dating from the time of the Prophet. At the present time, in Iran, instead of scattering, sweets are given in plates or knotted in handkerchiefs to each guest. The bridegroom sits on a *musnad* or carpet in the place of honour, dressed in the clothes presented by the bride, and after the ceremony is over, meets his elderly relations and friends, who are assembled for the occasion, and receives their blessings and congratulations. The best description of an Arab-Iranian high class marriage is given by Nizami, the author of the celebrated prose work entitled the *Chahar-maqala* (or Four Discourses). He writes as follows :—

“When Khalif Mamun wanted to marry Purān Dukht, the daughter of his Vazir Hasan, son of Sahl, he entered the hall in which his best clothes were kept and out of one thousand coats of the best silk presented to his view, he selected one simple and dark of colour, and riding on his horse left for the house of the bride. His ministers and bodyguard followed him. When he reached the house of the vazir, he found a rich embroidered curtain, set with jewels, hanging at the door of the entrance to the bride’s chamber. He turned to his secretary and remarked saying, ‘If I had worn any of my most valuable coats, it would not have been so costly as this curtain’. When he entered the compound of the harem, his father-in-law approached and scattered at his feet pills made of wax, about the size of a filbert nut, containing small pieces of paper, on which the names of a village (or piece of land, horse, slave girl) was written and whoever got one or more of those waxen pills presented them to the vazir’s treasurer and received that which was mentioned in it. When the Khalif entered the bridal apartment, he saw a costly carpet, decorated with valuable jewels, spread in the place of honour, over which a most handsome and attractive girl was seated. There were kept six pillows decorated with jewels. The bride, seeing the Khalif, left her seat and received him with a smile and with many kind and sweet words, took his hand and led him to her seat, and herself sat in his front looking on the ground. The Khalif

took out from his pocket eighteen pearls, each of the size of a sparrow's egg, and scattered them over her but she continued to look bashfully on the ground."

In India, the bride, influenced by the custom of the country, does not speak with her bridegroom for days after the marriage, but in Iran and other countries of West Asia, they soon become familiar with each other. The *Walima*, or wedding feast, usually consists of *Pilau* (rice mixed with meat), vegetable dishes, sweets, etc. Music and dancing are the essential parts of the entertainment of the day of *Nikah* and *Jilwah* in India, but in West Asia, including Iran, there is music but no dancing by dancing women. The ceremony of the "bath" is an important item in the marriage ceremonies in Central and West Asia and North Africa, to which many other minor ceremonies are added. The bride, before the marriage, takes her bath in company with her female friends and so does the bridegroom. Their friends keep them engaged by singing and amusements. In India, this ceremony is done at home, but in West and Central Asia, it takes place at a public bath. The bride goes to the female and bridegroom to the male bath. The *Mehndi*, or *Henna* ceremony, is done before *Nikah*, in which the ground and moist leaves of henna plants are put on the hands and the feet and tied with a piece of cloth, till the hands and feet are coloured and then removed and washed. The same is taken in procession to the house of the bridegroom and put by the would-be sister-in-law on the hands of the bridegroom, who, though teased by her, has nevertheless to make a present to her for her kindly offices.

The next and most important function is *Jilwah* (called in Arabic *Zeffet-at-Aroos*, and in Iranian, *Zifaf*), when the bridegroom comes in procession to the house of the bride and is introduced to her first by the placing of a looking glass between them. The veil is then removed from the face of the bride. Her face is reflected in the mirror and seen by the bridegroom, who, questioned about the beauty of the bride, must give a pleasing reply and give her a present to mark the occasion. This ceremony is called *Ru-noma* in Iranian. She is introduced to him by an elderly relation, of either sex. In most cases, uncles, aunts, grandmothers or fathers undertake this duty of introducing the bride to the bridegroom. Next, the bride takes leave of her parents and close relations amidst tears on both sides, and led by her husband, reaches the conveyance kept ready for the departure. In India, the bridegroom must carry her in his arms to the place where the conveyance is ready for her departure, but in other Muslim countries, she is led by the hand and helped to seat herself over a donkey, mule, camel or motor car, as the case may

be. The party leave in procession with music, lights, etc. The bride is dressed in the clothes presented to her by the bridegroom. Her eyes are blackened with *Kuhl* or *Surma*, and her women friends try to present her in as beautiful a manner as they could. She is adorned with jewels presented by both the parties to the marriage. In ancient Egypt, as in India, yellow patches were put over her cheeks, which is not done at present. The bride's conveyances were different in various countries, and at different times, such as :—

In Iran, Mesopotamia and Egypt, the bride used to go on foot accompanied by a number of her friends and relations. Now, a motor car is generally in requisition for the purpose.

In North Africa, she was taken in a litter borne on a donkey, or mule, or in a camel litter followed by her bridegroom on horseback, while in front were horn-blowers, drummers, songsters and musicians.

In Morocco, she was carried in an octagonal box carried by eight men ; or in a covered cage placed on a mule.

In Egypt and Syria, she had to go on foot or ride under a canopy.

In Turkey, she had to ride on a horse, mule or a donkey, veiled in a red silk cloth.

In modern times, horse carriages and motor cars are used everywhere in Muslim countries. The *Palki* was common at one time in India. It gave way to more modern conveyances about forty years ago. The wedding candles in the Eastern countries were of green or yellow wax, big enough to give light for several nights. In some places, trays of candles were carried before the bridal procession.

In Egypt, a bridegroom is not allowed to unveil his bride before making a gift either in cash or in the form of some ornament. In Turkey, after the unveiling, prayers were offered, and then coffee was served to both the bride and the bridegroom. Among Iranians, a number of women, especially the mother, or a very close relation or a nurse, follow the bride to her husband's house and sleep in the adjoining room, and on the morrow she has to prove to the women belonging to the bridegroom's family the token of the virginity of the bride, for which a white cloth is spread, over which the pair must sleep. The bridegroom himself must also see and satisfy himself that his bride is actually a virgin. If she is not proved to be virgin, the bridegroom may divorce her and send her back. The bride and bridegroom go to a "Bath" on the morning after *Zifaf*. In North Africa, the bride is visited for a week by her friends and relations and the bridegroom, in case he is satisfied with the virginity of his wife, meets his friends and shakes hands with them ; otherwise, remains at home.

In South Africa, friends are invited on the seventh day by the bride and bridegroom. The first seven days of the marriage are called *Sabi-al arus* and considered as lucky days. In Morocco, the bridegroom goes to the market on the seventh day and brings fish, which is laid down by his mother or close relation at the feet of the bride. The betrothal may be performed the same day (as in India) or several days, months, or even years before the wedding. The last is the case—which, however, is rare except among the aristocracy, for social or political reasons. The household furniture and dress for the bride sent by her parents to the house of the bridegroom are taken in procession with music. Procession, music and festivities are allowed in the case of the marriage of a virgin. In the case of a widow re-marrying, the function is finished in songs and that in a private manner. In Iran and Mesopotamia, after the first meeting, the bride and the bridegroom perform two Rukat prayers and wash their feet, in which act they help each other. Astrological calculations are generally made to determine agreement of the stars under which the bride and the bridegroom were born. If they do not agree with each other, the attempt at an alliance would be given up. This is done to know their future agreement with and attachment towards each other. The time for the betrothal and the *Zifaf* are also fixed with the aid of the astrologers. The wedding ceremonies are, however, rapidly changing among Muslims all over the world. The present tendency is towards simplicity and modernizing them.

The variations in marriage ceremonies as prevalent at present may be classified as follows:—

- (1) Semitic group, i.e., Arabia, Egypt, Syria and North Africa.
- (2) Turkey and Albania.
- (3) Central Asia, Afghanistan and Iran.
- (4) India.
- (5) China and the Pacific Islands.

The most important duties of a married woman are:—

Looking after the household, including the kitchen, and preparation of food for her husband, though Islamic law does not allow the husband to force her to prepare meals for his guests. She is not asked to earn her livelihood or find means for maintaining her children. An ideal wife is described as one who is content, submissive, clean and devoted to her husband.

A man, who has more than one wife, has to provide for each. The convenience of each wife has to be provided for according to his wealth and position in life. In his sexual relations, he is expected to be strictly just and treat all wives

alike. If he cannot do this, he must be content to choose only one wife.

Changes are taking place in this and other matters affecting social relations, as between husband and wife, at the present time and the tendency is in making the wife less responsible for household duties and to give her an opportunity of joining the society of men but not to the extent that is to-day permissible in Europe.

BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE

In Iran, Iraq and India, the parents invite the married daughter for her first confinement so that their first grandchild may be born in their house. If one is blessed with more than one daughter, all in turn are invited and all the expenses of confinement are borne by the parents. Soon after the delivery, the baby is washed and dressed in the clothes prepared some time before the confinement. For the first ten days after the delivery, the mother takes chiefly vegetables, butter, and some light and easily digestible food, and for forty days thereafter (in Iran and India), she drinks water in which a red-hot horse-shoe or some other piece of red-hot iron has been quenched. The baby is washed by the midwife and presented to the father and near relations. An elderly person of the family utters *azān* (call for the prayer) in both the ears, or *azān* in the right and the *kalima* (or creed) in the left ear of the baby. During the life-time of the Prophet, he was requested to give the name and rub the child's gum with masticated dates, which now has been substituted in Iran by honey. The birth of a son is considered lucky. The important ceremony of naming the child, called *Aqiqah*, is done by an elderly person or the father. It was prevalent among pre-Muslim Arabs. The child's head was shaved and smeared with the blood of an animal slaughtered on the occasion. The underlying idea was religious, the child's hair being offered to the Deity, to avert all future evil to it. This custom, when it was taken over, was modified in Islam. It has now lost its religious significance but continues to retain its hold on people as a social ceremony sanctioned by usage. This is done usually a few days after the birth of the child. The mother takes rest in her bed for ten days and is prohibited from conjugal felicities thereafter, for at least forty days. On the seventh day, the child is named and, in rare cases, circumcised also. The present *aqiqah* ceremony is to shave the baby's head and slaughter a sheep, ram or a goat, two for a male child and one for a female child, and distribute the flesh among the poor. The hair of the baby, after the shaving, is

weighed against gold or silver and the same is given away in charity. On the fortieth day, the purification of the mother is complete. She takes a bath accompanied (in the case of a first confinement) by her intimate friends. Feasting and inviting friends are common among the wealthy classes when the child begins to close its fists, to crawl, get its first tooth, or when it walks and, at the age of four or five years, or when it begins to read the *Quran* by first pronouncing the word *Bismillah* (i.e., in the name of God), and on completing the *Quran*, and on circumcision in the case of a boy, and in the case of a girl when her ears are bored and when she attains her age.

In Western and Central Asia, boys and girls stayed at home, in the care of their mothers, till they were seven. In India, the infant's first nourishment is *Umultas* (*casia*), a laxative vegetable with sugar and distilled water of *anai* seed. In Iran, old women believe that boiled water mixed with sugar, should be given to the new-born baby for the first three days. The head is oiled, especially the front portion, and by some even moulded to the desirable shape. Wealthy women employ wet-nurses, who in India are not allowed to taste animal food for the first one month. In Iran, a wet-nurse is watched and allowed to take such food in quantity and quality as is considered easily digestible and essential to the well-being of the baby. Such nurses called *Dāya*, become foster-mothers and treated as members of the families to which they get attached, and much respected by their foster-children. Even kings have had high regard for their foster-mothers. Emperor Akbar used to forgive his foster-brother, whose conduct sometimes deserved punishment, by saying that "there is a river of milk between me and him, which I cannot pass over". The child's nurse, on all occasions of feasting and rejoicing, is presented with gifts.

At the age of seven or eight, boys and girls are sent to a school common to both, where they are taught the *Quran*, without translation. The girls, when grown up, go to a girls' school or stay at home and are taught sewing and embroidery. The veil is put on in Iran and other Muslim countries—barring India, in this respect—just before attaining the age of puberty. In olden days, Muslim parents considered their children as trust committed by God in their hands, to be cared for and looked after by them, and they regarded themselves as responsible for their education and training and for their up-bringing as good Muslims. Following the *Quran*, the mother must feed her child for at least two years after its birth. Even after divorce, if she is *enciente*, or is mother of a baby, she is paid by the father for nursing the child. The *Bismillah*

ceremony is performed in India, soon after the child begins to speak well. Friends are invited on the occasion and the child is taught to read the word *Bismillah* and sweets and other presents are distributed among those present.

CIRCUMCISION

The practice of circumcision was common among pre-Muslim Arabs, Jews, various African tribes, the Kafirs of Afghanistan, the Christians of Abyssinia, Bogo Copts (of Egypt) resident in the Madagascar Island, the primitive tribes of Australia and the islands of Melanesia, Polynesia, and in some parts of America, in Yucatan on the Orinaco, among the tribes of Rio Braneo, in Brazil, etc. According to Arab tradition, it was originated among them by Ibrahim, their grand-ancestor, when he was eighty years old. In the *Quran*, no mention has been made of the ceremony and, therefore, the operation is called *Sunnat*, or a practice which is good to be performed but not binding. This ritual is one of those which was prevalent in the pre-Muslim period and not abrogated by Islam. The rapid spread of Muslim power and doubtful conversions of large numbers of non-Arab and non-Jewish nations encouraged Arab leaders to enforce it on proselytes to make sure of their conversion. It was also held to produce a sort of psychological effect on the mind of a convert. According to the Hanafi school of theology, an uncircumcised Muslim's evidence can be accepted in law, provided that the reason for not undergoing the operation was not due to contempt of Islamic custom. Among the Arabs, circumcision was practised among both males and females. Among all other Muslims, it has been restricted to *males alone*: and even in this case, it is not universal. There are many Muslims who do not practise it, such as a large number in China (even at the present date) and in India about 5 per cent, remain uncircumcised. The Timurid princes of India also did not practise this ceremony, except those who were very pious among them. During the rule of Khalifa Umar II, son of Abdul Aziz, a large number of people in Khorassan (Iran) wanted to embrace Islam but the Arab Governor, fearing a considerable reduction in the poll-tax by their conversion, made it a condition precedent that they should undergo circumcision, which was not possible for all of them. Therefore, a deputation waited upon him, requesting exemption and the Khalif immediately wrote to the Governor to allow them to become Muslims unconditionally. The operation is performed in Iran and Arabia from the early age of seven, or ten days to about ten or twelve years. A convert may not perform the operation, though, in

some instances, he is wrongly compelled to do so by orthodox *Moulvis*. A grown-up young man may do it himself, if he does not like to uncover before a stranger, or he may even go to a doctor. The operation is, in many places, performed by a barber; at present, however, a good many prefer a trained doctor. In Africa, Muslim *Mullas* (priests) also do perform it. In Tunis, some astrologers or dealers in amulets have to learn to do the operation. The fee, in the case of the poorer classes, is about four annas or more which is given to a barber, but wealthy people give according to their generous inclinations. The operation is performed, in the case of a barber, by a sharp razor or scissors and does not actually take much time. There is no particular season fixed for this operation. The summer, however, is preferred because the wound heals up soon then. The hemorrhage is not dangerous and is stopped by the application of an ordinary ointment. In India, invitations are issued to friends and the ceremony is performed amidst merry-making and music. Salted food is not given to the boy for a number of days and when the wound heals up, he is taken round in procession, garlanded like a bridegroom, with music and dancing. While the operation is going on, the boy is made to sit on an earthen-ware or a chair, and after operation, he is made to tie up a red cloth round his body, below his shirt. In some countries, he is made to stand or sometimes lie in bed. The day for operation is fixed by the astrologer. In China, the ceremony is more religious than social in character.

CONCUBINES AND SLAVE GIRLS

Islam, though it fixes the number of married wives a man may have, does not set any limit to the number of concubines he may possess at a time, because a concubine is kept under special and abnormal condition, such as:—(1) Women taken as captives of war, which is uncommon and not possible for all. (2) Women purchased as slaves, such purchase depending upon circumstances and the extraordinary wealth of a man. Both circumstances became possible during the early stages of Islam. The status of children born of concubines and slaves does not differ from those born of a wedded wife. As polygamy is permitted and was practised in Arabia, the addition of slave girls and concubines was in practice limited to a few princes and wealthy people. A large number *harem* was either due to lust; or it was a privilege forced on the king or nobleman, to whom girls were presented every year by subordinates and as presents used to be accepted by them. This is still so in Hyderabad (Deccan). Sometimes on political

grounds, and often as a sign of dignity, slave girls were added to the number of legitimate wives one already possessed. There were market centres in Egypt, Syria, Turkey, Mesopotamia, Iran and other Muslim countries, where slaves, brought from Georgia, Abyssinia, Central Asia, Greece and North Africa, were sold. They were trained, in some instances, by their purchasers, in music, dancing, etc., and sold at high prices. During the Umayyad and Abbasid rule, Roman, Greek, Armenian and Turkish slaves were sold at Damascus, Basra and Cairo. During the Turkish ascendancy, the prisoners of war from Russia, Hungary, Poland, and the Balkan States were brought and sold at Constantinople. A slave girl was often emancipated and married as a legitimate wife, or, after she gave birth to a child, she was taken as wife. A free girl could be met and seen by women relations alone, though the law allowed a man to see her face and hands and settle the terms of marriage directly with her. In the case of a slave girl, however, her body also could be seen by the would-be purchaser, with but a small piece of cloth for her covering. Though slavery was not abolished by Islam, slaves were recommended to be kindly treated, so much so that Muslim slavery cannot be compared with the cruel type of slavery prevalent among the nations of Europe and America. A Muslim slave had better prospects than subject nations under any of the present civilized rulers. The Prophet himself not only made his slave an adopted son but went a step further and persuaded his cousin, a noble lady of Quraish, to marry him. He made the son of the same slave, who was a boy of seventeen or eighteen years, to command a veteran army, in which the most proud and ambitious chiefs of the Quraish had to serve. This fine beginning struck the keynote, as it were, for the future genteel treatment of slaves by their Muslim masters. Muslim slaves were educated and received military training as well, and even founded ruling dynasties in Egypt, India and Iran. The second Khalif, Umar, while on his way to Syria and Palestine, used to ride his camel with his slave by turns and so did the other companions of the Prophet. Usman, the third Khalif, in anger twisted the ear of his slave but at once repented and requested his slave to twist his ears in retaliation! Umar, the second Khalif, just before his death, was sorry that Salim, an Iranian slave who had embraced Islam, was dead. The Khalif considered Salim most suited to succeed him as Khalif of the vast Muslim Empire. Such was the wonderful sense of equality bred by the conception of Muslim fraternity that a slave could be preferred to the distinguished leaders and those in whose veins ran the best blood of the Quraish. Thus, Muslim slavery was the pride of

Muslim culture. Such humane treatment was not limited to unfortunate human slaves only but was extended to dumb animals, to which a kind treatment is recommended. The social status of a slave, however, was inferior to that of a free man. He could marry two women, while a free man had the option of four, but a slave could be given but half the punishment prescribed for a free man. The master was bound to provide his slaves with suitable food and clothing and allow them work for their own support and grant freedom by receiving a reasonable amount by way of ransom. The Prophet strongly enjoins kindness and good treatment both to male and female slaves. There is no doubt that Islam made a great improvement on slavery as prevalent among the Prophet's contemporaries. The manner in which Arabs, Iranians, Indians, Romans and the Greeks treated their slaves shows this unmistakably.

The following are a few texts from the *Quran* concerning slavery :—

Kindness to Slaves

"And be good to the parents and to the near of kind and the orphans and the needy and the neighbour (your relatives) and stranger neighbour and the companion in a journey and the wayfarer and those whom your right hand possess (i.e., slaves and animals), surely God does not love him, who is proud." (Ch. IV. 36.)

Conjugal Felicities with Slaves

A master may enjoy conjugal felicities with his slave girl :—"And if you fear that you will not (be able) to do justice (between your wives), then marry one only or (you may be content with) what your right hand possesses (i.e., slave)." (Ch. IV. 3.)

The Muslim Law for Freeing a Slave

A slave may be given freedom by :—(1) If a master says "Thou art free" (or *mutlaq*), whether he really means to grant his freedom or not, the slave becomes free. (2) By *Khitābah*, or granting freedom in writing. (3) By saying "Thou art free after my death" (or *Tadbir*). (4) By *Istilad*, or having a child by a slave-girl, a female slave becomes free. (5) By *Kaffarah* (see below).

POSITION OF PARENTS

Among Muslims, children pay the greatest respects to their leaders. The highest consideration is given to parents, concerning whom the *Quran* recommends respect and kindness, and the Prophet is reported to have said :—"Paradise lies at the feet of your mother !"

In Iran and Central Asia, a son never sits or smokes in the presence of his father. With the mother, the children are more free. During festivals, after performing prayers, children kiss hands of their parents and receive their blessings. In India, under Hindu influence and the custom of the country, the feet of the parents are touched by way of respect. Next to parents, rank aunts and uncles, elder brothers and sisters. Foster-mothers rank next to the real mother. In some instances, a foster-mother has great influence. The foster-mother of Emperor Akbar was the cause of the Emperor's trouble with his faithful and favourite minister and general Beram Khan, who was finally forced into rebellion in which he lost his life.

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

The moment death takes place, the dead man or woman's mouth and eyes are closed, to avoid disagreeable looks, toes are fastened together with a thin piece of cloth, the face is turned towards the *Qiblah* (Mecca), perfume is burnt around the body and in the case of wealthy people, a man is hired to read the *Quran*. The burial takes place as soon as the body is got ready for the purpose, which usually does not take more than a few hours. If the death is due to heart failure or the cause is doubtful, the body is kept for some hours together to make sure of the fact of death. While washing, the body is placed on a plank or a stone, and covered, in the case of a man, with a piece of cloth from the navel to the knees and, in the case of a woman, from the chest to the feet. The Sunnat Jama'at wash with warm water but the Shiahs use cold water, raising and turning the body gently, so that all sides may be washed and cleaned well. In the end, the face is washed and two hands upto elbow as well, the hands being wiped (*mas-ha*) and water thrown on the feet. Camphor mixed in water in a new earthen pot, and powdered leaves of *loté* tree (*sidr*), and in Egypt, rose-water mixed with ordinary water, is poured three times, first from the top of the head to the extremities of the feet, then from the right shoulder to the feet and finally from the left shoulder to the feet. The whole body is then wiped with a new piece of cloth and made dry. The *Kafen*, or shroud, consisting of three pieces of cloth for a man and five pieces for a woman, helps to cover the corpse. The three pieces for men are :— *Lung*, a piece of cloth from the navel upto the knee ; *Jama*, or a shirt from the neck to the knee or ankles ; and *Lifafah*, or a covering from over the head to below the feet. In the case of a woman, besides the three pieces used for in the case of a male, there are, in addition, a breast-band, and *Damni*.

(Indian), which encircles the head. The shroud is perfumed and camphor is put on the forehead, nose, palms of hands, knees and the toes. The shroud is a new piece of cloth and white in colour. The body is placed on a bier, which is covered with a *shawl* (in India) and decorated with flowers. The *shawl*, after it is brought back from the cemetery, is given away to a poor man. In India, the dead body is shown to relations and friends. Prayer is offered in the mosque or in an open place. The bier is borne by relations and by all those who follow the body to the graveyard, without distinction of rich and poor. This custom is universal and is indicative of the high regard shown to the dead in Islam. This most honourable custom of paying the last respects to the dead body is unique and restricted to Islam. The body is buried in a grave about 5 to 5½' deep, divided into two parts—one from the floor to about 2' with a margin on both sides, more or less, over which stones or planks are laid and the next about the same depth covered with earth. The external shape of the tomb is not uniform among the Muslims of different nationalities. In India, tombs are usually made of bricks and mortar or stone from 1' to several feet above the ground. The shape is generally oblong, the higher platform being narrower than the lower. The graves in most cases resemble the camel's hump. A woman's tomb in some places is distinguished from that of a man by its shape, it being flatter or lower. The name of the deceased is inscribed by rich people and some add appropriate verses, the dates of birth and death of the deceased being engraved either on a stone placed over the tomb or on the one erected over the entrance or on the head side. In South Iran, the figure of a lion made of stone or in mortar and bricks, is placed over the tomb. The shrine of a sage has usually a red, green or white flag on a tree in its compound or on the building in which the tomb is set up. On returning after the burial, friends accompany the chief mourner of the deceased to his house and afterwards visits of condolence are paid. In Iran, the chief mourner does not leave his house for three days, and on the third day, if his father was a merchant, or following any other calling or profession, friends take him to his father's office and leave him there.

Graves made in different countries differ with regard to depth and placing the stone or planks. These are, of course, local variations. In India, flowers are placed over the grave and a last short prayer is performed, in which all present join and all following the chief mourner return to the house where once again words of consolation and condolences are uttered, and leave is taken. During the three days following

the death, the family is fed by relations, neighbours and friends. In Iran and Western Asia, the chief mourner remains at home or sits in a mosque, where friends and acquaintances visit him and read to him passages from the *Quran*. Tea or coffee is served to the guests. On the third day, mourners and friends visit the grave, and offer a brief prayer; in India, a new covering of flowers is also spread on that day over the grave, bread and *halva* (a sweet preparation) being served to those present, besides being distributed among the poor.

There are also slight differences in washing the corpse and in performing the other ceremonies mentioned above in the different countries inhabited by Muslims, these differences being peculiar to them, not infrequently due to climatic and other causes.

After the burial, a person sits on the side of the grave and, addressing the deceased, dictates the answers which should be given when examined by two angels called Munkar and Nakir, who are believed to appear before the dead man and ask him about his creed. This is called *Talqin* (instruction). The man, who reads *Talqins*, says :—"O Obdulla! (servant of God) and son of so and so! Remember thy faith, that there is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is His apostle. Paradise and Hell and the Resurrection are real: say (when questioned by the two angels): "I confess that God is my ruler (Lord); Islam is my religion; Muhammad is my Prophet; the *Quran* is my guide! the Ka'aba is my *Qiblah*; and Muslims are my brothers." The Shiahs add the names of twelve *Imāms*, saying that they are "Thy *Imāms*". After the burial (as stated above), the two angels are said to appear to the dead man or woman. Boys and girls, who have died before attaining their age, are exempted from such an examination and from such enquiries about their faith. If the abovesaid answers are given, the two angels are said to be satisfied, and calmness, peace and rest are granted to the soul of the dead person till the Day of Resurrection; if not, the soul is believed to be subjected to sufferings during the same length of time. After the burial, the *Fateha* (or the first chapter of the *Quran*), is recited and on returning home, a candle or some other light is set up and kept burning by some people in the place where the dead person was last lying. The *Quran* is read, and on the seventh or tenth day, people are invited and fed.

Another ceremony is observed on the fortieth day after death. It is called the *Chehlum* (an Iranian word meaning *the fortieth*). It comes off on the fortieth day from the date of death. On that day, people are fed and the tomb is

re-visited by the relations and prayers are offered to the soul of the deceased.

In Iran and Arabia, close relations, like parents (in the ascending scale) and children (in the descending scale), brothers, sisters, etc., wear a black dress for forty days and some wear such for even six months and more. In Mesopotamia, close relations of the deceased of the younger class, who are accustomed to shaving their beards, give up the shave during this period.

After the ceremony of *Chehlum*, an anniversary, called the *Barsi*, is observed by some people and on that day also prayers are offered. The *Quran* is recited and people, including rich and poor, are fed.

Commemoration of the Dead

According to Al-Ghazzali, death does not cause a complete loss of consciousness. There are two stages after death. i.e., (i) from death to the Day of Resurrection. During this period, the dead have some interest left with the living ones, especially relations; (ii) after the Day of Judgment, when the fate of each individual as well as of the whole of humanity is finally settled. The Prophet used to visit the cemetery and ask pardon for the dead. Muslims visit the graves of their relations and friends, every Thursday or at least once in a year. The vision of a dead man appearing in a dream is highly regarded in certain cases, especially if one sees the form of the Prophet in that connection. Such a vision is held to be most welcome. According to the Sūfis a human being has two kinds of existence; one prior to his birth, and the other after his death. In the latter, he is believed to live in a suspended state of animation in expectation of more permanent life. The existence before birth is called *Alem-e-Mithal* (a semi-spiritual state) and that after death is called *Alem-e-Barzakh*, in which a man continues to enjoy a semi-physical and spiritual existence till the Day of Judgment, when he passes into a permanent life (see *Gulsham-e-Raz* by Shibistiri). The life prior to birth is materialised from a semi-spiritual state and the one after death is semi-spiritualised from a material existence. It was customary among the Arabs for women attached to their husbands or brothers to pitch their tents near their graves and live there for six months or even a year, as Fatima, the grand-daughter of Alī, the fourth Khalif, did, when she lost her husband. This custom in course of time changed into the erection of permanent structures over the graves of not only dear relations but also over those of spiritual guides and persons known for their piety and virtue, kings, princes and noblemen, and led eventually to the development of magnificent styles of architecture during the days

of Islamic supremacy. One of the best specimens of such buildings, as described elsewhere in this work, is The Taj Mahal at Agra. This was also an indirect cause of the cult of saint worship in Islam. Some hold that here we see the influence of Christian modes of thinking. But it is possible that the practice is closely connected with the Arab attachment to their dead. In India, the *urus* at the tomb of a saint seems a direct and distinct imitation of Hindu *Yātras*.

FEASTS IN ISLAM

Feasts in Islam are not mentioned in the *Quran*, but two of them, possessing a semi-religious significance, are observed by Muslims all over the world. These are :—

(1) *Id-e-Zuha*, called the *Bairam* festival in Turkey and Egypt, the *Bakr-Id* in India and the *Id-e-Qurban* in Iran. *Id-e-Zuha* means the feast of sacrifice. This feast is observed on the ninth and tenth of the last Arabic month named *Zil-hujja*. It is a pre-Islamic feast celebrated by the pilgrims who visited Mecca and allowed by the Prophet. The pilgrims assembled in the valley of Mina, close to Mecca, and offered animals, such as goat, sheep, camel, cows, or bulls, by way of sacrifice, according to their means. Muslims resident in other countries did the same on the same date. While Islam did not prohibit the custom of killing animals to feed pilgrims, it teaches that while neither the flesh nor the blood of slaughtered animals reaches God, piety and virtue do reach Him (see *Quran*, Chapter XXII. 37). As the number of animals slaughtered in Mecca is very much more than what is needed to feed the pilgrims, the greater portion is, often, of necessity, wasted. On the day of the feast, Muslims take a bath, change their dress and go to the *Id-gah*, or place of prayer. The *Imām* or leader in prayer, stands alone in front of the congregation, and leads them in prayer (of Two *Ruka*). Then, the *Khetib* ascends, and reclining on a sword, bow or stick, addresses the audience, praising the significance of the day, and when it is finished, people embrace each other and return home. In Iran and Western Asia, women also join in the prayer, but in India, it is restricted to men. On returning, all those who can afford to do so kill one or more animals in sacrifice, according to their desire and means, turning their heads towards Mecca, and pronouncing the prayer beginning with : "In the name of God and for God, the Beneficent, the Merciful". Among the animals to be slaughtered, the following are mentioned in the *Quran* :—"And (as for) camels, we have made them of the signs of religion of God for you. Therein is much good for you ; therefore, mention the name of God

on them when they stand in a row (to be slaughtered) and when they fall down, eat of them and (the remaining portion) feed the poor man, who is contented and a beggar. Thus, we have made them subservient to you, that you may be grateful." (Ch. XXII. 36.)

In Iran, sheep and goats are slaughtered and, in rare cases, camels or oxen : it depends on the kind of animal available at the place of sacrifice. In some places in India, the victims are adorned and carried to the place of slaughter in procession, a custom that was prevalent in pre-Muslim Arabia. This custom is not practised in Iran, Mesopotamia and other Muslim countries. The flesh of the victim is partly cooked at home and partaken of, and partly distributed among friends, neighbours and poor people. Later in the day, friends visit each other, while singing and dancing are kept up common among the masses in Mesopotamia and Western Asia. The Prophet himself allowed songsters to sing and collect alms on such days. In Iran and Western Asia, the graves of relations, friends and pious people are also visited on this day. Thus, the significance of this feast and of *Ramzan* as well is more religious than social.

(2) *Ramzan* or *Id-ul-Fitr*, *Id-e-Sadequh* (of Alms) or *Id-e-Saghir*, is a minor festival, the great one being the *Id-e-Zuha* above dealt with. It is celebrated on the first of *Shawwal*, the tenth Arabic month, after the long-drawn fast of a whole month which is taken up by the ninth month, *Ramzan*. Like the *Id-e-Zuha*, it is religious in character, and dates from the time of the Prophet. Unlike the *Id-e-Zuha*, it is purely Islamic in origin. On the day mentioned, every good Muslim is expected to take a bath, change his dress, attend the festival prayer, i.e., two *ruka*, at the *Id-gah* (or the mosque), and embrace the Muslims present in the place. In Western Asia, soon after prayer, people visit well-known *Moulvis* (theologians) and receive their blessings. Next, they go to their friends, elders and others of higher rank and receive visits from subordinates. At home, children go to parents and kiss their hands and in return they are kissed in their foreheads. In India, following the custom of the country, younger men and subordinates touch the feet of their elders and others higher in position. In Muslim countries, shops are closed and the streets are filled with people enjoying the feast. Sweets are sold, while sweetmeat sellers, story-tellers, jugglers, dancers and singers amuse the people. Servants receive gifts from their masters and kings hold their *Durbars*.

Besides these two, there are other festivals observed by Muslims, some of them national while others are limited to particular sects. Among these are :—*Milad* or *Moulud*, which

is the birthday of the great Prophet, annually celebrated on the twelfth, *Rabi-ul-awwal* in Turkey, Egypt, some parts of Iran and India. Alms are distributed on the day and *Qasidas*, or verses in praise of the Prophet, are recited in India during the whole night. In India, the date is not fixed. It may fall on any day in the month of *Rabi-ul-awwal*, or the following month. Muslims and non-Muslims are invited to listen to lectures and sometimes even asked to preside over meetings held in honour of the occasion. Members of the Wahabi sect do not observe this feast.

The birthday of Saint Abdul Qadir of Gilan, a very popular and most respected Sūfī saint, is celebrated in India, Kurdistan, Afghanistan, Mesopotamia and in some parts of North Africa, in the month of *Rabi-ul-akhar*, though its observance is confined to the Sunnat Jama'at, Wahabis and Shiahs not taking part in it.

The *Shab-e-Barat* falls on the fifteenth of *Shaban*, the eighth Arabic month. It is supposed that on that date the share of living and fortune for the coming year are fixed and registered in Heaven. It is celebrated by illuminations and demonstrations of fireworks in a manner similar to what Hindus do on the *Dipawali* day. It may be the *Farvardin* of ancient Iran, which, owing to some wrong calculation of the calendar or change in its pre-Islamic aspects, is fixed in an Arabic month. The word *Shab-e-Barat* is a compound of Iranian *Shab*, which means *night*, and *Barat* (Arabic) means *assignment*. Like the *Farvardin* of ancient Iran, it is connected with the memory of dead relations, whose souls are believed to visit their living descendants or others in whom they are interested. According to Muslim tradition, on the night of *Shab-e-Barat*, the tree of *Sidratulmuntaha* is shaken. Each leaf contains the name of a person and according to the fall of the leaf, the death of the person named is settled. On the 14th or 15th, a variety food is prepared in memory of deceased relations and after recitation of *Fateha*, it is distributed among the poor or used by the members of the family.

Akhir-Charshanba, or the last Wednesday, is observed on the last Wednesday of the month of *Safar*, the second Arabic month. People go out, take a bath, and put on amulets to protect themselves against impending bad luck. It is thought that the Prophet, on that day, recovered from a serious illness and took a bath. It may be the beginning of his illness which continued, the Prophet dying on the 12th of the next month. This feast is not current among all Muslims, the Wahabis not observing it.

Nou-roz, or the New Year, is celebrated at the present time only by the Iranians and Shiah Arabs in Mesopotamia.



THE TRIPLE WALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE
Captured by the Turks, 1453

It is observed on the twenty-first of March or the Vernal equinox. It is the greatest Iranian national festival known, and is observed with great pomp and ceremony by all Iranians without distinction of religion. The king holds a Durbar and people enjoy themselves, visiting each other for twelve days. The festival marks the beginning of the Spring season, or Summer solstice, and the celebration begins at the hour the sun enters the sign Aries (March 21st) and lasts for twelve days.

The Capture of Constantinople (1453 A.D.) is observed only by the Turks, who also observe the day of the establishment of the present Turkish Republic. In the same manner, the Afghans observe their Day of Independence from the time of King Amanullah Khan, and Egyptian and Chinese Muslims have their own feasts. The Shiahhs commemorate the death of Ali, the fourth Khalif, from the 19th to 21st of *Ramzan*, as also the *Id-ul-Ghadir* in memory of the Prophet, delivering an address in praise of Ali. This address has been interpreted by the Shiahhs, as meaning that he desired to announce the appointment of Ali as his successor.

The Spanish Muslims used to join their Christian countrymen in celebrating St. John's Day on the day of Pentecost, which is still observed by some Muslims in Morocco. It falls in the beginning of July. Festivals like these, common to Muslims and others, may be observed in India, in which Muslims, Hindus and Christians may join and enjoy one another's company. This is likely to bring about national unity and cordiality of feeling between them. They should be fixed during the best time of the year, for example, the beginning of Spring. The Hindu festivals of *Dipawali* or *Dasara*, the Western New Year's Day, or the Iranian *Nou-roz*, afford such opportunities for celebrating what may be termed common festivals.

Juma (or Friday) is not a Sabbath day for Muslims as Sunday is for Christians or Saturday for Jews. On that day, a Muslim is expected to take a bath, change his dress and join the congregation at noon and hear the sermon. It has been mentioned in the following passage of the *Quran*:—"O you believe! when the call for prayer is made on Friday, hasten to remember God and leave trade (or other business): this is better for you, if you know." Thus, it is a partial holiday and restricted to prayer and hearing the sermon.

In India, there are other minor feasts connected with well-known saints or sages, such as the festival of the Saint Qadir Wali, whose shrine is near the town of Nāgor, the festival of Rajab Salar, etc. The Nawabs of Oudh used to observe the Hindu Basant Panchami on March 31st.

SAINTS AND SHRINES

The cult of "Wali" or saints is an important feature in Muslim social and religious life. It has brought into existence a large number of Muslim fraternal societies; helped the development of a magnificent style in Muslim architecture; induced a large number of non-Muslims all over the world to come under the banner of Islam; in one way refined Muslim character itself; and produced many pious world famous saints, sages and poets. It had its defects as well, as causing inactivity, encouraging superstition and in inducing a slavish mentality and even immorality among the masses. Before long, the *Walīs* became numerous all over Muslim countries. Some were really pious, but a great many were undeserving men who put on the appearance of pious men and made their garb a cheap source of living at the expense of illiterate and innocent people. The veneration extended to them did not depend upon their real merit, but on the extent of the ignorance of their followers and the devotion they paid to them. Islam has, however, produced a large number of really pious and enlightened spiritual men who became guides to virtue and a higher life. The illiterate masses, who could not be expected to distinguish, believed in the piety of real and pretended *Pirs* alike, and considered all of them as mediators between themselves and God, which is demonstrably against the spirit and teaching of Islam. Popular belief makes them a source of blessing, healing, in the case of physical diseases, and spiritual consolation in the case of mental anxieties. Powers of a supernatural and preternatural type came to be associated with their names. They could, for instance, defy Nature and perform miracles, if they desired. With the exception of Hanbalite and Wahabi sects, almost all Muslims, Shiahs or Sunnis alike, believe in the sanctity of *Walīs* and *Pirs*, venerate them during their lives and respect their names after their death. The Hanbalite and other puritan Muslims protest against such veneration, but they have always remained in a minority. A *Wali* is a friend of God, one who has renounced the world and lived in contemplation of His majesty. He is the recipient of Divine *Ilham* (communication), content to live a secluded life in a desert or a monastery, outside cities, and preferably on mountain peaks. He is usually surrounded by a large number of disciples and larger number of devotees. Kings, Emperors, Khalifs, and even the absolute and merciless tyrants, have made no secret of their respect for this class of men, and are known to have paid visits and even sought their blessings. After the death of a *Pir* or *Wali*, large sums have



A VIEW OF CONSTANTINOPLE

been expended in putting up magnificent buildings in their honour. They have been consulted as much in spiritual as in worldly affairs and sometimes they have done duty as thaumaturgists, performing miracles and predicting victories and defeats in battles, etc. Their popularity is accordingly undoubtedly great. Thus, thousands of Shīahs, many of them admittedly extremely poor, visit the Shrines of Imam Alī, Hussain and his descendants, in Iran, Arabia and Mesopotamia. There is scarcely a village in Iran, in which one or more tombs of *Walis* and *Pirs* are not found. Many believe, too, that if their own bodies are buried somewhere near the tomb of a patron saint, their souls will find rest and peace. Most of the well-known shrines are surrounded with a large number of graves. Many people request their children to carry their bodies and bury them near the shrine of a patron saint. Much money is spent in carrying skeletons to such shrines. Besides the tomb, the existence of large trees or natural springs, adds to the importance of the place, healing powers being attributed to them. In such a neighbourhood, even animals are in many cases secure immunity from molestation. They are neither hunted nor killed while they are there. Offerings are carried from distant places and distributed to the people assembled at the spot including large number of people seeking alms. Petitions are written, complaining of their worldly difficulties and with prayers and certain rituals, placed near the tomb, the patron saint being expected to possess the powers to grant their desires. If, perchance, the wish is fulfilled, more offerings are presented. In some instances, a vow is made for an offering, if a certain object in view is fulfilled. In some cases, *riyazat* (or austerity) is performed in the vicinity of the tomb. In Western Asia, including Syria and Mesopotamia, certain shrines are common to Muslims, Jews and Christians; and in India, a Hindu *Yogi* may have a number of Muslim devotees and a Muslim *Fakir* a large number of Hindu disciples. Several Hindu temples have become Muslim shrines. The relics of the known saints, if available, are preserved with great care, for example, a turban, a coat, a shirt, shoe, or anything written by him, particularly a copy of the *Quran*. There is no town in India, as there are in other Muslim countries, especially among Sunni Muslims, where the *athār-e-Sharīf* (venerated hair of the Prophet's beard) is kept as a sacred relic and a ceremony in its honour held once in a year. In India, the following are among the most venerated saints, whose tombs are visited by a large number of pilgrims :—

1. Moin-ud-dīn Chesti at Ajmer.
2. Qutb-ud-dīn Bakhtiyar-e-Kaki at Delhi.

3. Farid-ud-dīn Shakar Gunj at Pakpattan.
4. Nizam-ud-dīn Ouliya at Delhi.
5. Burhan-ud-dīn at Hyderabad (Deccan).
6. Chiragh-e-Delhi.
7. Gisu Darāz at Gulburgah.
8. Shaikh Salim of Fatehpur Sekri.
9. Khaja Mir Muhammad Qibla-e-Alam.
10. Baha-ud-dīn Zakariyya at Multan.
11. Makhdum-e-Jehānian.
12. Muhammad Ghous in Gwalior.
13. Wajih-ud-dīn in Gujarat.
14. Shah Pir at Meerut.
15. Shah Madar at Makanpur, near Cawnpore. His followers are known as Madari and perform jugglery. His very existence is doubted by some.
16. Musa Sutaq, a certain *Pir* who used to dress himself in woman's clothing and considered himself the wife of God. He is worshipped as such. His disciples have followed him in adopting his dress and have remained celibates. He is buried at Ahmedabad and a tree in the vicinity of his tomb is decorated with glass bangles by those who take a vow to him.
17. Pāñch Pir, or the Five *Pirs*, is a name venerated by Hindus and Muslims alike.
18. Seven Sisters, supposed to be buried in the fort of Raichur.
19. A tomb, about nine feet, is known as the Tomb of Nine-feet Saint, at Jālna (Hyderabad, Deccan).
20. Sultan Ahmad at Jalalpur, Multan, is specialized by women only. There are tombs where women are not admitted.
21. The tomb of Salar Masud, constructed on the site of a temple dedicated to the Sun.
22. The tomb of Bamdin in Kashmir is considered originally to have been a Hindu temple, constructed by one Bhimasahi in 1026.
23. Sadiq Nihang. *Fakirs* of this shrine are said to have adopted a number of Hindu customs and ceremonies.

Besides these, there are a very large number of tombs scattered throughout India, Iran and Central Asia.

Among relics connected with *Wali* worship is a tooth-brush of Piran-e-Pir (Abdul Qadir of Gilan), supposed to have been brought by some of his disciples and planted at Ludhiana. It is said that the tooth-brush, when planted, grew into a tree, which is venerated to-day, an annual fair being

held underneath it, attended by about five hundred thousand pilgrims from far and near.

Among the offerings brought to the shrines of *Walis* and *Pirs* are:—(1) a flag; (2) a goat or a sheep; (3) a white cock, offered to Khejuria Pir at Ambala; (4) sugar and cardamom; (5) toys (to the boy saint in imitation of Hindus); (6) bangles, to the saint who considered himself wife of God; (7) boiled rice mixed with milk, curd, honey or sugar; and (8) sweets of different kinds, called *khir* or *shir-berenj*, *puri*, *halva*, etc.

Among Muslim kings and conquerors, some enjoy the veneration commonly paid to a saint. Among these are Tipu Sultan of Mysore and Mir Mahbub Ali Khan, late Nizam of Hyderabad, Emperor Aurangzeb, etc.

Vows are often taken before, or in the name of, *Walis*. In fulfilment of such vows, presents are offered to their souls. *Niaz* (supplication or present) is such a fulfilment. It is given by men and women who take the vow that in case they attain their desire, they will distribute sweets and fruits among the poor at the shrine of the saint in whose name the vow is taken. If the object is attained, and the vow has been taken by a woman, she takes a bath and carries the things she has promised on the day fixed for it, and after brief ceremony, distributes it among those present. Great precaution is taken in preparing such food so that it may not be defiled in any way. This custom is peculiar to India and is undoubtedly the result of Hindu influence. In other Muslim countries also, such vows are taken and given effect to in nearly the same manner.

Konda, or earthen pot, is another present in satisfaction of a vow, peculiar to India. It is performed in memory of the fourth Khalif Ali, in which dishes of sweets such as *puri*, rice mixed with curd, sugary bread and other sweets, are arranged in earthen pots placed on green vegetables. Those who are invited should not remove anything from the spot. Dishes remain on the spot till nothing is left in them.

Urs, corresponding to the Hindu *Yātra*, is current among Indian Muslims. It is a gathering of people in memory of a sage or martyr at his shrine. Singing, music and gambling are connected with it. *Qawwals* (singers), especially women, sing in praise of the departed sage. The tomb is washed and people go in procession round it and after cleaning its exterior with water, the tomb is covered with a new pall of flowers, prepared for the occasion. It is done once a year, after the usual ceremony. Sweetmeats are distributed among the poor present and pieces of the old pall or palls are given away to the devotees, who take it as a valuable and sacred

present, which is used as an amulet. This kind of ceremony is unknown in Western Asia. In many cases, a Sūfi saint is honoured after his death, though in his life-time, he was an obscure and unknown person. It depends upon the propaganda and advertisement secured for him by the devotees, particularly if a fine building is constructed by a wealthy person over the tomb and miracles reported by the admirers. The tombs of many saints are situated in mosques, or, mosques are sometimes constructed adjoining a tomb. The tombs are covered in some instances with palls of colours ornamented with passages from the *Quran*. These shrines have a permanent staff with a headman called *Mutawalli*, to look after the management of the buildings and the arrangement of the *Urs*, etc. In some cases, a Muslim shrine is looked after by a Hindu admirer. In Arabia and Egypt, a visitor distributes alms to the poor who reside in or about the tomb.

SACRED PLACES IN IRAN

The following sacred places are known in Iran :—

- (1) Meshed (lit. place of martyrdom), capital of Khorasan (North-East Iran), where Imam Ali-ur-Raza lies buried. It is also the place where Harun-al-Rushd is buried.
- (2) Qum, a city in North-Central Iran, where a lady saint, known as Masuma-e-Qum, is buried.
- (3) Shah Abdul Azim, near Teheran.

There are a very large number of minor shrines scattered throughout Iran.

IN MESOPOTAMIA

In Mesopotamia, there are the following shrines :—

- (1) Kazemain, near Baghdad, where Imam Musa, son of Jafar, and Imam Muhammad-ut-Taqi, son of Imam Ali-ur-Raza, are buried.
- (2) Baghdad, where Shaikh Abdul Qader Gilani, known as Peran-e-Pir, is buried.
- (3) Kerbala, where lies the burial ground of Imam Husain, the martyr of Muharrum.
- (4) Najaff, where Imam Ali, the fourth Khalif, is buried.

There are also a large number of minor shrines in other places.

IN ARABIA

The following are in Arabia :—

- (1) Medina, where the Prophet ; the first and the second Khalifs ; Fatima, daughter of the Prophet ; the third Khalif ;



THE CURTAIN OF THE DOOR OF THE KAABA AT MECCA
 The Inscriptions are from the *K'uran*, Sūrās 1,106 and 112, the
 'prominent inscription above the centre being the first part of
Sūra 48, verse 27

a number of companions and descendants of the Prophet lie buried.

(2) In Mecca and Taif, where the tombs of other companions and descendants of the Prophet are to be seen.

(3) Damascus, which contains the tombs of the Umayyad Khalifs and many celebrated theologians and Sūfi saints. Among the sacred places in Palestine some exclusively belong to Muslims, while others are common to Muslims, Jews and Christians. In Egypt, there is a place known as the "Head of Husain", where Husain's head is supposed to lie buried. There is, besides these, the tomb of Sit-Nafisa, who was a descendant of the Prophet. In Turkey, the tomb of Ayyub, the companion of the Prophet, and the tomb of Moulana Jalal-ud-dīn, the composer of the celebrated *Masnawi* and the founder of the Moulvi order of Darvishes, are among the most famous shrines. Central Asia, now under Russia, is noted for a large number of Sūfi saints and so is North Afghanistan. In India, as already narrated, in some places, a Hindu temple has accidentally or intentionally been converted into a Muslim mosque, or by Hindus themselves turned into a Muslim shrine. For instance, there is the hill in the vicinity of Hyderabad, known as Maula Ka Pahar, or the Mountain of Maula (Alī the fourth Khalif). There was originally a temple on the top of this hillock and the reigning king, who was a Muslim of the Qutub Shahi dynasty, noticing a light on it while out hunting, wanted to know what it was, and the accompanying Hindu minister foolishly explained that the place was once visited by Alī and has ever since been a mosque. The king was surprised at possessing such a sacred place near his capital and the story goes that he decided to pay a visit to it. The minister was obliged to make good his word. He had to remove the idols and convert the temple into a real Muslim mosque! Once turned it a mosque, it has remained so to the present time! It is annually visited by a large number of men and women. The adjoining hillock, gradually became known as Qadam-Gah-e-Rasul, or the place where the Prophet's foot impression, is to be seen. Muslims, while paying visit to the tomb of the sage, recite the opening chapter of the *Quran* and other texts from the sacred book. The tomb is kissed by some admirers and the walls and windows are touched and rubbed over the face. The Shiah, whose devotion to the family of Alī is intense, when they visit Kerbala, Najaf, Meshed and other sacred places where their *Imāms* lie buried, offer prayers and address the dead sages as if they were still alive. Some even prostrate before the tombs.

FORMS OF DEVOTIONAL EXERCISE

Sūlis perform *Zikr* (repeating the name of God or some sacred words) alone or in chorus and some sing religious and devotional verses, with or without the aid of a musical instrument as, for instance, a flute (*nay*). Dancing girls and devotees of the musical art sing *Mujra*, or song gift, sitting before a saint's tomb, expecting the buried sage to bless them with a good voice and success in their profession.

MOHARRUM

The Moharrum is the anniversary of Imam Husain, whose death at Kerbala is one of the most tragic events in the history of Islam. The Muslim year begins from the first day of the month of *Moharrum*, but the tragedy of Kerbala has converted it into a month of mourning for all Muslims, especially Shiahs. The mournings and recitations of the sufferings of Imam Husain and his small band of faithful relations and followers are so pathetic that apart from Muslims, non-Muslims become affected and often join Muslims in expressing their grief and sympathy. Gibbon says that "in a distant age and climate, the tragic scene of the death of Husain will awaken the sympathy of the coldest reader". Imam Husain is called Sayyidus-shohoda, or the prince of martyrs, and is the most beloved hero of Iranian Muslims. It is said that prior to the conquest of Islam, when Iranians were the followers of Zoroaster, they used to mourn over the innocent and tragic death of Prince Siavakhsh, the son of King Kai Kaus and when they embraced Islam, they accidentally found another hero, greater in their esteem and affection in the respected and beloved grandson of their Prophet. Imam Husain was born on 4 A.H. and was killed at Kerbala in 61 A.H. Thus, he lived for about 57 years, of which the first seven were passed with his grandfather, the Prophet. The next thirty years, he spent with his father Alī; ten years more under his brother Hasan; and the last ten as the head of Bani Hashim. To understand the causes which eventually led to the event of Kerbala, one must know, at least briefly, the history of the Khilafat, the ambition of Umayyeds, seekers of power, and the ideal of the Hashimite messenger of God. The following were the leading families among the tribes of the Quraish, at the advent of Islam:—(1) The Bani Hashim, who were noted for their generosity, bravery and learning but were comparatively poor and few in number. The Prophet, Alī, the fourth Khalif, and Abbas, the ancestor of the Abbaside Khalifs, were Hashimites. (2) The Bani Makhzum

were brave, wealthy and ambitious. Among them, the chief leaders were Walid, son of Mughira and father of Khalid, the conqueror of Mesopotamia and Syria; Amr, son of Hisham, nick-named Abu Juhl, and a bitter opponent of the Prophet. Umar, the second Khalif, was a Makhzumite on his mother's side. (3) The Bani Umayya, known for their diplomacy and statesmanship. They were able military leaders and zealous supporters of pre-Muslim customs, literature and ideals. Among them Utoba (a grandson of Abdus-shams and a nephew of Umayya), Abu Sufyan, son of Harb, Hakam, son of Abil-ās, and Usman (the third Khalif), son of Affan, were the leaders. Islam as taught by the Prophet, was primarily based on the idea of equality of human beings combined to a moderate ideal of Socialism. Human beings are all one in the sight of God, and differences in status, birth or worldly position were not allowed to make any difference in the relations of human beings towards each other. There may be social distinctions, but the best man is he who is purest in mind and action. Thus, human brotherhood was the ideal presented by the Prophet, but the Umayyad ideal was Arab supremacy, the clannish glory and temporal power. The Umayyeds did not believe in the equality of other Arab tribes with the Quraish and of the non-Arabs with the Arabs. They sought power and wealth for their own tribe and next for the Quraish, but never went beyond the limit of the Quraish. Therefore, when the Prophet announced his mission, he permitted the Quraish and the non-Quraish Arabs, the Abyssinians, Romans, Iranians and all others to embrace Islam and enjoy equal privileges and status with the Quraish and himself. He went on the broad principle of equality between man and man and condemned idol worship. Ka'aba was the great centre of idol worship and a source of wealth and distinction for the Quraish, who were the guardians of that great temple at Mecca. No wonder that the Quraish in general and the two families of Bani Makhzum and Bani Umayya in particular, became his bitter enemies. They were jealous of admitting a Hashimite as spiritual leader and breaker of their ancient laws and customs, and Abul Jahl openly declared that "Islam may be a true religion, but it is hard for us to admit a Hashimite as our leader". Therefore, the Prophet and his followers, most of whom were poor, persecuted for thirteen years and the cause of Islam made little progress. At last, a number of Medinite pilgrims to Mecca heard the Prophet and promised to support him if he made Medina his home. The oppressed Muslims gradually left for Medina and finally the Prophet himself followed them thither. The Quraish tried to prevent his departure by attempting to assassinate him but

they failed in their dastardly deed. But, they did not leave him at peace in Medina. They began planning and put all possible obstacles in the way of the success of his mission. The Medinites themselves were unfortunately divided into several parties and those who were on the side of the Prophet were also divided into two parties, one the rival of the other. The Prophet thus found both internal and external opposition to his mission. He, however, succeeded in reconciling the rival Medinite parties who had embraced Islam and tried to live in peace by patching up a friendly treaty with the Jews. A section of the Medinites, whose leader expected to become the chief at Medina, remained outwardly a Muslim but was, at heart, an enemy of the Prophet. With regard to these people, the following verses from the *Quran* prove interesting reading :—

“When they meet those who believe, they say we believe (in Islam), and when they are alone with their devils, they say surely we are with you, we were only mocking.” (Ch. XI. 14.)

“They desire to deceive God and those who believe ; (but) they deceive only themselves as they do not perceive.” (Ch. XI. 9.)

“Surely those who disbelieve, it being alike to them, whether you warn them or do not warn them, (they) will not believe.” (Ch. LL. 6.)

With all these obstacles and difficulties, the number of Muslims daily increased, till they were strong enough to defend themselves from external and internal foes. Within ten years, the Umayyad and Makhzumite power, and along with it the power of the other Quraish tribes who supported them, was broken up, the Medinite hypocrites were subdued and left harmless, while the Jews were either expelled or killed. The power of the Muslims thus remained supreme in the land of Arabia, with the Prophet as its head. Thus, the spiritual guide was destined to hold other responsibilities as well. The Prophet was :—(1) The messenger of God and the conveyor of the revealed truth ; (2) a social reformer ; (3) a political organizer ; (4) the law-giver, etc.

Abu Jahl was killed and Abu Sufyan, the Umayyad leader, reluctantly had to yield and profess Islam. The Hashimites gained the higher hand, which was a thorn in the eye of the Umayyads, their kinsmen. The Prophet was succeeded by Abu Bakr, whose election was partly due to the old rivalry of the Medinite Muslims and he in turn appointed Umar, a member of the tribe of Adi, his successor. Both these Khalifs followed the policy of the Prophet and treated the Quraish and non-Quraish alike. Umar went to the extent of desiring an Iranian

captive slave, named, Sālem, Maula Abu Huzaifa, who had embraced Islam and was famous for his piety, to succeed him. Fortunately for the Quraish, he was dead. Umar, though he refused to acknowledge close relations of the Prophet, such as Alī or his uncle Abbas, as more deserving to succeed him or enjoying special rights, treated them with respect and kindness. The third Khalif, an old gentleman of good intentions but too much attached to his clan, made members of his tribe masters of the vast Muslim Empire. They held the high post of Governors-General in Egypt, Basra, Syria and Kufa. His own cousin and secretary Marwan, son of Hakam, exercised the power and authority of the Prime Minister. He was a bigoted Umayyad, who established his dynasty after the death of Moaviya, the son of Yazid. These Umayyeds, who, though they were now Muslims, still retained their old ideals, became most powerful in all the departments of the Government. It thus became indispensable for other Muslims to renew once more their struggle for equal treatment. It was an irony of fate that those who fought for the cause of Islam and conquered the East and the West, were left to serve those who fought against Islam and became the sole masters of the Muslim Empire. The result was discontent, rebellion and finally assassination of the Khalif himself. The eyes of the new party turned towards a man who could follow the ideal of the Prophet and they elected Alī, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet himself. Their programme was to secure equality of treatment and equality of opportunity for governing the Empire to all Muslims, without any distinction. Alī had many admirable qualities which made him deserve the high post of Khalifa. He was, if not the first, one of the earliest believers in Islam. He was celebrated for bravery, generosity and justice. He had served the Prophet in all his battles against the Quraish and other non-Muslim Arabs and distinguished himself as a warrior who had never been defeated. He was closely related to the Prophet. He had received direct training from the Prophet since he was ten years' old. He was known for complete adherence to the cause of Islam and submission to the will of the Prophet. He had helped the first three Khalifs as their adviser and was considered a gentleman of sound opinion and judgment. He was a fine speaker and a poet. His sayings were philosophical and mystical. He was the husband of the beloved daughter of the Prophet and father of his two grandsons, i.e., Hasan and Husain. But he had also certain qualities which could not be held good for his election to the post, i.e., as the head of the Hashimite family, he was disliked by most of the Quraish, who were jealous of the Hashimite power. As a warrior under the Prophet,

he had killed several leaders of the Umayyad clan, who could not tolerate to see him at the head of the Muslim state. He was a Socialist, who believed in the equal distribution of the State income among all Muslims, without distinction, which could not be approved by greedy leaders and generals, who were accustomed to amass wealth at the cost of the weaker members of the Muslim commonwealth. He did not believe in State diplomacy, in bribe-taking and in preferring one tribe to another. He was also too lenient for the times, when a strong dictator was, indeed, needed. He was elected Khalifa by the common consent of those who caused the assassination of Usman, and some others who had remained neutral. The Umayyads considered his election as a direct challenge to their supremacy and power which they were determined to retain at any cost, and the Quraish, in general, did not approve of his election, apart from their natural jealousy, fearing his Socialistic tendencies. Thus, Alī's position as the Khalif was most unfavourable from two points of view, i.e., (1) his electors, who had already killed a Khalifa in his home, expected him to do what they liked. Thus, he was powerless ; and (2) the Umayyad opposition, whose leader Moaviya, son of Abu Sufyan, was Governor of Syria, for about twenty years and was in command of a strong and well-organised army of over one hundred thousand men. Nevertheless, Alī continued to struggle against internal and external enemies and within a brief reign of five years, found a number of sincere admirers to his learning, virtue and spiritual purity.

After Alī his son Hasan was elected as Khalifa, but Hasan abdicated in favour of Moaviya, the able organizer, fighter and administrator, whose capital was Damascus in Syria. Thus, for a second time, the Umayyads became powerful and this time they knew how to crush the power of the non-Quraish, in which Moaviya completely succeeded, and within twenty years of his reign, no opponent was left anywhere. All provinces of the vast Muslim Empire were governed by the Umayyads, supported by a regular and loyal army. Imam Hasan had abdicated the Khilafat in favour of Moaviya, on condition that the right of succession to the Khilafat, after him should be left to election by the people, but Moaviya thought himself strong enough to appoint his son Yazid as the heir-apparent and establish a dynasty. Yazid became Khalif on his death, but Imam Husain who was the chief of the Bani Hashim at that time and leader of the Muslim democracy, protested against his appointment. He could not, however, find any support at Medina and so left for Mecca and even there felt himself not safe. In the meantime, a very large number (about 150) of letters were received from the

Kufa leaders requesting him to guide and lead the Kufis against the Umayyad tyranny. He had either to yield to the semi-pagan rule of the Umayyeds or revive the ideal of his grandfather, to which he could not find sufficient support and in which there was risk of life. He decided on the latter course and despatched his cousin, Muslim, son of Uqail, to Kufa for investigating the real condition of the Kufis and to receive their oaths of allegiance to his cause. Muslim left for Kufa and sent a report that about thirty thousand men were under arms ready to follow him and, therefore, Imam Husain had no other option but to advance towards Kufa. In the meantime, Yazid appointed Ubaidullah, son of Ziyad, as Governor of Kufa, with orders to suppress the impending trouble. Ubaidullah arrived just in time to find Muslim with a large number of conspirators, but succeeded in dispersing them and in capturing Muslim, whose head was struck off by his orders together with Hāni, his supporter. He despatched a body of horsemen under Hurr and Husain, son of Numair, to watch the arrival of Imam Husain, and intercept him wherever they might find him. Thus, when Imam Husain reached the confines of Mesopotamia, instead of finding an army of supporters, he found an army of the enemy. Hurr was the first leader who met him and forced him to move under his direction. He also informed Ubaidullah of his arrival and received orders to bring him to Kufa. Ubaidullah commanded Umar, son of Sad, whom he had appointed Governor of Rai-Iran and to lead an expedition towards Northern Iran, to proceed with a regular army of about four or five thousand men towards Imam Husain. Once again, Imam Husain found himself between two fires. He could not return to Mecca or to Medina, because he did not expect support there, and his return would have been a defeat and for an Arab an act of cowardice. He could not move towards Kufa, because that city was completely under the military occupation of Ubaidullah. The only option left to him was to yield or to resist, which would cost his life. As may be expected, he decided on the latter course. By this time, he had reached together with Hurr to a village called Kerbala on the bank of the river Euphrates. Umar, son of Sad, on his arrival at Kerbala, became the supreme commander of the combined horsemen under Hurr and other leaders and sent word to Imam Husain enquiring the reason for his journey. Imam replied that Kufis wrote and requested him to guide them, but if they do not require his guidance, he is willing to return to Medina or he may be permitted to leave for a distant place on the frontiers. Umar was satisfied with this reply and reported to Ubaidullah, but he being persuaded by the Khavaraj leaders, replied that Husain must

surrender himself unconditionally and must come to Kufa where his case would be considered. The bearer of this order was Shimr, who had served Alī in the battle of Siffin and afterwards had joined Khavaraj and had become a bitter enemy of the Alī's descendants. Shimr left Kufa with the horsemen under him and with orders that if Umar, son of Sad, makes further delay in fight, to take charge of the command of the army from him. Umar informed Imam Husain of the fresh orders and, in reply, Imam requested him to give him time for a night which was granted. At night, he gathered his small army and explained the situation and permitted them to leave his camp and seek refuge in a safe place. A few left, but the majority remained faithful with him to die. He ordered to tie the scattered tents close to each other and to dig a trench on the back side of the camp and fill it with wood, and set it on fire, so that the fighting may be confined on one side. This arranged, next morning, which was the tenth of *Moharrum*, he arrayed his little army in the order of battle and himself sitting on a camel, advanced towards the enemy and addressed them as follows:—

"O men of Kufa and Syria ! am I not your Prophet's only grandson alive on earth ? Have I killed any of you so that you desire to take revenge on me, or have I acted contrary to the law of Islam, so that I deserve punishment, or have I usurped your wealth and property ? What have I done ? Did you not invite me and request me to guide you ?", etc.

To this, the reply came : "Surrender yourself to Ubaidullah." Some said, "You have not done any wrong to us, but your father has caused the death of our relations and we must take revenge on you".

On seeing this condition of affairs, Hurr was the first leader to join Husain. Leaving the Syrian army, he approached towards Imam Husain—to die with him. He offered his services to him, which were accepted. The battle started with a series of single combats and ended before the evening. Imam Husain, though left without water, fought with heroic courage and bravery together with his son, brothers, cousins, nephews, and followers, all of whom were killed. His head, together with those of his relations, were sent to Kufa and thence to Yazid at Damascus. The family, consisting of widows, Imam Husain's sisters and other ladies, together with his surviving son Ali Zainul-Abedin and a few children, were taken captives to the court of Ubaidullah and afterwards to the Durbar of Yazid. Such was the end of the third attempt to revive the true spirit of Islam against the despotic rule of the Umayyeds.

The cold-blooded murder of the Prophet's grandson raised a cry of protest and criticism. Medina was in open rebellion and Mecca followed suit under the leadership of Abdullah, son of Zubair. The Syrian army defeated the Medina rebels and plundered the city for three days and in this manner the Umayyeds took their vengeance on the inhabitants of Medina, who had supported Islam against their Paganism. Mecca was besieged but, before its capture, news reached that Yazid was dead. For the next nine years, there were pretenders at Mecca, Kufa and Damascus. The Umayyed clan elected the old Marwan as Khalif. Mukhtar, son of the veteran general Abu-Ubaidah, occupied Kufa, while Hejaz remained under Abdullah, son of Zubair. Mukhtar captured almost all the ring leaders, who fought against Imam Husain, such as Umar, son of Sad, Shimr, Khuli and others, and killed them. Ubaidullah, who was at that time in Syria, invaded Kufa with a Syrian army but was defeated by the Kufis under Ibrahim, son of Malik, and killed in the battle together with a number of other known leaders of Syria. Thus, the tragedy of Kerbala was complete in every sense and both those who fought for the truth and those who joined the wrong side, lost their lives without gaining the object. The name of Imam Husain became a household word for courage, patience and bravery and successive generations emulated his example in facing the enemy and in struggling for what is known to be right.

The Umayyeds continued to rule for another sixty years, when they extended the Muslim Empire to its greatest extent, but the propaganda of Bani Hashim finally succeeded in organising a rebellion in Iran. The last Umayyed Khalifa was defeated by the Iranians and the Khilafat was restored to Bani Abbas, who, though he did not follow the democratic ideal of Islam, treated non-Arabs with much kindness and gave them equal opportunity in the highest posts next to the Khilafat.

In course of time, several non-Quraish and non-Arab dynasties were founded in Syria, Egypt and Iran, with the Khalifa remaining as the spiritual head at Baghdad. Among these dynasties, the Buvaihid, who ruled in Central Iran and Mesopotamia, were adherents of the descendants of Ali, and encouraged the meetings in commemoration of the tragedy at Kerbala. These meetings became elaborate during the reign of the Safavids in Iran. Emperor Timur and some of his descendants in India, and the kings of the Bahmani dynasty, Bijapur and Golconda of Deccan did the same, but in a different manner, which has to-day degenerated into what are called the Moharrum ceremonies.

The original motive of the Indian Moharrum ceremonies was the demonstration of the Kerbala tragedy in the light of the Sūfi ideal. "By the representation of tigers, perhaps, is meant the supposed tiger who guarded the martyr's bodies, and the *alavah*, or fire, made in the Moharrum is the representation of the trench dug and filled with fuel by Imam on the side of the camp to safeguard that side from the enemy's attack, turned into the Sūfistic symbol of purifying oneself by burning in the fire of God's love," etc. The sufferings of Imam Husain and his followers has produced, in course of time, an enormous quantity of literature in Arabic, Iranian and Urdu, both in prose and poetry. The recitation of the sad events, which led up to the tragedy, is called *Rawza Khani* in Iranian and there is scarcely a house in Iran or a Shiah family in India in which at least a few days in the year are not passed in hearing the *Rawza*. Among the most popular poets in Urdu whose works are best known in this connection, are Mirza Dabir and Mir Anis, each of whom has composed an elegy bearing on the Kerbala episode. In Iran and Mesopotamia, dramatic performances are given, in which, to intensify the cruelty of the enemy and the sufferings of Imam, a Christian ambassador from the Roman Emperor is produced in the court of Yazid, who, after seeing the head of the Imam and, knowing his family, is converted to Islam: while an Indian king also embraces Islam after witnessing the tragedy. The lions guard the sacred body. Animals, birds and even the sky and the earth show expressions of grief over the innocent martyr's sufferings. Many imaginary sufferings and miracles are added to evoke sympathy for the Imam. The *Ashura*, or the ten days of the Moharrum, are celebrated as days for mourning everywhere in India, Central Asia and other places where Muslims inhabit. In India, Hindus also join the Muslims in maintaining the *Ashur-Khana* or *Imam-bara*, where banners with the figure of a hand, of which the five fingers perhaps signify the five sacred persons, i.e., Muhammad (the Prophet), Alī, Fatima, Hasan and Husain. These banners are called *Panjas*, which means *hand*, and are taken in procession to demonstrate and remind people of the events connected with the Kerbala. In Iran, there are no demonstrations like the representation of tigers and carrying of *Panjas*, as are current in India, but meetings of *Rauza* are numerous during the ten days. *Sherbet* (water mixed with sugar and rose-water or milk with sugar and almond) is distributed among those following the processions. The present form of Moharrum ceremonies dates back to about four hundred years ago. Among the rulers of India, the Maharaja of Gwalior and several other Maharajas celebrate the Moharrum.

Hindus also become *fakirs* and collect alms, and some of them roll in front of the *Tazia*, or the processional *Panja*. Hindu women join Muslim women in carrying out certain ceremonies, such as the "chastity test" in which women observe a fast, take a bath and dip their fingers in wet lime and lick the same. There is also a further ceremony, known as the *Fire-bath*, in which, after a bath, pieces of hot charcoal are thrown over the bodies of women, observing the ceremony. Offerings of cocoanuts, fruits, etc., are presented to *Ashur-Khanas*, where the *Panjas* are kept, both by Muslims and Hindus, during the ten days commemorating the festival. There is a class of Brahmins in the Bombay Presidency, who are known as Husaini Brahmins. The recitation of the events is common everywhere and is so much elaborated that it has lost the greater portion of its historical setting and has become nearly a romantic and mythological affair. There are a number of professional reciters known as *Marthia Khan* (elegy reciters), *Rauza Khan*, etc. Their main object is to narrate the events in a manner intended to create grief and sympathy in the hearts of their audience. The more the people assembled are moved to weep, the greater the success of the narrator. It is believed that such grief will purify Husain's intercession for forgiveness of their shortcomings those weeping from sins and enable them to receive Imam on the Day of Judgment. With the same hope and to show the depth of their grief and sympathy, Shiahhs beat their chests when an elegy for the Imam is sung. In a word, Imam Husain's self-sacrifice is considered to teach the following moral lessons :

(1) To resist against tyranny, even at the cost of life. As Imam himself said :—"It is easy for me to throw myself into the fire than to live a life of shame. I shall not give my hands to a tyrant as slaves do, nor shall I run away like a coward."

(2) To live with self-respect.

(3) To endure hardship and remain calm in the face of the most difficult trials.

(4) To realize that grief for the loss of one's freedom must be deeper than the grief created by the loss of one's family, honour and wealth. When the Imam was asked not to take his women on his dangerous journey, he replied that when he is killed, they must also experience the sufferings of captivity.

(5) To appeal to the human sense of sympathy by voluntarily undergoing sufferings for a just cause.

In the Moharrum ceremonies as at present practised by the Shiahhs and the Sunnis, the spirit of self-sacrifice seems to be wholly lost.

BLOOD-FEUD

Blood-feud was prevalent among the pre-Muslim Arabs and in Iran. These Arabs used to dip the shirt of a murdered man in his blood and hoist it up at the top of a lance and appeal to his tribe for vengeance. The same usage, though forbidden by the Prophet, was revived by the Umayyeds, when Moaviya hoisted the shirt of the Khalif Usman against Alī. In Iran and Afghanistan, and among the nomad Arabs, even at the present time, the blood-feud is common among the tribes.

SYMBOLISM IN ISLAM

Symbolism is unknown to Islam and there is nothing in it as a religion possessing any religious significance. With the exception of the above-mentioned *Panja* or *Alam*, kept up during the Moharrum in various shapes, the most common being the palm of the hand, there may be said to be no symbols used in it or sanctioned by it. It is not even known whether the standard used by the Prophet and his early successors had any figure in it, though it was called the *Eagle* (or the *Uqab*). The Abbasides adopted the black colour for their standard and their official dress. Their standard, as seen by Khaqani, the Iranian poet, had the figure of the golden eagle on the top. The Fatamids adopted the green colour and the Umayyeds the white. The history of the Crescent and the Star used by the Turks is obscure. The Sassanian kings of Iran used to adorn their crown with such a sign; so did the Roman Emperors of old. Its use must have been adopted by Seljukid kings of Asia Minor and followed by the Turks and other Muslims when they took over their former possessions. An European writer suggests that the Crescent of the Turks is really a horse-shoe. The standards of other Muslim rulers, who were contemporaries of the Turks, were not identical with that of the Turks. In Iran, the lion, sun and the sword appear on the standard. In India, the Nawabs of Lucknow had the fish, the dragon, sun, moon, cow and the stars. Figures of other animals were also used as common symbols in Iran and India.

SUPERSTITIONS IN ISLAM

Many Muslims believe in the existence of demons, spirits and the effects of their evil influences on man. They also have other superstitions as well. The Iranians, Turks, Arabs, and Indians strongly believe in the evil eye, even animals being considered to be affected, and, therefore, guarded by amulets being put on them. There are believed to exist

numberless angels, existing in numerous wonderful forms, worshipping God in the sky and the heavens. Among these four are considered to be archangels, viz.

Jebrail (Gabrail), whose duty is to carry messages from God to the Prophets; Mikael (Michael) is the distributor of food; Izrael (the angel of death); and Israfel, the angel of the trumpet at the end of the world. The Indian corresponding deities, as given by some Muslim writers, are the following well-known three, i.e., *Brahma*, *Vishnu* and *Siva* including *Yama*. Besides these, every human being is attended by two angels, who write his good and bad deeds, and two angels called *Nakir* and *Munker*, who examine the accounts of each person after his or her death, and punish or give rest, according to the right or wrong answers given by the dead. Genii are mentioned in many books of fiction and in stories contained in works like the *Thousand and One Nights*, etc. These are divided into:—Satan (*Shaitan*), who prayed to God for a very long time but fell into disgrace when he refused to prostrate himself before Adam, as commanded by God. Since then, he became an enemy and has sworn to tempt men to do evil deeds. Genii are called *Dēv* in the Iranian (Avestan *Dæva* and Sanskrit *Dēva*). They are supposed to have been created of a smokeless fire and are said to possess bodies. They can transform themselves into various shapes, such as serpents, lions, cats, birds, and other animals. They can move to distant places in a few minutes. They can perform wonderful deeds altogether impossible for ordinary human beings. They may disappear or re-appear as they please, fly in the air and carry most heavy things. Among them, there are believed to be those who have embraced Islam and are quite harmless, and there are others who have remained infidels and are wicked.

Pari or fairies (Avestan *Pairica*), are generally considered to be of the female sex. They are mentioned in the *Avesta*, though sometimes they are spoken of as belonging to the male sex also.⁸⁵ They are described as extremely handsome to look at, light in build, and as possessing wings. They are supposed to live on Mount Qaf. Some genii, called *Ifrit*, are described as hideous, strong and of enormous size. The genii may be captured by the performance of certain kinds of

⁸⁵ *Pari*: Commonly written *Peri* in English. *The Paradise and the Peri* of Thomas Moore, published in 1817, is a poetical rendering of a tale in which the *Peri* plays an interesting part. The *Peris* are, by some, held to be begotten of fallen spirits, and excluded from Paradise, but usually represented as leading a life of pleasure and endowed with immortality. They are spoken of as intermediate between angels and demons.

penance, the recitation of sacred formulæ and invocations and made to serve their masters, who are always human. They may be used for discovering thefts and buried treasure or to carry their master to a distant place or give information of lost men and women or to fight and subdue enemies. Muslim fiction and tales, stories and fables, such as *The Thousand and One Nights*, the *Rustam Nama*, *Burzoo Nama*, the story of *Amir-Humza*, *Hatem*, *Chahar Darvish*, etc., are full of genii and *Paris*, in which the influence of Hindu myths seems too palpably predominant to be mistaken. Their chief abode, Mount Qaf, is said to encompass the earth, though they are said to be found in other places as well, such as (public) baths, wells, ruined houses, certain kinds and classes of trees, untenanted houses, cemeteries, etc. Genii are mentioned in the following passage of the *Quran*, though in a different meaning:—"And when we decreed death for (Solomon) nought showed them his death but a creature (wood worm) of the earth that ate away his staff; and when it fell down, the Jinn came to know plainly that if they had known the unseen, they would not have tarried in abasing torment." (Ch. XXXIV. 14.) This passage explains that people considered the genii as possessing the power to predict future events and know what they may not themselves see. "And when we turned towards the group who listened to the *Quran*; so when they came to (hear) it, they said be silent (and hear)." (Ch. XLVI. 29.) "A party of Jinn listened and said surely we have heard a wonderful *Quran*." (Ch. LXXII. 1.) "And they (Arabs) make Jinii associate with God." (Ch. VI. 101.) "And we made for every Prophet an enemy, the devils from among men and Jinii." (Ch. VI. 113.) "O! assembly of Jinii, you made a great number of men your followers." (Ch. VI. 29.) "O assembly of Jinii and men! did there not come to you Prophets from among you, relating to you my communication and giving you warning of this Day (of Judgment)?" (Ch. VI. 131.) "And the Jinii We created before (mankind) of intensely hot fire." (Ch. XV. 27.) "If men and Jinii join together to bring the like of this *Quran*, they could not bring the like of it." (Ch. XVII. 88.) "And assembled for Sulaiman (Solomon) his hosts of the Jinii, men and the birds, and they were formed into groups." (Ch. XXVII. 17.) "And of the Jinii, there were those who worked before him (Solomon) by the command of his Lord." (Ch. XXXIV. 12.) "One Ifrit among the Jinii said:—I will bring (the throne of Bilqis from Saba) to you (in Palestine) before you rise up from your seat." (Ch. XXVII. 39.)

Among other non-human creatures believed to exist are the following:—

Ghool, who are said to assume various forms, somewhat like the Indian *bhuts*. Sometimes, they appear as human beings and at other times as animals. They live in deserts and haunt the burial ground. There is a kind of *ghool*, something between a man and brute, appearing to men when travelling alone in different forms and turning them out of the way into the interior of the desert. They appear in both sexes. These are mentioned by the celebrated poet Nizami in his romantic *Masnavis*.

Nesnas, who are also said to resemble human beings. Their face is said to be in their breasts and they have a tail like a sheep. They are found, it is said, in South Arabia.

The Indian Muslim imaginary creatures are in most cases the same as those believed in common by the Hindus. Instead of *Ghool* and *Nesnas*, they have the *Bhuts*, the *Churails*, etc.

The Arabs believe in beings called *Scalah*, *Ghadar* and the *Dilhan*. All these are demoniacal in their nature and qualities. In appearance, they are represented as possessing semi-human forms.

THE EVIL-EYE

The evil-eye is believed to enchant a handsome child, an young man or a young woman. It is also said to last its maleficent influence on any one who does anything extraordinary. Certain diseases are also attributed to its influence. Amulets are used by children, by pregnant ladies, etc., to avoid the evil-eye. This superstition is common to all Muslims in Africa, West Asia and India. It is mentioned that Jacob forbade his children from entering the city of Cairo all together from one gate. His idea was that people should not see that a number of brothers did so, as such a sight would affect them. It is said in the *Quran* :—"And he said : O my sons ! do not (all) enter by one gate (but) enter by different gates and I cannot avail you aught against God." (Ch. XII. 67.) Children are said to be kept dirty in order to avoid the evil-eye !

As to the good and bad omens believed by Iranians and Arabs, it is said in the *Quran* :—"They said : surely we augur evil from you." (Ch. XXXVI. 18.) "They said : your evil is with you." (Ch. XXXVI. 19.)

MAGIC OR SEHR

Belief in magic was common among ancient nations, particularly in Egypt, Iran and India. Muslims believe in two kinds of magic, one spiritual which they permitted, the other Satanic and deceptive, considered an evil thing practised by infidels. Spiritual magic, named *Amaliyyat*, *Tashkeer*, etc., affected through the virtues derived from the use of God's

name, among which *Ismul ázam* is the most sublime, is known to few. Those who know it can, it is believed, perform wonders. The other means are : invoking the names of certain angels, genii, some unintelligible words, sentences from the *Quran*, mysterious combinations of letters, figures and numbers, written in peculiar diagrammatic forms. Spiritual magicians are supposed to obtain their power by practising penance, austerities of kinds, abstinence from certain kinds of diet, fasting, the muttering of mysterious words, and the making of certain kinds of signs. By these means they can call upon the service of a genii. By controlling the extraordinary powers of planets, who become obedient to their enchantment, they can, it is said, serve both malevolent and benevolent purposes. A magician, spiritual or satanic, can change his own or other creatures' forms by the force of art. A man may be made to become a bird and fly in the air, or he may be turned into a dog, ape, or other animal, as illustrated in the *Thousand and One Nights*. He can obtain the power to move from one place to another place in a short time, appear and disappear at his will and speak of things not heard of or seen and even show hidden treasure. Babylon and India were, at one time, considered the centres of evil magic. The originators of evil magic were, it is said, Harut and Marut, mentioned in the *Quran*, who were originally angels, but who descended to earth to guide humanity but themselves fell in love with a dancing girl, named *Zohra*, and were accordingly degraded and punished by God. They are believed to be suspended in a well at Babylon by their feet and are to remain so till the Day of Judgment. They taught magic to people. The names, *Harut* and *Marut*, curiously resemble the names of two Iranian archangels, i.e., *Haurvatat* and *Amertat* (in Sanskrit *Sarvata* and *Amṛtata*) which means health, fertility and immortality. The causes which led to the change in the meanings of these two words is unknown. It must be a very ancient legend which was taken over from the Aryans by the Semitic nations and turned evidently from a good into a bad sense. The *Quran* says :—"And they follow what the devils fabricated against the prophethood of Solomon, but Solomon did not disbelieve it ; it is the devils who disbelieved teaching men enchantment, and it was not revealed to the two angels *Harut* and *Marut* at Babylon, nor did they teach it to any one, so that they should have said we are only a trial ; therefore, do not disbelieve, so they learn from those two that by which they (enchanters) make a distinction (hatred or love) between a man and his wife." (Ch. XI. 102.)

According to the *Quran*, evil magic is intended to produce false phenomena, or feeling, in which the operator controls

the senses of the subject. He makes something to appear or to be felt when actually it has no real existence. The *Quran* thus refers to this peculiar feature of the black art :—"He said : nay ! cast down. Then lo ! their cords and their rods—it was imaged to him (Moses) on account of their enchantment as if they were running (moving).

"When they cast they deceived the people's eyes and frightened them." (Ch. VII. 113.)

Kehannah, or prediction, was a form of astrology, current in Greece, Iran and amongst most of the ancient civilized nations, was also known in Arabia. The belief in magic is fast vanishing and is being taken in the West by mesmerism and by what is called "spiritualism" to-day, which more frequently than not signifies the relationship with the spirits of the dead. *Fāl* or *Istikhārah* is common even at the present time in Iran and India. It is done by reciting passages from the *Quran* and thinking in one's mind the desired object or question, then closing the eyes and opening the *Quran*, the *Diwan* of Hafiz, or the *Masnavi* of Rumi, and reading the first line on the right side page and interpreting it in the light of what one had thought in mind.

There are fortunate and unfortunate dates, days and hours. Among the Iranians, consideration is given to the particular effect of a day on any act intended to be undertaken on it. For instance, Monday is held to be bad for travelling ; Tuesday for cutting off a new cloth, and so on. Thus, there are days on which one must not visit a sick person or meet the king or a minister.

Fate or destiny, is believed in among the masses, as a decree of God which cannot be avoided by human beings. Man may struggle against this supreme hidden power, but cannot overcome his destiny. Thus, human life becomes a tragedy, if one's actions are not harmonious to his destiny. The human will is subordinate to a higher and stronger will. This idea is supported by certain texts of the *Quran*, such as :—

"And a man will not die but with the permission of God. the term (of death) is fixed." (Ch. CXI. 144.)

"And for every nation, there is a (time of) death, so when their death is come, they shall not remain behind (the appointed time) the least while, nor shall they go in advance." (Ch. VII. 34.)

The idea that man cannot die except at the appointed hour has become a fixed one. It gave the early Muslims reckless courage in warfare but the same idea also has caused a certain amount of inertia and loss of strength in will power.

Taviz, or talismans, *Hirz* or amulets, charms and the like are in use among Muslims in common with many Asiatic and

European nations. There are large numbers of books in Arabic, Iranian, Turkish, Urdu and other languages spoken by Muslims on the use and method of preparing *Tariz*. The main object aimed at is to protect a human being from :—the evil-eye; ill-luck; to bring about good luck; to defeat the enemy; to create love between its possessor and another; to prevent diseases; to safeguard from the evils inflicted by genii, etc.

Those who prepare *Tariz* are, in most cases, acquainted with astrology, astronomy and geomancy,⁸⁶ with the aid of which they fix up the auspicious hour. In geomancy, dots and lines have their own significance. The time for writing an amulet is fixed. Mysterious signs and words are used as spells. While numbers and human and animal figures play an important role. Meaningless words, formulæ, the different names of God, and of angels, sentences from the *Quran*, etc., engraved on square-sized metal (silver) plate, or on paper or on silk, and written over in saffron coloured or black ink, and sprinkled in certain cases with perfume or rose-water, form the staple of amulets and charms in use. These are worn on the body after some formality, so that the possessor may be sure of its effect. The day and hour for putting on a *Tariz* is fixed by the writer, and women wear it in their necklaces, or as part of a head ornament. Some *Tariz* are made with a definite object in view, for example, for a disease or to attract one's beloved or as a safeguard against evil genii. Some are used for securing general good also. There are also in use certain signs, resembling the Kufi script, Hebrew letters, cryptographic alphabets, other scripts, including, perhaps, one of the Indian or Chinese ones, in a mutilated form, in addition to those already named. It is believed that these signs, names, mysterious words, numbers and *Quranic* sentences, if arranged in a particular order and at a particular time, will have a particular effect for the person putting them on. In some amulets, figures of certain animals are engraved on mirrors, seals, or cups. The representation of a human hand is also believed to possess a certain magical effect. If a man or woman is suspected to have been troubled by a Jinn or *Pari*, it is believed that by reciting certain spells on a cup of water, or by writing the same on a piece of paper dipped in saffron, the same being given to the patient to drink, the Jinn will leave him or her free. *Hirz* is a kind of amulet, enclosed in a silver, gold or some other metal plate and rolled over by the tooth of an animal or bone, and wrapped in a piece

⁸⁶ *Geomancy*: From Greek *ge*, the earth; and *manteia*, divination. A kind of divination by means of figures or lines made originally on the ground, but afterwards on paper. Among Muslims, it is known as *Ilmur-Rawal*.

of wax cloth. Kings and nobles in most cases put on such amulets on their arms and those who use turbans, keep these tied to them. Those used by kings, princes and nobles, especially included in necklaces or armlets, are set with precious stones. Muslims also believe in witches. Women use amulets sometimes to harm a co-wife or to attract their husbands unto themselves. When the object is to harm some, the talisman is pierced with needles or wrapped in a bundle of human hairs, and buried in the opponent's room or compound. Sometimes, it is given in food or buried in a grave. It is also believed that animal tooth, nails, etc., have certain effects, and are accordingly used for making up amulets and talismans. The ignorant classes believe not only in genii but also that the spirit of dead men afflict and harass people. Thus, the spirit of one Shaikh Saddo, who accidentally came in possession of a magic wick, similar to one narrated in *The Thousand and One Nights*, is credited with the capacity to do a great deal of harm. The story goes that Shaikh Saddo, through the mysterious effect of a wick, had a number of genii to serve him, but he misused his power by desiring to encompass all sorts of unlawful objects. At last, he commanded the genii to transfer a mosque, in which there was a pious *Fakir* in residence. The genii, being tired of carrying out his unlawful demands, revolted and killed him. But Shaikh Saddo, after his death, transformed himself into an evil spirit. Sweets and a goat are presented to his evil spirit and the same distributed subsequently among the poor.

Khizar is a popular imaginary spiritual guide of the Sūfis, who is also the protector of all in distress. It is believed that he has drunk the water of life and has accordingly become immortal and helps human beings on sea or land, when in distress. He is often mentioned by the Sūfis, and poets as their guide. Among Iranian poets, Khaqani Nizami and some others have claimed that they met him and received instruction and blessing from him. His name is used by Sūfi poets, sometimes in a metaphorical and in other instances, evidently in the real sense. He is reported to have met some of the Sūfi *Pirs*, instructed them in their prayers and blessed them. Indian Muslims, largely under Hindu influence, carry sweets, fruits and flowers, to the banks of a river or tank and, after offering prayers, consign the same to the water as a present to be accepted by Khaja Khizar. Some write a petition in which they mention their difficulties or desired objects, and finish up with the request that the same may be removed or their objects granted by him. The petition is left floating in the water. The word *Khizar* means, the green one. This belief goes back to the legendary period of history and the idea

underlying it appears to be pre-Islamic in character. It probably indicates the old god of fertility, which has managed to linger on in Muslim popular superstition and belief, owing to its great popularity all over the East. The myth must have been current in Arabia, Syria, Egypt and Iran. There are several passages in the *Quran*, associated with *Khizar*, as an individual gifted with divine knowledge. Here is one such :—

“When (Moses) found one of our servants, whom we had granted mercy from us and whom we have taught knowledge from ourselves, said to him : Shall I follow thee on condition that thou shouldst teach me the right knowledge of what thou hast been taught. He said verily, Thou canst not have patience with me ; and how canst thou be patient in matters whose meaning thou comprehendest not ?” (Ch. XVIII. 66-68.)

The story of Alexander going in search of the fountain of life was long popular in the East. His cook, while cleaning a salted fish, which fell into water and came back revived, accidentally came to know that it was the fountain of life, and drank its water, but did not inform the king till they left the place. Afterwards, falling in love with the princess, he was commanded by Alexander to be thrown into the sea, where he remained as a sea-demon. This story was mixed up, in course of time, with the legends of the Jews concerning the Prophet Elijah (Arabic *Iliyas*) and must have been known to the pre-Muslim Arabs. The early commentators on the *Quran* interpreted the word servant as a reference to *Khizar*, which later was elaborated by Sūfis and Indian poets. The two names became distinct, one as *Iliyas* and the other as *Khizar*. Both of them meet the distressed on sea and land and help them, though *Khizar* is found mentioned more often Iranians or other non-Arabs, who had their own old myths. They have accordingly interpreted the *Quran*, wherever it was possible, in the light of their own legends. The cult of *Khizar* (or the God of Fertility) must have been at one time very popular in Syria and Iran, to which passages in the *Quran* bear testimony. Sacrifice and presents were offered to him by shipowners when a boat was launched into water. There are sanctuaries in his name in Syria, at which first-born animals are offered by way of sacrifice. The cult of *Khizar*, as cherished by the Sūfis and celebrated Iranian poets and admired by the generality of Muslims of West and Central Asia and India, is indicative of the popularity attaching to it. *Khizar* is called, in some parts of India, as *Kawaja*, *Pir Badr* or *Raja Kizar*. He is said to ride on a fish, wearing green garments. Boatmen celebrate a feast, named *Bera* (raft), the chief feature of which is the setting afloat a boat with turning lamps and sweets placed in it.

Luqman is mentioned in the *Quran* as a *Hakim* (physician) or philosopher. Chapter thirty-one of the *Quran* is called *Luqman*, in which some of his sayings are mentioned. He is identified by some writers with the *Æsop* of the Greeks.⁸⁷ Some make him a contemporary of Solomon, or a nephew of Abraham and so forth. Like Khizar and Iliyas, he is mentioned for wisdom and sincerity in Sūfi works, such as the *Masnawi* of Rumi. The following text from the *Quran* refers to him:—

"And certainly we gave wisdom to Luqman, saying, be grateful to God. And whoever is grateful, he is only grateful for his own soul and whoever is ungrateful, then surely God is self-sufficient praised."

"And when Luqman said to his son while he admonished him: O my son! do not associate aught with God: most surely polytheism is a grievous inequity."

"O my son! surely if it is the very weight of the grain of a mustard seed, even though it is in (heart) of rock, or (high above) or in the earth, God will bring it (to light), surely God is knower of subtleties."

"O my son! keep up prayer and enjoin the good and forbid the evil, and bear patiently that which befalls on you."

"And do not turn your face away from the people in contempt, nor go about in the land exulting over much. Surely, God does not love self-conceited boaster."

"And pursue the right course in your going about and lower your voice; surely the most hateful of voices is braying of asses." (Ch. XXXI. 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19.)

Solomon⁸⁸ is also a great hero with Muslim poets, famous for his great wealth, and for his rule over men, jinn, animals, birds, etc. His name is mentioned in several passages in the *Quran*:—

"We bestowed on David and Solomon in judging men and with language of the birds and other matters."

⁸⁷ *Æsop*: A celebrated Greek fabulist of the sixth century B.C. Little is known of him, except that he was originally a slave, manumitted by Iadmon of Samos, and put to a violent death by the Delphians, probably for some witicism at their expense.

⁸⁸ *Solomon*: King of Israel, 1015-977 B.C.; second son of David and Bathsheba, and David's successor; in high repute far and wide for his love of wisdom and the glory of his reign; he had a purely Oriental passion for magnificence, and the buildings he erected in Jerusalem, including the Temple and the Palace on Mount Zion, he raised regardless of any expense, which the nation resented after he was gone. So great was the resentment that, after he was gone, ten of the tribes revolted, with the result that it led to the final rupture of the community and its falling under alien sway.

"And we subject unto Solomon the wind, blowing strongly and being light at his desire and which ran at his command."

Bilqees, the queen of Sheba, South Arabia, was married to him. His vizier's name was Asaf, who knew the great name of God, called Ismul-Azam. As the knower of that name, he could, it is said, perform wonders, bring even the throne of the Queen from Sheba to Palestine in the twinkling of an eye! The Iranians identify Solomon with Jamshid (*Yima*) of Iranian mythology. Both were great rulers, inventors and organizers. Both ruled over men and jinii, and possessed means of flying in the air, etc.

PHYSICAL BEAUTY AND LOVE

Beauty is appreciated by human beings in everything. There is beauty in body, in voice, in movement, in character, in dress, in the construction of building, in speech and in nature. Each nation has its own standard of beauty. The physical beauty appreciated by an Arab may not be to the liking of a Japanese, and of a Japanese to an Arab, yet both admire their own beauty. There is no uniform standard of beauty for a Muslim. An Arab Muslim admires Arabian beauty and so do an Iranian and an Indian, admire what is admirable according to their own countrymen. The Arab conception of beauty has influenced early Muslim poets and the Moghal conception has found its way into Iranian poetry when that nation ruled in Central Asia and India. The Arab conception includes the following ideas:—(1) Large and long almond-shaped eyes; (2) intense blackness of the pupil of the eye and whiteness of the white part. A woman possessing such an eye is called *Huri* or *Hur*; (3) long and brilliant eyelashes; (4) arch-shaped eyebrows; (5) wide, white and clear forehead; (6) a straight nose; (7) a small and well-shaped mouth; (8) red lips; (9) white, well-arranged teeth; (10) small and well-proportioned pomogranate-like breasts; (11) a slender waist; (12) wide and large hips; (13) small hands and feet; (14) fingers like an ivory pen; (15) tapering nails; (16) deep black, but soft, hair; and (17) round-neck, forearms and ankles.

Iranians admire a white face with rosy cheeks, contrasted with deep black hairs. But Arab poets have praised an olive oil or mild white colour of the face and black eyes (pupil), while Indian poets praise golden colour. The Mongolian conception includes small deep eyes, rosy cheeks, high eyebrows, and small mouth. The Iranians prefer a somewhat fleshy body, large eyes like those of the gazelle, the white part having a vein of rosy colour; while the Arabs appreciate a slender form. The Iranians love a cheerful and innocent expression;

according to them, the ears must be small ; the thighs thick-set ; and long and full hairs in the head. Among Arab poets, the lover is always a man and the beloved a woman, while Indian poets make woman to love a man. Iranian poets seldom make any reference to either sex. Muslim literature contains a large number of words for love with but slight changes in their meaning. For example, *Mohabbat*, *Movaddat*, *Hava* (inclination), *Ishq* (intense attachment—the literal meaning of the word being creeper), *Ilāqah*, *Shaghaf*, *Shiftagi*, *Walāh*, *Varftagi*, *Mehr*, *Prem* (Indian), etc. The effect of lyric poetry was deep on Muslim society, especially among the Arabs and the Iranians. The popular heroes and heroines of love referred to by Muslim poets are :—Yusuf (Joseph) and Zulai-kha of the Hebrew legends, who are mentioned in the *Quran* ; Majnun and Laili (Arab) ; Khusroe and Shirin (Iranian) ; Wameq and Uzra (Iranian) ; Farhad and Shirin (Iranian) ; Salman and Absal (Iranian) ; Vais and Rāmin (Iranian) ; Khizer Khan and Devildēvi (Indian) ; Nala and Damayanti (Indian) ; and Sulma (Arab), etc. Muslim myths are derived from Hebrew, Arab, Iranian, Chinese and Indian sources. Among these, the Iranian are the most predominant, while most of the legendary heroes are either ancient kings or warriors of Iran.

HOUSE, FURNITURE, DIET AND DRESS

Among Muslims, houses, dresses, household furniture, manner of taking food and social etiquette vary according to the customs of the places they inhabit, though, in certain respects, there is a certain kind of uniformity, due to general intercourse and past traditions. The passages in the *Quran*, descriptive of the comfort and luxury which characterise Paradise, if interpreted in a metaphorical sense, give a clue to Arab aspirations of the time of the Prophet. The great conquests that followed it and the sudden accumulation of wealth and abundant sources of income, which fell to the share of the Umayyad Khalifs of Damascus and Spain and the Abbasides of Baghdad, are described to us, as it were, in the stories of the *Thousand and One Nights*.⁸⁰ The same

⁸⁰ *The Thousand and One Nights: Or the Arabian Nights* ; a collection of tales of various origin and date, traceable in their present form to the middle of the fifteenth century ; first translated into French by Galland in 1704. The thread on which they are strung is this : An Iranian monarch having made a vow that he would marry a fresh bride every night and sacrifice her in the morning, the vizier's daughter obtained permission to be the first bride and began a story which broke off at an interesting part evening after evening, for a thousand and one nights, at the end of which term the King, it is said, released her and spared her life.

love of comfort continued and reached its zenith during the rule of Usman Sultans in Turkey, Safavids in Iran and the Timurids in India, and had considerable effect on social development of the middle and lower classes, who, in most things, imitated the higher. The passages in the *Quran* referred to are the following :—

“Reclining on carpets, the inner coverings of which are silk brocade.” (Ch. LV. 54.)

“Springs gushing forth (in the courtyard).” (Ch. LV 66.)

“On thrones in wrought” (Ch. LVI. 15.)

“Reclining on them facing each other” (Ch. LVI. 16.)

“Round about them shall go youths” (Ch. LVI. 17.)

“With goblets and overs and a cup of pure drink” (Ch. LVI. 18.)

“They shall not be affected with headache thereby, nor shall they get exhausted (by drink).” (Ch. LVI. 19.)

“Reclining on raised couches, they find therein neither (the severe heat of) the sun, nor the intense cold and close down upon them (trees, shall leave) shadows and fruits shall be made close (to them) being easy to reach.”

“And there shall be made to go round about them vessels of silver and goblets which are of glass (transparent and appearing like silver).”

“And they shall be made to drink there in a cup the admixture of which shall be *Zanjabil* (ginger).”

“And round about them shall go youths for ever.”

“When you see them, you will think them (youths) to be (like pearls) scattered broadcast.”

“Upon them shall be garments of fine green silk and thick silk interwoven with gold, and they shall be adorned with bracelets of silver and their Lord shall make them drink a pure wine.” (Ch. LXXVI. 13, 14, 15, 17, 19 and 21.)

Such, in brief, is a description of luxurious life as given in the *Quran*. With regard to dress, the *Quran* teaches extreme simplicity, and the tradition of the Prophet also supports the same idea. It is said in the *Quran* :—“We have sent down raiment to hide your nakedness and splendid garments, but the raiment of piety is the best.” (Ch. VII. 25.)

The Prophet used to wear an *Izar* (trousers) reaching below his knees, a shirt and a turban. He was fond of the white colour but occasionally used green, red, yellow and black also. The dress of men and women at present in use in Egypt, Turkey, and Iran, is fast becoming Europeanized. The Arabs wear a long shirt, over which a *Qaba* or long *Jubbah* is added, with *Kaffiah*, or a square kerchief is put on

the head, covering the back and a portion of the breast, over which *aqal* or a cord (woollen or silk) is tied. This is a dress common to rich and poor alike, the difference, if any, being in quality and value. The head dress in the cities of Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia, besides the above dress, is a small turban, bordered by a margin like a *shawl* and wound over the cap. The Sayyeds in West Asia and Iran use green or black colour for turbans while other colours, though not prohibited, are never used, these colours having become a kind of distinction for Sayyeds. The official class use the *fez* in Egypt and modern European hats in Turkey. The Iranians in the pre-Islamic period imitated Babylonian, Assyrian, Egyptian and Roman costumes. During the post-Islamic period, they imitated the Arabs first and then the Moghals. The Safavid kings were the earliest to imitate European dress which was followed, with certain modifications, by the Qajar dynasty. The present king persuaded the people to wear European dress. The Qajar semi-Caucasian hat has been exchanged for the European hat. The lower orders in Syria wear a long shirt and a jacket, with a leather or cotton girdle. The Kurds are distinguished for their wide sleeves. The Sûnis in Iran used a woollen girdle. The *Aba*, or a woollen gown, was common all over the Western and Central Asia, but now its use is restricted almost entirely to Arab countries. Iran was a great centre of its trade, but since few years, European overcoats are substituted for *Aba*. The Iranian theologians wear a loose white turban, with a long *jubbah*, covered by an *Aba*, and in Syria, the *Moulvis* use small white wide turbans. The Kurdish women wear a small round cap or an embroidered silk kerchief wound round their heads like a turban. They have long shirts, over which a jacket is added. The trousers are wide and fully cover their bodies. The hairs are divided into two or a number of tresses or braid *gisu* (Sanskrit, *Kesa* ; Urdu, *Choti*), some falling from both sides on to the shoulders and some on the breast and others on the back. The Bedouins (or nomad Arabs) wear a long shirt, with a leather girdle or a cord round their waist and generally both men and women use amulets. In summer, boys of seven or eight years go naked and so do girls of tender age in the interior. In the desert area, women do not observe the *purdah* and in the cities, a woollen mantle is worn from the head reaching below the knees. The desert Arabs have a peculiar habit of exposing themselves to the burning sun and are indifferent to fire during the winter. The Afghan dress is noted for loose trousers, long shirt and a coat or jacket. Their women also wear long shirts reaching below the knee and trousers rather tighter than those of the men.

Among the ornaments used by Muslims in West and Central Asia, including Arabia, are :—Silver and gold rings, ear-rings, bracelets, necklaces, bangles, small nose-rings, and foot ornaments. The Arabs, like the Indians, tattoo their arms, face, breast, and ankles with colour. Theologians, particularly of the Shāfai school, trim and even shave their moustaches. In Central Asia, loose trousers are worn both by men and women, to which a long shirt, a long *jubbah*, with girdle or shawl round the waist, are added. The head-dress is a skull cap or turban, mostly white in colour, but since the Russian influence spread, even the dress is changing and European fashion is being adopted everywhere. The Arabs go usually bare-footed at home and so do Muslims in Central Asia. The women, although they wear more or less the same dress as men, adorn themselves with a number of amulets, necklaces, pendants in their hairs, ear-rings and some even use nose-rings. When they go outside, a black veil is also worn by them. Indian Muslims follow Hindus in North Indian villages, but in large cities their dress is a mixture of what prevails among Moghals, Arabs, Iranians, Afghans and Indians. The women generally wear *saris*, much like the Hindus with small modifications. *Saris* are becoming most popular not only among Indian Muslims, but even among domiciled Iranians and Afghans in India. Indian Muslim head-dresses are various kinds of turbans, the *fez*, and Afghan, Iranian, Turkish and English hats. Muslims in China and the Pacific Islands follow the habits of their own countrymen.

In West and Central Asia, a house is divided into parts—male (*mardana*) and female (*zanana*) apartments. The compound wall (if there be one) is generally built of mud. The entrance is protected by a handsome arch which opens into a doorway (*dālān*), leading to the first court, consisting of a guest chamber (*mehmankhana*) and several other rooms. In the centre of the courtyard is a reservoir (*houz*) and on one side is a latrine and a place for storing charcoal and wood. There are no bath-rooms provided in all houses, as people, with the exception of a few of the wealthy, go to the public baths. There is a second entrance leading to the female apartment, which corresponds to the arrangement on the *mardana* side. The rooms have windows only on one side, opening towards the court. The house is surrounded with rooms on all sides and the courtyard is in the centre. Houses are generally built in one storey or more, with a *tahkhana*, or underground rooms, for storing provision or passing the day-time, particularly during the midday, which becomes extremely hot in South Iran and Mesopotamia. In some places, like Shushter or Najaf, etc., there are undergrounds as deep as

seventy or eighty feet. The top of the house is also surrounded by a mud or brick wall, about four to five-and-a-half feet high, which space is used for sleeping in the night during the summer and for drying clothes and fruits during the daytime. Almost every house in the East contains a well and if its water is not potable, it is used for other purposes. In the verandah of the male apartment, couches are kept covered with carpets or raised *dais* of stone or wood. The house furniture consists of looking-glasses, rich carpets, and a few chairs or couches. Meals are served on the floor but among ancient Turks, a table, about a foot or less in height, was used, while common people sat on the ground. At present, the old system is fast changing and high tables are coming into vogue. Instead of the hand being used, forks and spoons are used. During the Moharrum, in Iran and Mesopotamia, streets and open grounds are used for large assemblies, where carpets are spread and a pulpit is kept ready for the reciter. Rich people possess gardens adjoining their houses or a separate building with a large garden outside the town. Stables for horses and cattle and rooms for servants are built close to the male apartment. Both men and women visitors are free to pass their time with friends, without causing the least inconvenience to the other sex. The roofs are flat and covered with bricks or mud, where cots and sofas are kept for sleeping in the night. The life led by Muslim women in the nineteenth century has been described by an English lady who had married a Muslim, named Mir Ali, and when she became a widow and returned to England, she wrote a book in which she recorded her observations on the life led by Muslims in India. She had the honour of paying a visit to the reigning Moghal Emperor Shah Alam II and the Moghal Empress. The life of Muslim women, as described by her, was restricted to Lucknow and Delhi, but, as these two places had at that time been much influenced by Afghanistan and Iran, from it one can have an idea of Muslim life beyond India, too. She writes :

"They (ladies) have not, it is true, many intellectual resources, but they have naturally good understanding. Having learned their duty, they strive to fulfil it. So far as I have had any opportunity of making personal observation on their general character, they appear to me obedient wives, dutiful daughters, affectionate mothers, kind mistresses, sincere friends, and beloved benefactresses to the distressed and poor. These are their moral qualifications and in their religious duties, they are zealous in performing the several ordinances which they have been instructed by their parents or husbands, to observe. If there be any merit in obeying the injunctions of their law-giver, those whom I have known

most intimately, deserve praise since 'they are faithful in that they profess'. The Muslim ladies, with whom I have been long intimate, appear to be always happy, contented, and separated by the seclusion to which they were born, the female society is unlimited, and that they enjoy without restraint."⁹⁰

Kitchens are always distinct from the main building. Muslims are known for the luxury of their table. The variety in dishes is not limited. In Iran, mostly charcoal is used, instead of wood. The common food in West and Central Asia, among villagers consists of curd, milk, fresh and dry fruits, and bread. In India, a poor man is content with boiled rice and *dāl*, and occasionally he may find flesh of some animal. Rich people have various dishes, among which the *pilau*, a preparation of boiled rice mixed with meat, ghee, onions and coloured by saffron, is much esteemed as a delicacy. Roast meat and different kinds of curries, a mixture of meat and vegetables, and varieties of sweets are also common. Shoes are removed while eating (except by those who are Europeanized gentlemen or ladies, who eat sitting on chairs beside tables); hands are washed; the mouth is cleaned; and the meal is started with the utterance of *Bismillah*, i.e., in the name of God. At the end of the meal, praise is offered to God by saying *Alhamdo-lil-lah* (praise to God), or *Shukran-lil-lah* (thanks to God). After that, once again, the hands are washed with soap. Tea was seldom used in India upto the middle of the nineteenth century; but now, it has become common and is used mixed with milk. In Iran, Central Asia and Turkey, tea is used both with and without milk and in greater quantity. Arabs, Egyptians and North Africans are fond of coffee with or without milk. Chinese Muslims and non-Muslims are noted for using tea without milk and often without even sugar.

The substantial dinners are at noon, and once again between 7 to 9 p.m.; and in between these, early in the morning and late in the evening, tea is drunk with bread. In Central Asia, cheese is used for breakfast but in India, it is not known. An orthodox Muslim takes his supper after performing his sunset prayers. Women, during the period of menses, are not permitted to say prayers, fast or to enter mosques. They must not touch the *Quran* or any sacred book during the period and remain away from the husband till they take their bath on the seventh or the tenth day, when they are declared "purified".

⁹⁰ *Observations on the Musalmans of India*, by Mrs. Mir Ali, Vol. I.

While eating, one must not look into others' dishes or watch them eating or swallow food in haste or open his mouth wide. He must take food using the three fingers and eat with dignity and calmness. He should neither stretch himself beyond the dignified limit; nor should he choose the best and show himself greedy when eating. He must see that others also have a share of the best things on the table and have regard for them. He must not remove anything from his mouth, because such a sight might become unpleasant to others near about him. If he is forced to remove anything, such as bone or undesirable food, from his mouth, he must do it in a way not perceived by others. He should not pick his teeth or swallow something half extracted from the mouth, or to drink water or *sherbet*, making noise. He must wait or offer others for washing their hands before and after the dinner. Such was the etiquette of sitting at table as taught in the celebrated work of Dawwani, entitled *Akhlaq-e-Jalali*, of which more will be found said under the Chapter on Philosophy.

CHAPTER XV

THE FUTURE OF ISLAM

Islam in Europe—The Great War and Asia—Islam in India—Progress of Muslim States—Conference of European Muslims—The Future.

ISLAM IN EUROPE

Spain in Europe, and India in Asia are the two countries where Islam had to deal with quite a different civilization. In both of these countries, it was introduced as the religion of the conquerors. Spain became an entrance through which Islamic culture penetrated into the interior of Europe and India became the centre from which it spread to distant places in the Far East. The torch-bearers of Islam in the East were the Iranian and Arab merchants and adventurers from these countries combined in themselves the ambition to seek wealth and the enthusiasm to preach their religion. Among non-Muslims, Syrian, Christian and Iranian Zoroastrians took part in the development of Muslim culture in the East and Jews and Berbers were responsible for introducing the Muslim learning in the West. There is no doubt that the Muslims of Spain and North Africa had a share in the development of the Mediæval European Arts, Science, Philosophy and Architecture. Nor is there any doubt that men of Europe, such as Thomas Aquinas and Dante among the ancients, and Spinoza among the moderns, were indebted to Muslim thinkers. Thus, the present European civilization has been nursed and brought up on Muslim culture of a bygone generation. Likewise, the Iranians and Central Asiatics have had an indirect share in most of the present religious movements in the East. Muslims in Spain were divided into :—

- (1) Full-blooded Arabs.
- (2) Berbers or the neighbouring nations.
- (3) Native converts.

Arabic became the literary and scientific language of not only Spanish Muslims but also of Christians. Latin or Spanish remained the spoken language of lower orders but in the East, Iranian, through Moghals and Turks, became the *lingua franca* of Muslims, while Arabic was restricted to the study of theology and philosophy. As the Arabic script was adopted for Iranian and Hindustani in the East, it became the script of the Spanish language in the West as well. Just as by

adopting the Arabic script, Hindi was modified into Urdu, likewise Spanish became about one-fourth mixed with Arabic. Even at the present time, Spanish contains not only hundreds of Arabic words but numerous Iranian words also. In India, the following cities became centres for the study of Urdu :—Lahore, Delhi, Lucknow and Hyderabad. In Spain, the following were famous centres of Arabic learning :—Toledo, Cordova, Seville and Granada.

The fall of Muslim political power was the cause for the spread of Muslim culture in Europe. When the cities of Toledo (1085), Cordova (1236), Seville (1248) and Granada (1492), were one by one captured by the Christians, the key to Muslim learning was found in the ruins of these cities by European scholars, who profited by the grand libraries at one time located in them, and translated the works of Muslim authors into Latin. Thus Muslim culture became better known to the other countries of Europe and affected all branches of science and arts. In philosophy, European thinkers of the mediæval period became indebted to Averroes, Avicenna and other Muslim philosophers, whose works were studied with eagerness in the University of Paris.⁹¹ In theology, the Protestant movement has been indirectly influenced by the Muslim monotheistic doctrine and teaching. The Crusades in Palestine, the Franco-Spanish and Arab-Roman border wars between Islam and Christianity, affected the culture of both Muslims and Christians. While the Christian fighters imbibed chivalry, and helped to protect helpless men and women, Muslims also learnt new methods of warfare from the European invaders. In the East, the Moghal invasion and the fall of Abbaside Khilafat at Baghdad caused many learned men to migrate towards India, where Sūfi sages found a new field for the spread of Islam. While the East was subjugated and pacified by Muslim rulers, the West became aggressive. Spain was recaptured and re-Christianised and Muslims were looked upon as a dangerous political body and the professors of a rival religion, which, they felt, should be crushed at any cost. The Crusaders did not succeed in their arduous attempts, but

⁹¹ *Paris* : The largest city on the Continent and one of the most beautiful in the world. No city has finer or gayer streets, or so many noble buildings. It is the centre of European fashion. The history of Paris is the history of France, for the national life has been, and is, in an extraordinary degree centred in the capital. Its University schools in the Quartier Latin attract the youth of all France; the chief of them are the schools of Medicine and Law, the Scotch College, the College of France, and the Sorbonne, the seat of faculties of letters, science and Protestant theology. At the Sorbonne, gratuitous lectures are delivered by eminent scholars and men of science.

the European nations were, by this time, fully warned that the Christian rise can only be by the fall of Islam. Therefore, though among themselves they had natural jealousies and rivalries for power, they remained always united in destroying Muslim States and as against them, they had one definite and common policy. The means which the European powers adopted to subdue Muslim countries may be summed up as :—

(1) Taking military action whenever there was an internal disturbance, and creating such disturbances themselves in different ways.

(2) Creating constant intrigues and carrying on virulent propaganda.

(3) Formation of Missionary Societies with the double object of the spread of religion and peaceful political penetration. These missionary bodies were supported by the European public and backed up by their respective governments. Thus, a peaceful crusade continued. Even European activity in navigation was partly actuated by such motives. Hence it was that even the navigators used to wear a cross, bearing in mind, that they were taking the risk of the high seas for the spread of their religion and for the liberation of the Holy Land. Such a policy continued for long and Turkey became the chief target of European attack, covert and overt. The Muslim States of India, the Pacific Ocean and the Chinese Sea were easily subdued ; Egypt and North Africa were pacified ; and Iran, owing to the extreme ignorance and apathy of her inhabitants, became an easy prey for the diplomatic intrigues and slow and methodic occupation by two strong and neighbouring powers. Turkey continued to struggle and though fully awakened to the future danger, owing to her peculiar geographical situation, could not find an easy escape.

THE GREAT WAR AND ASIA

The War of 1914 decided the destiny of Turkey and, after six hundred years of crusade—private and public—the European powers achieved their object. Palestine and Iraq were given over to Britain and Syria was occupied by France. The Arabian Peninsula came under the British sphere of influence. Islam lost its prestige as a rival political power in the Near East and became insignificant and harmless as a military power. Europe was saved. And Lord Curzon remarked after the Great War that the further extension of the British Empire into the East is not desirable. The hunger of European powers for extension in the East was more than satisfied. While the West thus became apparently contented, discontentment began

to be felt in the East. All nations inhabiting Asia, with the exception of Japan, have come to consider themselves as ill-treated, insulted and humiliated. None is satisfied and the consequence of such a feeling is struggle, which nobody can at present foresee where, when and how it will eventually end. The Muslims of Turkey, Egypt, Iran and Afghanistan imagine that, by adopting European methods of life, they may soon achieve what Europeans have already achieved—national self-respect—but there is one great difference between them and Europe, and that is the lack of patriotism of the true and correct type. In Europe, the striving is after unity and collective action in national affairs and the united effort of the nation as a whole, guided by a few able and sincere men, while, in Asia, the effort is limited to a few seekers of personal distinction and fame. The masses in the East are yet indifferent and blindly follow their leaders without themselves feeling the necessity of what they are asked to do. In India, there is no genuine racial antagonism. The relations of the Indians with the Central and Western Asian peoples who invaded their country, whether as racial hordes or as Muslims, date back to countless centuries. Indians, whether Aryans or non-Aryans, were closely related to the peoples of the countries in the North-West of India, particularly Iran and Central Asia, and these have mutually imbibed one another's culture. This has been so throughout the ages. The Iranians especially were identical with Aryan-Indians in their religion, literature and even in most of their social and cultural matters. When Iran became a great centre of Christian missionary activity in the East, a number of Iranian and Syrian Christians visited and preached their religion to Indians, so that we find, as early 352 A.D., an Indian Bishop named Ophillus was sent out by the Emperor Constans. According to Philastorgus, the historian, this Bishop was despatched by the Emperor as an ambassador to the Himyarite king of Yemen (in South Arabia) and was permitted to build a church at Zafar and another at Aden. Thence, he went to the Iranian Gulf and there built a third church in the island of Hormuz.⁹² India was known to ancient nations as the country of ascetics and philosophers. Firdausi has given a fair description of Hindu ascetics of the time of Alexander the Great. He says that Alexander had heard of Indian sages and met several of them in the Punjab. Those ascetics, he says, covered their body with leaves and lived on jungle fruits. Alexander, it is said, had the following dialogue with them:—

⁹² Curiously enough, the earliest Christian and Islamic missionary activity began in South India.

Alexander : Is the number of dead more or of the living ?

Sage : Dead, because all living must die.

Alexander : Is the land more, or the water ?

Sage : Water is the keeper of land.

Alexander : Who is good and who is wicked ?

Sage : Good is one whose heart is pure, whose action is just and who is content. Guilty is one who hates others and is greedy, such as yourself, whose lust for conquering lands and enslaving people, brought you here. Greed and poverty are the devils which bring all kinds of calamities.

Alexander offered gifts to the Hindu ascetics, but these were declined. Plutarch narrates the same conversation in his *Life of Alexander*, and adds that the king despatched his pilot, named Onesicritus, to meet the sages. He met fifteen of them, and found some were sitting, others standing or lying in various attitudes of *tapas* (asceticism). Among them was one named Damdam and another called Kalyan. All this is indicative of the ancient relations of India with her Western Asian neighbours, which continued till her invasion by the fair Western Aryans of Britain.

ISLAM IN INDIA

The progress of Islam in India may be divided into :—

(1) Islam as presented by Arab invaders in its Semitic form ;

(2) Islam as preached by the Sūfis ; and

(3) Islam as represented in the modern form.

During the first period, Muhammad, son of Qasim, while invading Sind, plundered a number of cities and demolished a few Hindu temples, but soon realised his mistake that force may conquer the land but would never conquer the hearts of people. He, therefore, adopted a milder policy and even admitted Hindus into the ranks of the followers of "revealed" religion. The second period began soon after the invasion of Mahmud, when Islam was preached in an agreeable form to the suppressed lower castes in India, who embraced it as a great blessing from heaven. The zeal of the Sūfis in expounding the doctrine of Islam was as deep as the greed of Muslim leaders and generals for conquering a new province or plundering a wealthy city or a rich temple. The monotheistic doctrine of Islam gradually and unconsciously spread among all classes of Hindus and cast its influence, subtle in form but nonetheless effective, not only on religious beliefs but also on high philosophical conceptions. Several new religious movements started in India, as the result of such influences. Among these may be mentioned the following :—



KABIR WITH HIS SON KAMAL FANNING HIM
(From a picture in the Kabir Math, Benares)

(1) The school of thought founded by Kabir, a born Muslim who had been greatly influenced by Hindu philosophy. Kabir was born in 1440 A.D. and died in 1518. He was a disciple of Rāmānanda and recognised Rāma as the name for the one God and denounced polytheism. His teaching was an attempt at unification of Islam with Hinduism. About a dozen or more minor sects sprang up in imitation, conscious and unconscious, of his school and all of them can be traced to his teachings.

(2) Baba Nanak, born about 29 years after the birth of Kabir. He died in 1538. He was a believer in the montheism preached by Islam. His writings are, as a matter of fact, partly in Iranian. Like Kabir, but in a different manner, he attempted to harmonise Hindu ideals with the Islamic doctrine. He was the founder of the Sikh community, who, at present, are second in importance to Muslims in India.

There have been a number of other movements whose object has been to reform Hinduism from within, by consciously or unconsciously adopting one or more strong points from Islam. Some of these have called themselves Muslim, while others have remained Hindu or have taken new names for themselves. Among these are the Husaini Brahmins, who are devoted to Imam Husain, the grandson of the Prophet; the Pirzādās; the Satnamis; the Khojas; Chajjupantis, etc. The movement started by Swami Dayanand Saraswati, the founder of the Āryasamāj, which has become a great rival of Islam and is anti-Muslim and anti-Christian as well, has been influenced by the Islamic doctrine. Arya Samajists may adduce other reasons and endeavour to prove that the ancient sacred books of Hindus were anti-idol in spirit and teaching, but there is scarcely any doubt that the founder had been influenced by Islamic tenets and principles. Even the Lingayat reform of the thirteenth century may, perhaps, be said to have had some connection with Islamic principles. However this may be, there is no doubt that, though Islam had no missionary organization and did not work on the systematic lines the Christian missionaries have done, the individual efforts of Sūfi saints through seven hundred years of Muslim ascendancy, have modified Hindu views on religion practically all over India. At the same time, it is a fact that Indian Muslims themselves have been much influenced by Hindu ideals, social customs, religious beliefs and philosophical views. The Sūfis, who strived to convert Hindus into Islam, have themselves been affected in turn by Hinduism, even to the extent of their modifying some essential points in Islam. For instance, one Sadr-ud-din, an Iranian Muslim missionary, wrote a book entitled *Dasavatar* (or the Ten Incarnations), in which he has

admitted the ten incarnations of Vishnu, and added that Alī, the fourth Khalif, was the expected tenth incarnation of the said deity. The Moghal Emperors, beginning with Akbar, dressed themselves partly in Hindu and partly in Irano-Moghal manner. The forehead was marked after the fashion of the Hindus in public durbars and Akbar even venerated the Sun and followed certain Hindu ceremonies. His *harem* was filled with Rajput ladies, who carried out all their Hindu customs in the *harem*. The Emperor Aurangzeb was not really so bigoted a monarch as is sometimes pictured to us by some historians. His unpopularity was more largely due to the drastic measures he adopted for the subjugation of the Mah-rattas and the punishment he meted out to Rajput chiefs. In the lust he possessed for power and conquest, he might be considered a vain man and even a bigot. In this respect, it may be said, he was as bigotted towards the Hindus as towards the Muslim kings of Bijapur and Golkonda, nay, even towards his own father and brothers, brothers born of one and the same mother and father. The other side of the picture is worthy of note. Some of his best and most trusted generals were Hindus and on several occasions he showed the same favour to Hindus as to Muslims. He had one great fault and that was of screening his political and administrative ambitions under the guise of religion. Mahmud Ghazni, the great idol-breaker, and his son Masud, trusted their Hindu generals against their rebellious Muslim governors. Tilak, the commander of Masud's army, was one of them. While Shahb-uddin was fighting with one Hindu Raja (Prithvi Raj), he had another Hindu Raja (of Jammu) to help him against a Muslim rebel at Lahore. The mother of Firuz Shah, another ruler known for his bigotry, was a Rajput lady. Thus, while India has been influenced by the Muslim invaders, she has in turn influenced them much more in many aspects of their life.

• PROGRESS OF MUSLIM STATES

The awakening of all nations after the Great War includes Muslim States also. Among them, Turkey, which suffered most, has improved to an extent that her present condition may favourably be compared with any other State in the Balkan Peninsula. She has been described as the leading Muslim power in the world to-day, and her position, even after losing two-thirds of her former territory, is much stronger and much more consolidated in 1936 than it was in 1914. The Turks have made an amazing progress within the short time of sixteen years. They have organised every department of Government on the most up-to-date lines. They have adopted the Swiss Civil Code, the German Commercial Code, and the Italian

Penal Code as the basis of their new laws and regulations. Many of the older social customs which clogged the way of progress have been replaced by the absorption of practices current in civilized society. So much is this case that one cannot now distinguish between a Turk and a citizen of any other European country, whether as regards dress, manners, mode of living, etiquette, etc. The Near East has changed into the Far West. In other matters, deeper than mere usage, the same change is observable. Polygamy has been prohibited. The system of education has been thoroughly reorganised and co-education has been made compulsory and even popular. Social centres, clubs, parks, playgrounds, etc., have been established in all the bigger villages and cities. *Madrasas* in mosques have been abolished and their libraries have been transferred to public libraries. When the Greek and Armenian inhabitants of Turkey were exchanged for Muslims, all European papers were unanimous in predicting that Turks lost their best artisans, but, within the short period of a decade or so, the Turks proved themselves capable of looking after their needs without the help of Greeks. They are now becoming independent of European manufactures and can produce the best kinds of woollen and cotton cloths in their own country. Women freely join men in bearing the burdens of life, including enlisting themselves into the army, filling the responsible posts of ministers and other equally high public offices. They are brave, self-sacrificing and, like their men, full of courage and spirit. Most of the educated women, besides knowing their own literature, know French, German, and the English languages. The modern method of study in Turkey and Iran started as early as the end of the first half of the nineteenth century, took definite shape about ten years ago. The end of the eighteenth century, when Egypt was invaded by Napoleon, and the Moghal Emperor Shah Alam lost the last vestiges of his imperial power and prestige and Seringapatam was captured by the British, may be set down as the lowest ebb of Islamic political tide; and the end of the nineteenth century may perhaps be taken as the beginning of the flow of a new chapter in the history of Islam. The present Turkish progress is far ahead of the Iranian, though both started in the same direction by adopting the French model. University education in Turkey, including under that head all school education, is under the Minister of Education, who is assisted by Directors of Higher, Secondary and Primary Schools, with the exception of special schools devoted to agriculture, commerce, and medicine, managed by the respective ministers. Both in Iran and Turkey, the country is divided into educational provinces and districts. Each province is under a *Rais-e-Maaref*,

or Director of Education, under whom there are a number of Inspectors for the Districts. The Directors manage their own provinces. A student has to undergo training for about fifteen years. The following are the recognized school and college classes :—(1) Elementary School education, 5 years; (2) Middle School education, 3 years; (3) Lycee, 3 years; (4) College or University classes, 4 years; total 15 years. There are kindergarten schools in Turkey and free Normal Schools, affiliated to the University, train teachers for the Middle Schools and the Lycee. Much stress is laid on physical exercise, both in Iran and Turkey. The Rector of the University, chosen from among the Professors, is elected for three years and may be re-elected for another period of three years. The Turkish University is composed of the following Faculties :—Medicine; Law; Arts; the Sciences; and Theology. There are schools of Dentistry, Pharmacy, and a training course is given in Midwifery. The University Library at Constantinople contains over 1,20,000 volumes of books. Among these are ten thousand selected manuscripts in Iranian, Turkish and Arabic. There are a number of foreign schools and colleges worked under the direction of the Turkish Minister of Education, such as the American Robert College (for men) and a Women's College. The former possesses a library containing 24,000 volumes, while the latter has ten thousand.

Iran, likewise, has made rapid progress within the past ten years. The Minister of Education controls the whole Department of Education. Both male and female education has been made compulsory. The number of students has increased within seven years, from something like fifty thousand to one hundred and seventy-five thousand and the expenditure has gone up from seven to twenty million *riyal*. At the time of writing (1936), there are over seven hundred Iranians who have been sent by the Government of Iran to study various subjects or to specialise in various technical branches of study. These students, when they return to their country, are replaced by a new batch, and among them is the Crown Prince of Iran, who is undergoing training in Europe, at Rolles near Geneva. Women are employed in various public departments, such as the National Bank of Iran. The veil is given up. Physical training receives the attention of government, particularly in the army and schools. Recently the Boy Scout movement has been established under the patronage of the Crown Prince. Out-door games such as polo, football, etc., are very much encouraged. Hygienic rules are adopted in public baths, the number of hospitals are greatly increased and a hospital which may favourably be compared in extent, equipment, competent and learned staff and the architectural beauty to any hospital

in Asia, is built at Mashed (Khorassan). The present Shah has organized a uniform Iranian army, well-equipped and disciplined. The first University has been formed at Teheran. There are regular air services, both in Iran and Turkey. A passenger can travel in cars from Bushire in extreme South Iran to Teheran, the capital, and thence to Russia, Turkey, Iraq, or in the East as far as Mashed on the borders of Afghanistan. In Iran alone, within the past six years, over twenty thousand passengers have been carried by aeroplane service without any accident. Economic conditions in Iran and Turkey are proving more and more satisfactory. The trade balance of Iran is in her favour and the government is free from external debts.

In Egypt, besides *Madrasas* attached to the mosques, with their ancient methods of education, there is a University at Cairo, possessing colleges and schools of medicine, dentistry, law, arts, and the sciences. The system of education imparted is built upon French and Belgian models put together. The University Library contains over one hundred thousand books and the Royal Library, with a circulating section attached to it, contains more than one hundred and twenty thousand volumes. Besides these institutions, an American University was established in 1920, besides a large number of schools opened by other foreigners. There is increasing intellectual activity in Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan. Even in Arabia, the most backward Islamic nation to-day in South-West Asia, a definite change for the better is visible. About twenty years ago, pilgrims to Mecca had to travel on camels, mules and horses. To-day motors are available everywhere. The passage from Jeddah to Mecca and from Mecca to Medina is quite safe to-day. There are two wireless stations, one at Mecca and the other at Riaz, the capital of King Ibn-e-Saud.

In India, comparing the moral, intellectual, political and economic activities of other communities. Muslims are possibly less progressive, but the awakening of other communities, particularly the Hindus, is having its healthy effect on Muslims as well. Muslims have the great advantage of simplicity of religious rituals and the absence of caste system. There can be no obstacle to their progress, if they are only determined to reform themselves. Their progress is bound to be rapid, if they only went forward with resolve. At the present moment, the following are among the more important centres of Muslim learning in India :—The Muslim University of Aligarh ; the Osmania University in Hyderabad (Decan); the Shibli Academy of Azamgarh ; the Jamiyat-e-Tabligh-ul-Islam of Ambala ; the Anjuman-e-Tariqqie-urdu at Aurangabad ; the Jamai-e-Milliyah at Delhi ; the Unani

Colleges at Delhi and Hyderabad; the Darul-ulum of Devaband; the Islamiyyah College at Lahore; the Madrasatulwaezin of Lucknow; the Islamiyyah College at Peshawar; and the College of Jogeshwari in Bombay. There are minor centres at Rampur, Poona, Bombay and elsewhere. In Mysore, though the number of Muslims is comparatively small, they are an influential body and receive great encouragement from His Highness's Government and more especially from the State Department of Education. The number of Muslims in Northern India is considerable. They form over fifty per cent. of the total inhabitants in the Punjab and in Bengal. In Kashmir, Sindh, North-Western Frontier Province and Beluchistan, their number is overwhelmingly predominant and in the United Provinces and Cutch, they compare favourably with other communities. Their position is weak in the south of India, but the position in the North well counterbalances that in the South. Among the Muslim States in India are:—Hyderabad, the premier Indian State; Beluchistan, Chitral, Rampur, Bhopal, the Laccadive and Maldiv Islands, Bhawalpur, Firuzpur, Loharu, Malakotta, Chamba, Patawdi, Tonk, Khairpur, Junagadh, Cambay, Zanjirah and Banganapalli. There are also many other smaller States and Zamindaris. The one promising feature of Islam is its great adaptability to circumstances. The texts of the *Quran* in regard to rituals, prayers, etc., are so simple and so brief that one has the option of performing them according to the needs of the time and without any difficulty. Islam may be termed Nature's religion. Its most fundamental principle is submission to the Law of Nature. As it is declared in the *Quran* every man is born a Muslim, which means, every man is born subject to the Law of Nature, though brought up otherwise. Islam teaches pre-eminently toleration, though, unfortunately, in India, Muslims are known as fanatics. Islam is practical, though in India Muslims live in dream-land. Islam never separates itself from politics, though Indian Muslims have no definite political aims, though they indulge in politics. Islam teaches progress, though Muslims of India are hopelessly backward in most branches of life. All this seems pathetic in the extreme and that, in a country which for centuries has never been known to be intellectually sluggish or politically lacking in acumen. But it must be confessed that such lack of adaptability on the part of Muslims in India is not due to any defect in Islamic teaching, but to ignorance and to lack of capable lead among Muslims. It is true that Islam strongly prohibits usury, but it should be remembered that it, at the same time, encourages commerce. The present Banking System is on commercial lines and for the benefit of the people; while the usury

forbidden by Islam was usury which meant the destruction of the people. It is needless to remind that the Prophet and his best companions lived as traders. Islam encourages social reform. Those Muslims who have sense enough, for example, the Turks, have torn to pieces all those customs which have proved obstacles in the way of progress and yet remain good Muslims. Indian Muslims can do the same. They need not give up Islam—and they should not—but they must give up superstition. They must not be content with government service, but seek hundred other avenues of life and sources of livelihood. They must strive after economic, social, moral and political betterment of themselves and those with whom they have to live and carry on. They must join their countrymen and minimise their religious and economic differences with them and evolve a common aim and a common aspiration for the country as a whole. Islam teaches manliness and chivalry and not hatred and jealousy. A strong and united India means a strong Iran, a strong Iraq and a strong Arabia. Hindu-Muslim unity is not possible so long as both the major communities strive for their own single betterment. The effort should be for combined, united action. The time has come when, not only Hindus and Muslims must forget their religious differences, but others, such as Sikhs and Christians also must join and become one great nation. India will remain in gratitude to the British as a nation, for it is that nation that has made possible an united India—a country torn to pieces into one great nation, greater than any other nation in Asia with the possible exception of China. Now, it is left to Indians themselves to complete the work of unity by composing their religious differences, and subordinating them to higher interests and aspirations, which may mean so much to India and so much more to Asia and Europe generally and to the world at large. Islam, as a religion, is no hindrance to the realization of this ideal ; it is a help towards its realization, if rightly understood by those who follow it.

CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN MUSLIMS

The first Conference of European Muslims was held at Geneva on September 1935, in which delegates from Poland, Austria, Hungary, England, Balkhan States, Russia and other parts of Europe met and discussed matters connected with Muslims in Europe. The total population of European Muslims is estimated to be about seven millions.

THE FUTURE

It is difficult to predict the future of Islam as a world religion. But it is certain that Islam, as interpreted, taught and

brought into practice by the conservative and orthodox Mullas or Moulvis, cannot endure long. Similarly, the belief in Pirs and Fakirs (who though they may call themselves Sûfis, exploit the ignorant masses), may have to end before long. If

Islam is to continue to capture the hearts of mankind, its future will have to be based upon the following passage of the *Quran*:—"Those who believe (Muslims) and those who are Jews, and the Christians and the Sabians, whoever believes ... God and the last day and does good deeds, they shall have their reward from their Lord and there will be no fear for them nor they shall grieve." (Ch. II. 62.) Islam's great message is the unity of God and the fraternity of human beings. It has caused the fusion of races and abolished distinctions of caste and colour. Racial superiority and social rank are foreign to it. It has taught the fraternity in its true sense. All those who adhere to these principles in theory and practice, can be called true Muslims, in whatever else they may differ and not agree. The form of worship may not remain as it is at present and the language of prayer may be changed from Arabic into some local vernacular, as has been done in Turkey, and Muslims of various nationalities may imitate Christians and translate and read the *Quran* in their own language, but the spirit of Islamic teaching is so deep-rooted in Muslim hearts that it will re-appear brighter and much more refined among future generations, if only its true principles of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man are grasped and acted upon without qualifications and without meaningless abjurations, which can only lead away those professing it from the Eternal Truth proclaimed by it.

APPENDIX A

MUSLIM WOMEN IN PUBLIC LIFE

I.—MUSLIM WOMEN WARRIORS

SAFIYYA, the paternal aunt of the Prophet. She was active in the battles fought near Medina.

AISHA, the only virgin wife of the Prophet. She was noted for learning and courage, and was among the earliest traditionalists, a poetess and an orator of whose eloquence Moaviya, the first Umayyad Khalif, said: "I have never heard an orator more eloquent than Aisha." She fought with Ali, in the battle known as *Jamal*, and stood firm in the battlefield when many brave warriors had fled. She was well acquainted with Arab legends, and was so generous that when once she received one hundred thousand *dirham*, without keeping one *dirham* for herself, she distributed it among the poor and needy. She died in 58 A.H. (680 A.D.).

ASMĀ ZATUN-NATAQAIN, elder sister of Aisha. She was also a brave woman, who fought side by side with her husband Zubair, against the Romans in Syria. When her son Abdulla was besieged at Mecca by an Umayyad army, he consulted his mother as to surrendering, but she advised him to die sword in hand, as became a true warrior.

UMMUL-KHAIR, daughter of Harish. She was on the side of Ali in the battle of Siffeen, taking an active part in it by addressing the men under him and encouraging them to fight.

ZARQA, daughter of Adi. She was also a great woman orator in the army of Ali, and took part in the battle of Siffeen.

ZAINAB, sister of Zubair. She was well known for her eloquence and courage.

AMIYYA GHAFARI, who served as a nurse for the wounded under the Prophet.

ASMA ANSARI, who fought in the battle of Yarmuk, and killed nine of the enemy with her own hand.

ASMA, daughter of Yazid Ansari. She was another well-known orator and poetess.

KHOLA, daughter of Thabba Ansari. She fought against the Romans in Syria.

SUDAH, daughter of Asem. She also took part in the Syrian war.

SULMA, daughter of Sad. She fought against the Iranians and the Romans in Syria and Mesopotamia.

SULMA, daughter of Zir. She nursed the Muslim wounded in the battles fought against the Romans.

AGHA BEGI, daughter of Mirza Miran Shah. She fought in 817 A.H. (1439 A.D.) in the victorious army of Qara Yusuf, under Akhi Farrukh.

QARA FATIMA KHANUM. She led a regiment of the Kurdish army in the Crimean War which was fought between Russia and Turkey (1854).

NASIBA, better known as Ummul-Amara. She fought a large number of battles in Arabia and Syria, and nursed the Muslim wounded.

II.—WOMEN RULERS AND ADMINISTRATORS

Among the women rulers in Iran were the following:—

LALA KHATUN, at Kirman. She was also a poetess, and has left a *Divan* containing 5,000 verses.

QUEEN PADSHAH KHUTUN, the sixth ruler of the Qarakhtai family of Kirman.

PADSHAH KHATUN, who ruled at Khurram Abad, Luristan.

TANDU, Queen of Mesopotamia and Southwest Iran (819 A.H.), fought with the Arabs of Basra, defeated and subdued them.

SAYYADAH, mother of Majdud-doulah, King of Central Iran, ruled as regent for a long time. She was a contemporary of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna.

DOULAT KHATUN, of the family of Khurshidiya Atabeks, ruled at Kirman.

In Egypt also, there were women rulers and administrators. Among these were:—

SHAJARATUD-DUR, a slave girl, gradually rose in power and became eventually Queen of Egypt.

In Turkey, there have been powerful women behind the throne:—

BAZM-E-ĀLEM, wife of Sultan Muhammad II, was the *de facto* ruler—the power behind the throne—and noted for her charity. She built several mosques and founded schools and hospitals. Among them was the well-known hospital of Yanki Baghcha, in Constantinople.

ZAIFA KHATUN, niece of the famous Saladin (Salah-ud-dīn), the hero of the Crusades, ruled as regent for her grandson, in Syria.

In India, we have many notable examples of women:—

EMPRESS RAZIYA, of the Slave dynasty, was well known for her administrative ability. She was also a poetess, and her pen-name was *Shirin*.

BIBI RAJI of Jaunpur, wife of Sultan Muhammad, was an able administrator. She built the famous "Lal Darwaza Gate" of Jaunpur.

MAKHDUMA-E-JEHAN ruled as regent on behalf of Nizam Shah of the Bahmani family, in the Deccan.

NUR-E-JAHAN BEGUM, wife of Jahangir, famous for her personal beauty, learning and ability, was an administrator who possessed courage and bravery. She killed a tiger, while out hunting with her husband, and fought against the army of Muhabat Khan. She was also a poetess.

CHAND BIBI, daughter of Husain Nizam Shah, is well known for her bravery and courage which she showed against the invading army of Moghals under their able generals. She was killed in 1599.

NADIRH BEGUM, wife of Prince Dara Shukoh, accompanied him in his wanderings.

SIKANDER JEHAN BEGUM of Bhopal, and her successors, **SHAH JEHAN BEGUM** AND **SULTAN JEHAN BEGUM**, were all able rulers of that State. The last-named, who died in 1930, founded many schools, such as the Sultana School, the Victoria School, the Bilqisi School, the Birjisiya Kanya Patasala, the Sikandari School, the School of Arts and the Nursing School.

MAMULA BIBI, the wife of Nawab Yar Muhammad Khan, the second ruler of Bhopal, was also well known for her ability in administration. She remained the chief adviser to the Nawab until her death in 1794.

III.—WOMEN ORATORS AND SPEAKERS

In the family of the Prophet himself, there were some very eloquent speakers:—

AISHA, the wife of the Prophet:

FATIMA, the daughter of the Prophet:

ZAINUB, the sister of Husain and daughter of Ali by Fatima: and **SUKAINA**, the daughter of Husain.

ZARQA, daughter of Adi, who took part in the battle of Siffeen.

SIT-UL-ULEMA, known as the *Bulbul* (nightingale), for her eloquence.

AISHA, the mother of Sultan Abdulla, the last king of Granada, in Spain, was famous for her eloquence. She addressed her son, when he surrendered the capital, as follows:—

“O ignoble! mean and undeserving to be called a descendant of an Arab, I am ashamed of calling you my son. Would I had given birth to a stone instead of you! You weep like a woman at the moment when you should defend your country like a man. Could you not ask help of those who are willing to fight under the banner of Islam? Your ancestor defeated the Christians in so many battles, and if you cannot do so, you could at least have defended your home”, and so on.

KHOLA, daughter of Azur, was well known for her courage and eloquence.

DARIMIYYA, a poetess, and a propagandist in the cause of Ali against Moaviya.

IV.—WOMEN WHO BUILT MOSQUES AND OTHER PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

Many women founded schools or carried out other charitable works, particularly among the Abbasides, the Turks and the Indian princesses. A few of the better known of these are:—

QUEEN ZUBAIDA, wife of Harun-ul-Rashid.

The wife of King Azad-ud-doula of Iran, who rivalled her husband in building hospitals, colleges, and other public institutions.

KHATUN, daughter of Malek Ashraf of Syria, who founded a college at Damascus.

ZAMURRUD KHATUN, wife of Nasir-ud-dowla of Syria, who founded a college.

V.—WOMEN THEOLOGIANS AND TRADITIONISTS

AISHA, the wife of the Prophet, who was, perhaps, the foremost traditionist known in her time. She gave out all the words of the Prophet. Many learned Muslims, including *Sahāba* (companions), used to learn the law of Islam from her.

FATIMA, daughter of Jamal-ud-din, a traditionist, who had heard the tradition from one hundred traditionists. He was born in 620 A.H. (1246 A.D.).

FATIMA, daughter of Ibrahim Moqaddasi, died in 747 A.H., at the age of 90 years.

FATIMA, daughter of Ahmad of Tabiristan, a famous traditionist, died in 779 A.H. (1369 A.D.).

FATIMA, daughter of Syed Ahmad, born in 732 A.H., and died in 813 A.H. (1435 A.D.).

FATIMA, daughter of Shehal Ahmad, studied under several theologians and lectured on that subject. She died in 773 A.H. (1395 A.D.).

FATIMA, daughter of Taqiud-din, d. 759 A.H. (1381 A.D.).

FATIMA, daughter of Abbas of Baghdad, used to ascend the pulpit and deliver lectures on subjects of theology to both sexes. Sadr-du-din, the great contemporary theologian, admitted that he could not discuss theology with her.

There were several other ladies of the name of Fatima, who were well known as traditionists.

MALIKEH, daughter of Sharif, lectured on theology and on tradition. She died in 802 A.H., at the age of 80 years.

NISHWAN, daughter of Abdulla Asqilani, died in 788 A.D.

YASEMIN of Serawand in Iran.

ASMA, daughter of Muhammad, born in 638 A.D. and died in 733 A.D.

UMME-HANI MARYAM of Syria, who began to study at the tender age of eight, and became a traditionist. She died in 871 A.D.

TAQIYYAH, daughter of Ahmad, and TAQIYYAH, daughter of Amusan, were both traditionists.

JANAN BEGUM, daughter of Abdur-Rahim Khane-Khanan, wrote a commentary on the *Quran*. She was so much attached to her husband that, after his death, when his brother, Prince Salim (Emperor Jahangir) offered himself as her second husband, she cut out hair of her head as a sign of her dedication to the ascetic life and strict widowhood, and sent it to the Emperor.

HABIB, daughter of Abdur-Rahman Maqdasi, who died in 733 A.H. (1355 A.D.).

KHADIJA of Baghdad, who died in 460 A.H.

KHADIJA, daughter of Badran, who lived in the ninth century A.H. (circa 1522 A.D.).

KHADIJA, daughter of Ibri, who lived in the sixth century A.H. (circa 1222 A.D.).

RUQIYYAH, daughter of Mohd. Qeshri (Egypt), who died in 741 A.H. (1363 A.D.).

ZAIN-UL-ARAB, daughter of Taj-ud-din Abdur-Rahman, who was born in 628 A.H. and died in 704 A.H. (1250 A.D.-1326 A.D.)

ZAINAB, daughter of Ahmad (Syrian), who lectured on tradition in Palestine, Egypt and Medina, and died in 645 A.H. (1267 A.D.).

ZAINUB, daughter of Kamal-ud-din Ahmad, who died at the age of 90 in 740 A.H. (1362 A.D.).

ZAINUB, daughter of Ismail (Syrian), who died in 750 A.H. (1372 A.D.).

ZAINUB, daughter of Sulaiman (Syrian), who lived in Egypt and died there in 705 A.H. (1327 A.D.).

ZAINUB, daughter of Shar's, who was born at Nishapur and died there in 615 A.H. (1237 A.D.).

ZAINUB, daughter of Ibrahim Shindhi, who was born at Nishapur and died there in 879 A.H. (1501 A.D.).

ZAINUB, daughter of Ahmad Sherwaiki, who was born at Mecca in 797 A.H. (1419 A.D.) and began to study at the age of five.

ZAINUB, daughter of Abdur Rahman, who died in 730 A.H. (1352 A.D.).

ZAINUB, daughter of Imad Rahman, who died in 785 A.H. (1407 A.D.), at the age of 80.

ZAINUB, daughter of Amr, who died in Balbuk (Syria) in 699 A.H.

ZAINUB, daughter of Muhammad, who lived for over 100 years and died in 799 A.H.

ZAINUB, daughter of Yahya, who died in 735 A.H.

There were several other ladies of the name of Zainub who were noted as traditionists.

SIT-AL-AHL, daughter of Alwan, who died in 703 A.H.

SIT-AL-ARAB (Palestinian), who died in 734 A.H.

SIT-AL-FUQAHA, who died at the age of 90 in 726 A.H.

SIT-AL-QURAISH, who lived in the ninth century A.H.

SIT-AL-WOZARA, who died in 715 A.H.

SOHOLA, daughter of Ahmad, and another lady of the same name, daughter of Umar, were well-known traditionists.

SAFIYYA, daughter of Majd-ud-din (Syrian), who died in 704 A.H.

SAFIYYA, daughter of Yaquf (Abyssinian), who was born in 804 A.H.

There were several traditionists of the name of AISHA.

TAHERAH, daughter of Ahmad Tanukhi, a theologian, who flourished in the end of fourth and the beginning of the fifth century A.H. and died in 436 A.H.

VI.—WOMEN CALLIGRAPHISTS AND ASTROLOGERS

Among calligraphists and astrologers, there were :—

LUBNA, daughter of Abdul Moula of Spain, a very learned lady, known as an excellent calligraphist. She was appointed secretary and scribe to Hakam, son of Khalif Abdur Rahman III.

ASMA IBRAH, daughter of Ahmad Aga (Turk).

HALIMA, daughter of Muhammad Sadiq of Constantinople, who was alive in 1169 A.H.

ABEDAH, daughter of Muhammad Jahniyya.

MĀH, contemporary of Nur-ud-din Jami, who was a poetess and astrologer.

VII.—WOMEN PHYSICIANS

Among physicians, there were :—

UKHTE-ZAHRA (Spain), a physician for treatment of the ladies of the harem of the time of Amir Abdul Mansur.

BASHI KHANUM (India), an Iranian lady employed in the harem of Emperor Shah Jahan. She was also mistress to Princess Jehan Ara Begum. She died in 1056 A.H.

VIII.—WOMEN MUSICIANS

Among musicians, there were :—

A very large number of musicians flourished during the Khilafats of the Umayyeds and the Abbasides. These were chiefly employed by Khalifs, princes and the nobility. Among them, the following are mentioned in *Aghani* :—

FITNA, a slave girl, who was employed by Jafar Barmaki.

MUTAYYEM, who studied music under the famous Ishaq of Mosr'l.

MASABIH, who was trained under Zaryab.

NEAM, celebrated for her personal beauty and excellent voice, who lived in the harem of Khalif Mamun.

WASHIKA.

BAZL, a contemporary of Khalif Harun and his son Mamun.

BASBAS, a contemporary of Mehdi.



AL-MUTAVAKKIL.

(From a Silver Portrait Coin. He is shown with a two-pointed beard, wearing a Low Cap of the Sasanid Type. It belongs to 955 and is in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

HUBABA, the celebrated singer, loved intensely by Khalif Yazid, son of Abdul Malik.

SULĀMAH, also a famous singer, a favourite of Khalif Yazid II. SULLAMA-TUL-QASS, who flourished under the Abbasides.

HUSN, a lady musician of Basra.

HANDUNAH, daughter of Zaryab, the famous Iranian musician, who found favour in the court of the Spanish Khalif.

KHASHAF, who lived during the reign of Khalif Mutavakkal.

KHALL, who was patronised by the Abbaside Khalif.

KHALIDAH of Mecca.

RAHILA AND AQUILA, who were musicians to Ibn-e-Shamesa.

ZA'F, who was patronised by Khalif Amin.

DAFAQ, wife of Yahya, son of Rabi, who flourished under the Abbasides.

DANANIR, singer for Yahya Bermeki. She was well known for her beautiful voice and appearance, and was a fine prose-writer and a composer of poetry.

ZATUL-KHAL, famous as an expert musician and well known for her personal beauty. She was much liked by Khalif Harun.

RAYYA, SODA, SAHIQA were all musicians at the Abbaside court.

URAI, a celebrated singer in the Abbaside harem.

IZZUTUL-MILA, who lived in the reign of Khalif Abdul Malik.

IX.—WOMEN SŪFIS

Islam has produced a very large number of women, who were Sūfi saints, whose piety and devotion affected all those who came to know them. Among these were:—

RABE'A of Basra, who was celebrated for her piety and ascetic life. RABE'A of Damascus (Syria).

RABE'A of Gilan (Iranian), a contemporary of Muhammad Shah (1834-48).

FATIMA of Nishapur (Iranian), a contemporary of Bayazid Bastami and other great Sūfi saints. Bayazid says that she was one who could reply and satisfy him on all questions concerning Sūfis.

FAKHRIYYA, daughter of Usman, who died in 703 at the age of 86. FIZZA, who had a number of disciples.

MUZGHA, sister of the famous Sūfi Bishar Hafi.

NAFISA, daughter of Hasan and grand-daughter of Ali, who was celebrated for her piety. She lived and died in Egypt.

AMANA RAMLIYYAH, who flourished in 200 A.H.

TUHFA, who was known for her saintly life. She was also a poetess.

TEZKARPAI KHATUN, daughter of King Baiber of Egypt. She built a Rabat named Baghdadiyyah in 684 A.H., where women studied tradition and theology.

HAFSAH, daughter of Shirin.

HAKIMAH of Damascus (Syria).

SHA'IRANA, a celebrated Sūfi lady, who died in 187 A.H.

SAFIYYAH, a contemporary of the Moghal king. Abu Said.

KHADIJA, aunt of the famous Sūfi saint Abdul Qader of Gilan.

FATIMA SAM (Indian), who was a poetess and a Sūfi.

UM YAHYA, who made the *Quran* the medium for her speech for about forty years. Whatever she spoke was a quotation from the *Quran*.

X.—POETESSES

The number of poetesses is very large, particularly among the Arabs, who have produced many women known for the beauty of their poetry and excellence of their oratory. It is, however, beyond the scope of this work to give a detailed account of them. The following are among the more important of them :—

FATIMA, the daughter of the Prophet, was celebrated for her pious life. She was a most obedient daughter, a devoted and faithful wife and a very kind mother. She composed verses on several occasions.

FATIMA ANI, a well-known poetess and calligraphist.

FAUDAH of Constantinople, who was learned in literature and a good poetess.

FEZL, a contemporary of Said, son of Hamid, the poet. She died in 260 A.H.

FITNET, a Turkish poetess. She composed verses both in Turkish and Iranian, and flourished during the time of Abdul Hamid I.

FITNET KHANUM, daughter of Ahmad Pasha, who was born in 1258 A.H. She studied Arabic, Iranian and Turkish and was well known for her calligraphy. Her poems contain philosophical ideas.

KAMALIYYAH, an Egyptian poetess.

GAUHAR AGA BEGUM, an Iranian of Azerbaijan.

LAILA, daughter of Abdulla, a noted poetess, who flourished at the beginning of the Umayyad rule.

LAILA, daughter of Hassan. Her father was a poet who defended the Prophet and Islamic teaching against the criticism of non-Muslim poets.

LAILA, daughter of Turaif, poetess and warrior. She fought against the army of Khalif Harun.

LAILA KHANUM, a Turkish poetess, who was well acquainted with the French language.

MARYAM, daughter of Yaqub, a poetess of Seville (Spain). She lectured on literature and had a number of pupils. She was alive in 400 A.H. (1022 A.D.).

MEHRI (Iranian), a contemporary of King Shah Rukh Mirza. She was a humorist.

MEHRI KHATUN, a Turkish poetess, who flourished during the reign of Sultan Muhammad II.

MAHASTI, a celebrated Iranian poetess, in favour with Emperor Sinjar.

NAZHUN, an Arabian poetess, who was a native of Granada (Spain).

WALLADAH, a learned princess of Spain, daughter of Khalif Al-Mustakfi.

AMAMA, daughter of Khazruj.

UM HAITHAM, a contemporary of an early Khalif.

TAQIYYAH, daughter of Ghais (Syrian). She has left many beautiful verses. She was born in 505 A.H. and died in 579 A.H.

HABIBA KHANUM of Herzgovina (Turkey).

HASSANAH of Bani Tamim (Spain).

HAESA of Granada (Spain). She was celebrated for her learning and personal beauty and lived under the Movahed dynasty of Spain.

HAESA, daughter of Hamdum (Spain).

HAMDUNAH, a celebrated poetess of Spain.

HAMIDA, daughter of Noman (of Medina), who was a satirist and humorist.

PRINCESS KHADIJA, daughter of Khalif Mamun.

SUKAINA, daughter of Imam Husain, the martyr of Kerbala.

KHANSA, one of the most celebrated composers of elegies.

DILSHAD (Iran), a scholar and poetess.

RABE'A of Isapahan (Iran), a contemporary of the Samanid kings.

RASH-HA of Kashan (Iran), the author of a *Divan* of verses.

KHULA, an Arabian poetess.

RUWAIDA of Turkey, who flourished in the thirteenth century A.H. She was mistress in the High School of Yusuf Pasha.

ZUBAIDA KHANUM of Shiraz, a Sūfi poetess.

ZUBAIDA of Turkey, who composed verses in Iranian and Turkish.

PRINCESS ZIBUN-NISA BEGUM, daughter of Emperor Aurangzeb, who died in 1113 A.H.

ZAINAB, daughter of Tathriya, a prominent poetess in the Umayyad period.

ZAINAB, sister of Zubair, son of Awwam, the famous general and companion of the Prophet.

ZAINUB KHATUN of Turkey, who lived during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Khan (fifteenth century A.D.) and dedicated her *Divan* to his name.

ZAINUB-AL-MIRYA of Spain, who lived in the eighth and ninth centuries A.H.

ZAINUB, daughter of Zaid of Wadi-ul-Huma, near Granada.

ZIVAR of Iran, who was a good composer of odes and a humorist.

SIRRI KHANUM (Kurdish), who was a poetess in Turkish. She was born about 1230 A.H.

SULTAN of Iran, daughter of Muhammad Mirza and author of a *Divan* in poetry containing 1,000 verses.

SULMA of Baghdad, celebrated for her personal beauty and the beauty of her language.

SHARAF KHANUM of Turkey, was the owner of a fine library. A scholar and a poetess, she has left a *Divan* in poetry.

SIDQI AMATULLAH of Turkey, a philosopher and a poetess, who died in 1115 A.H.

SIFVAT of Turkey, who died in 1053 A.H.

AISHA of Cordova (Spain), who was alive in 460 A.H.

AISHA HUBBI, friend of Sultan Salim II, was celebrated as a poetess. She has been preferred to many contemporary poets. She has left a *Divan* of odes and *Qasidas*. Among her works is a *Masnavi* entitled *Khurshid* and *Jamshid*, containing over 3,000 verses.

URUZIAH (Spain), learned in literature; died in 450 A.H.

ISMATI, an Iranian poetess.

ATUN, an Iranian wife of Mulla Baqar, who was a poetess and humorist.

PRINCESS AKHTAR of India, an Urdu poetess.

ADA (AMEER BEGUM) of India, an Urdu poetess.

ASIR of India, a pupil of Shah Fakhr-ud-dīn; an Urdu poetess.

BIJA (Iranian), an astrologer and poetess.

CHANDA (Indian), an Urdu poetess.

HIJAB (MUNI BAI) of India, an Urdu poetess.

HIJAB of Lucknow, an Urdu poetess.

HIJAB, Princess of Oudh; an Urdu poetess.

Several other Indian poetesses had the pen-name of *Hijab*.

HIJAB of Astrabad (Iranian), an Urdu poetess.

HAYAT of Shiraz (Iranian), lived in the fourteenth century A.D.

ZULAIKHA, daughter Taughtimish Khan (Turk), was the author of *Masnavi*. She died in Delhi.

ZUHRAH (AMRAV JAN) of Lucknow, an Urdu and Iranian poetess.

SHARA, daughter of Hakim Kamr-ud-din; an Urdu and Iranian poetess; pupil of Khaja Wazir.

ABED, daughter of Nawab Yusuf Ali Khan of Rampur, has left a *Divan* in Iranian and another in Urdu.

ALEM (Indian), wife of King Wajid Ali Shah of Oudh, has left a *Divan* of verses in Urdu. She was a good player on the *Sitar*.

FATIMA ALIYYA KHANUM, born in 1861, at Constantinople; a Turkish lady, who studied French, Iranian, Arabic, and Turkish, including philosophy and music. She was among the best musicians of her time, not only in Turkey but in all Europe.

She was versatile to a degree and wrote several books on a variety of subjects.

SITARA BANU, daughter of the celebrated poet Sadi, who, like her father, was a poetess.

KHALIDA ADIB KHANUM, a poetess and scholar of modern Turkey.

ZARRIN TAJ, known as QURRAT-UL-AIN, the heroine of the Babi movement of Iran, was a great orator and poetess. She was killed in Teheran.

KAIFI (Indian), an Urdu poetess. She was a descendant of the Timurid dynasty.

GUNNA BEGUM, an Iranian and Urdu poetess; wife of Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk.

APPENDIX B

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

B.C.	
6000	Sumerian City-States in Mesopotamia.
5000	Menes, First Pharaoh of Egypt.
4000	The period of the <i>Rig Veda</i> (Jacobi). Pre-Semitic Sumerian Culture.
3000	Spread of Aryans into the Balkans, Asia Minor, Black Sea and Caspian.
2750	Sargon I founds Akkadian-Sumerian Empire.
2500	Minos acquires Crete. China under its first three Emperors.
2100	Hammurabi—First Babylonian Empire.
2000	Stonehenge and Avebury come into existence. Aryans in Gaul and Britain. The <i>Illiad</i> sung. Cnossos at its zenith. Hykso's conquest, XVI Dynasty. Abraham. Tyre and Sidon flourish.
1750	Shang Dynasty—First Chinese writing.
1450	Hittites take Nineveh.
1383	Amenophis IV.
1317	Rameses II.
1150	Tiglath Pileser I takes Babylon.
1110	Chow Dynasty.
1000	Moses, Philistines and Solomon. XXI Dynasty in decay in Egypt. Shishak (XII Dynasty) loots the Temple. Saul, King of Israel.
930	Israel splits from Judah.
900	The Chow Dynasty in Surmia. Assyrian and Babylonian Empires.
800	Carthage founded.
790	Ethiopian conquest of Egypt.
753	Rome built.
745	Tiglath Pileser III founds the new Assyrian Empire.
700	Birth of Zoroaster.

B.C.

- 704 Sennacherif.
- 680 Esarhaddon.
- 667 Sardanapalus.
- 606 Nineveh falls.
- 600 Birth of Mahavira.
- 590 Nebuchadnezzur.
- 550 Birth of Buddha.
- Birth of Confucius.
- 539 Cyrus takes Babylon.
- 525 Cambysis in Egypt.
- 500 Egypt in decay.
- 490 Battle of Marathon.
- 488 Death of Buddha; First Buddhist Council.
- 486 Darius rules over Iran.
- 480 Battle of Salamis.
- 485 Xerxes.
- 470 Hanno's voyage.
- 466 Pericles.
- 465 Xerxes murdered.
- 401 The Retreat of the Ten Thousand.
- 400 Plato. Hellenism spreads Eastward.
- 384 Birth of Aristotle.
- 338 Battle of Chæronea.
- 333 Battle of Issus.
- 331 Battle of Arbala—Overthrow of the Iranian Empire.
- 330 Darius III killed.
- The Parthians.
- 326 Alexander defeats Porus in India.
- 323 Death of Alexander the Great.
- 322 Death of Aristotle.
- 321 Rise of Chandragupta.
- 281 Pyrrhus invades Italy.
- 280 Battle of Heraclea.
- 278 Gaul invades Asia Minor.
- 269 Asoka's Coronation.
- 264 First Punic War.
- 251 Shi-Hwang-Ti.
- 236 Death of Asoka.

B.C.

- 219 Second Punic War.
- 216 Battle of Cannæ.
- 214 The Great Wall of China begun.
- 202 Battle of Zama.
- 201 End of Second Punic War.
- 200 Rome at war with Macedon.
- 192 War with the Seleucus.
- 190 Battle of Magnesia.
- 149 Yue-chi cross the Pamirs.
- 149 Third Punic War.
- 146 Carthage destroyed.
- 133 Attalus' bequest of Pergamum to Rome.
Tiberius Gracchus killed.
- 121 Caius Gracchus killed.
- 100 War with Jugurtha.
- 89 Death of Marius.
- 78 Death of Sulla.
- 67 Pompey reaches the Caspian; Mongolian Huns reach the
Caspian.
- 65 Death of Mithridates of Pontus.
Conquest of Gaul.
- 53 Battle of Carrhæ.
- 44 Assassination of Julius Cæsar.
- 31 Battle of Actium.
- 27 Augustus Cæsar made head of the Republic.
- 4 Jesus of Nazareth born.

A.D.

- 14 Tiberius.
- 30 St. Paul.
Conquest of Britain.
- 54 Nero.
- 61 St. Barnabas introduces Christianity into Antioch. He
suffers martyrdom.
- 69 Vespasian.
- 70 Titus destroys Jerusalem.
- 102 Pan-Chau reaches the Caspian.
- 117 Hadrian.
- 140 Indo-Scythians in India.

A.D.

- 161 Kanishka.
- Marcus Aurelius.
- 200 Roman Empire in decay.
- 220 End of Han Dynasty in China.
- 227 Ardashar (Sassanid).
- 242 Mani born.
- 247 Goths cross Danube.
- 251 Decius killed.
- 260 Sapor I takes Antioch.
- 277 Mani died.
- 284 Dioclectian.
- 330 Constantinople made capital of Roman Empire.
- 571 Birth of Muhammad.
- 622 Hijra (or flight of Muhammad from Mecca to Medina).
- 631 Death of Muhammad.
- 732 Battle of Tours.
- Frankish victory checks Muslim advance into Western Empire.
- 800 Charlemagne crowned Emperor of the Romans.
- 1095 Beginning of the Crusades.
- 1453 Constantinople captured by Muslims (end of Byzantine Empire).
- 1498 Vasco Da Gama reaches India.
- 1566 Death of Suleiman the Magnificent.
- 1606 Jehangir begins his reign.
- 1628 Shah Jehan begins his reign.
- 1658 Aurangzib begins his reign.
- 1688 The English Revolution.
- 1707 Death of Aurangzib. End of Moghul Empire in India.
- 1736 Nadirshah invades India.
- 1740 Accession of Frederick the Great, King of Prussia.
- 1763 Anglo-French struggle in India.
- 1757 Battle of Plassey.
- 1764 Battle of Buxar.
- British Dominion in India established.
- 1769 Birth of Napoleon Bonaparte.
- 1776 Declaration of American Independence.
- 1814 Abdication of Napoleon.

A.D.

- 1832 First Reform Bill in Britain.
1837 Queen Victoria ascends the Throne.
1857 Great Mutiny in India.
1861 Indian Councils' Act passed. End of the East India Company.
1869 Suez Canal opened.
1877 Russo-Turkish War.
Queen Victoria declared Empress of India.
1883 British occupation of Egypt.
1885 Indian National Congress founded.
1904 Russo-Japanese War.
1911 Italy declares War on Turkey.
1914 The Great War breaks out.
1917 Imperial War Conference.
1918 European Peace Conference.
1920 First meeting of the League of Nations.
1921 Non-Co-operation Movement in India.
1922 Establishment of the Irish Free State.
1929 Civil Disobedience Movement in India.
First Round Table Conference of India and England.
1930 Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Calling off of the Civil Disobedience Movement.
1935 New Government of India Act passed by Parliament.
1936 Italian conquest of Abyssinia.

APPENDIX C

IRANIAN DYNASTIES

Iran.—First known Aryan kingdom. Began its existence Circa 3000 B.C. on the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, amid Egyptian and Aryan Cultures.

I. PISHDADYAN DYNASTY

Founded by King Gayomard. (Ruled over Airyanevæjo, comprising the northern steppes of Turkestan, with Balkh in Bactria as its capital.)

His successors.—

Hoshang.

Tehmurasp.

Jamshed—the *Yima* of the *Avesta* contemporary of Noah.

Founded Persepolis.

Zohak.

Faridun.

Minocheher.

Nodar.

Afrasiab.

Jotemash.

Kershasp.

II. KYANIAN DYNASTY

This dynasty saw the birth of Zoroaster, about 1500 B.C.

Kæ Kobad.

Kæ Kaus.

Kæ Khusroe.

Kæ Lohrasp.

B.C.

1000 Kæ Gushtasp (Vishtaspa). He and his queen Hutaosa first converts of Zoroastrianism thus becoming patrons of Zoroaster.

Behram.

Homæ—Queen.

Darab.

Dara.

836 Assyrian invasion of Media under Salmanassar II.

715 Assyrian Sargon led into exile.

Median Chief Dayaka.

710 Median Revolt against Assyria.

640 Beginnings of Median monarchy.

626 Scythian invasion.

B.C.

- 606 Nineveh and other Assyrian Cities destroyed by Cyaxares. Median Empire included Iran, Ecbatana being the Capital.

III. ACHÆMENIAN DYNASTY

- 558 Revolt of Cyrus the Great, King of Anshan, against Astyages, son of Cyaxares.
Welds the Iranian tribes into one single nation.
- 546 Iranian Empire extended to the Mediterranean.
- 539 Babylon occupied; Chaldean Empire, Syria and Palestine added to Iran. East of Iran added to the Iranian Empire.
- 528 Cyrus died.
Founded the Dynasty; Rebuilt the temple at Jerusalem; Organized the Empire.
- 525 Cambyses, son of Cyrus; conquered Egypt; Cyprus and the Greek islands on the coast of Asia Minor annexed, died by his own hand.
- Darius—Trilingual Rock inscriptions of Behistun, and Hamadan; Conquered Thrace, Macedonia, the Punjab. etc.; Samos added to the Empire; Usurpation of Smerdis; Darius kills him and crushes all revolts; Completed the work of Cyrus; Iranians knit into one single uniform nation; died 485 B.C.; Iranian Empire reached its zenith.
- Xerxes—Lost Macedon.
- 486 Egypt revolts.
- 484 Egyptian revolt suppressed.
Artaxerxes—Peace with Greece.
- Darius II—Levied tribute on Asiatics in Greece.
- Artaxerxes II (Mnemon of the Greeks)—Fight between him and Cyrus, his younger brother.
- Battle of Cannæ—Retreat of the 10,000; Artaxerxes III murders all members of the Royal family.
- Governors in India—Became independent; decline of Iran.
- Darius III—Thrice defeated by Alexander. Battles of Granicus (334 B.C.); Issus (333 B.C.); and Arbela, near Nineveh. Destruction of Babylonia, Susa, Persepolis, Parsagadæ, Herat and Sistan by Macedonians. Library at Persepolis consigned to flames 300 B.C. (Ruins near Shiraz).

List of Kings

B.C.

- 558-528 Cyrus; Conquered Medes 550 B.C.; King of Babylon from 538 B.C.
- 528-521 Cambyses.

B.C.

521	Smerdis.
521-485	Darius I.
485-465	Xerxes I.
465-425	Artaxerxes I.
425-424	Xerxes II and Secydianus or Sogdianus.
424-404	Darius II. Nothus.
404-359	Artaxerxes II.
359-338	Artaxerxes III. Ochus.
338-336	Arses.
336-330	Darius III.

[PERIOD OF MACEDONIAN DOMINATION.]

IV. PARTHIAN DYNASTY (400 YEARS)

Mithridates.

Vologeses.

Ardavan—Defeated by Ardashir Babekan.

V. SASSANID DYNASTY

A.D.

226	Ardashir revives the Zoroastrian Empire by founding a new Dynsty. His romantic deeds are celebrated in the <i>Book of the Karnamak</i> .
240	Shahpur I. Founded Nishapur. Mani advocates a new religion.
309	Shahpur the Great. Defeated Emperors Julian and Jovian.
420	Behramgore, the Poet-Emperor. Defeated the White Huns.
459-484	Firoz III (Peroz III).
501	Kobad I (Kavadh I). A new religious movement and social reform by Mazdak. Deithroned and reinstated with the aid of the Turks.
531-579	Nosherwan the Just, regains full prestige for Iran. Peace with Rome. Famous for his just and wise rule. His wonderful architectural designs to be seen at Tagq-e-Kesra, the scene of General Townsend's struggles in Mesopotamia in the last War. Hormuzd IV, a weak king. Khusroe Parviz, conquered Mesopotamia and Palestine. Invaded Byzantine Empire. Took Damascus and Jerusalem and carried off the wooden cross on which Jesus had been crucified. His beautiful queen Shirin. His court splendid. The Arabs under Khalid devastated the Empire.
628-629	Kobad II (Kavadh II). State intrigues.

A.D.

- Members of the Royal family assassinated.
 Minor rulers, including queens Puranmdukht and Azar-
 midokht.
- 632-651 Yazdegerd, grandson of Khusroe Parviz.
 Disunion in the Empire.
 Spread of Islam.
- 636 Battle of Cadesia.
- 642 Battle of Nahavand.
 End of ancient Iranian Sovereignty.

List of Kings(After Nöldcke, *Tabari*, 435.)

- 226-241 Ardashir I.
 241-272 Shapur I.
 272-273 Hormuzd I.
 273-276 Bahram I.
 276-293 Bahram II.
 293 Bahram III.
 293-302 Narseh (Narses).
 302-310 Hormuzd II.
 310-379 Shapur II.
 379-383 Ardashir II.
 383-388 Shapur III.
 388-399 Bahram IV.
 399-420 Yazdegerd I.
 420-438 Bahram V. Gor.
 438-457 Yazdegerd II.
 457-459 Hormuzd III.
 459-484 Peroz.
 484-488 Balash.
 488-531 Kavadh I.
 496-498 Djamasp.
 531-579 Khosres (Khosrau) I Anushirvan.
 579-590 Hormizd IV.
 590-628 Chosres II, Parvez.
 590-628 Khosres II, Parvez.
 628 Kavadh II, Sheroe.
 628-630 Ardashir III.
 (630 Shahrbaraz).
 630-632 (Boran and others).
 632-651 Yazdegerd III.
- [TRANSITION PERIOD.]
- 641-1405 Iran ceased to be a single unit and it passed under
 alien rulers.

A.D.

- 641 Death of Yazdegerd.
Fall of Sassanian Dynasty.

VI. Umayyad Dynasty

ARAB KILAFAT

KHULAFAT-E-RASHEDEEN

1. Abu Bakr, son of Al-Qahhafa.
2. Umar, son of Khattab.
3. Usman, son of Affan.
4. Ali, son of Abi Taleb.

BANI-UMAYYA

BANI-HARR Branch:

5. Moaviya, son of Abu-Sufyan.
6. Yazid, son of Moaviya.
7. Moaviya, son of Yazid.

BANI HIKAM Branch:

8. Marvan, son of Hikam.
9. Abdul-Malek, son of Marvan.
10. Walid, son of Abdul Malek.
11. Sulaiman, son of Abdul Malek.
12. Umar, son of Abdul Aziz.
13. Yazid II, son of Abdul Malek.
14. Husham, son of Abdul Malek.

(Moaviya—Abdul-Rahman, Khalifa in Spain).

15. Walid II, son of Yazid II.
16. Yazid III, son of Walid.
17. Ibrahim, son of Walid.
18. Marvan II, son of Mohammad.

BANI ABBAS:

19. Abdullah-as-Saffah, son of Mohammad.
20. Al-Mansur, son of Mohammad.
21. Al-Mahdi (Mohammad), son of Al-Mansur.
22. Al-Hadi (Musa), son of Al-Mahdi.
23. Ar-Rashid (Harun), son of Al-Mahdi.
24. Al-Amin (Mohammad), son of Ar-Rashid.
25. Al-Mamun (Abdullah), son of Ar-Rashid.
26. Al-Motasim Billah (Mohammad), son of Ar-Rashid.
27. Al-Waseq Billah (Harun), son of Al-Molasim-Billah.
28. Al-Mutawakkil Alal-lah (Jafar), son of Al-Motasim.

A.D.

29. Al-Mustansir Billah (Mohammad), son of Al-Mutawakkil.
30. Al-Mustaeen-Billah (Ahmed), son of Al-Motasim.
31. Al-Mutaz-Billah (Mohammad), son of Al-Mutavakkil.
32. Al-Muhtadi Billah (Mohammad), son of Al-Motasim.
33. Al-Mutamad Billah (Ahmad), son of Al-Mutavakkil.
34. Al-Mutazid-Billah (Ahmad), son of Talha.
35. Al-Muktafi Billah (Ali), son of Al-Mutazid.
36. Al-Muqtader Billah (Jafar), son of Al-Mutazid.
37. Al-Qahir-Billah (Mohammad), son of Al-Mutazid.
38. Al-Razi Billah (Mohammad), son of Al-Muqtader.
39. Al-Mustaqi-Billah (Ibrahim), son of Al-Muqtader.
40. Al-Mustakfi-Billah (Abdullah), son of Al-Muqtader.
41. Al-Muti-Billah (Fazl), son of Al-Muqtader.
42. Al-Tae' Billah (Abdul Karim), son of Al-Muti.
43. Al-Qader-Billah (Ahmad), son of Ishaq.
44. Al-Qaem-be-Amrillah (Abdullah), son of Al-Qader.
45. Al-Muqtadi (Abdullah), son of Mohammad.
46. Al-Mustazher (Ahmed), son of Al-Muqtadi.
47. Al-Mustarshed (Fazl), son of Al-Mustazher.
48. Al-Rāshed (Mansur), son of Al-Mustarshed.
49. Al-Muqtafi (Mohammad), son of Al-Mustazher.
50. Al-Mustanjed (Yusuf), son of Al-Muqtafi.
51. Al-Mustazī (Hasan), son of Al-Mustanjid.
52. An-Nāsir (Ahmed), son of Al-Mustazī.
53. Az-Zaher (Mohammad), son of An-Nāsir.
54. Al-Mustansir (Munsur), son of Az-Zāher.
55. Al-Mostasem (Abdullah), son of Al-Mustansir.

VII. THE ABBASID DYNASTY

VIII. THE SELJUK DYNASTY

- Tughrul Beg, son of Mikaeel.
 Alb Arsalān, son of Chaqer Beg.
 Malek Shah, son of Alb Arsalān.
 Barkayaruq, son of Malek Shah.
 Mohammad, son of Malek Shah.
 Sanjir, son of Malek Shah.
 Mahmud, son of Mohammad.
 Tughrul, son of Mohammad.
 Masood, son of Mohammad.
 Malek Shah, son of Mahmud.
 Mohammad, son of Mahmud.
 Sulaiman, son of Mohammad.
 Arsalan, son of Tughrul.
 Tughrul, son of Arsalan.

IX. THE MONGOL DYNASTY

X. THE TIMURID DYNASTY

XI. THE SAFAVID DYNASTY

Shah Abbas.

Shah Safi.

Shah Sultan Hussain.

Afghans dominate over Iran.

1730 Nadirshah's invasion of Iran.

Afghans and Turks vacate Iran.

1730 Nadirshah occupies the throne.

Nadirshah assassinated.

Pretenders claim the throne.

XII. THE ZAUD DYNASTY

XIII. KAJAR DYNASTY

Russian and British influence.

1875 Independence of Afghanistan recognised by Iran.

Muhammad Ali Shah retires.

1914 Sultan Ahmad Shah proclaimed Shah with a Regent to administer affairs.

XIV. THE PAHLAVI DYNASTY

1926 Raza Pahlavi proclaimed Shah-in-Shah.

INDEX

A

A—Contd.

Abbas Hilmi	15, 64	Abu Taleb	2, 3
Abbasides	16, 37, 42	Abdul Hassan Jilwah, Mirza	341
Abbas I Khediv	60	„ Husain Nuri	350
Abdul Halim Sharar	117	Abul Atahiya Ismail	91
„ Hamid II	37, 50, 101	„ Fazl	109, 112, 209, 252
„ Karim Jili	403	„ Hasan Ali Asha'ri	431
„ Majid	50	„ Hasan Khayyat	425
„ Malik	39, 299	„ Hasan Rawandi	209
„ Malik Juvaini	432	„ Hasan Tana Shah	112
„ Muttalab	2, 3	„ Ula Moarri	91
„ Razzak Lahiji	337	Achæmenian	182
Abdulla	2, 21	Adab	369
„ Judat	99	Adham Izzet	102
„ , son of Fazlulla	106	Administration of Muslims	
„ , son of Motaz	92	in India	70, 73, 75
„ Shah	112	Adultery or Fornication	500
„ , son of Umar	461	Afghanistan	54, 56
Abdur Rahim Khane		Africa, North and Central	21
„ Khanan	109, 112, 165	Agriculture, Works and	
„ Rahman	55	Authors	137
Abdush Shams	1	Ahamad Sarkhas	304
Abu Abdulla Ibn-e-Majah	468	„ Sirhindi	109
„ Abdulla Mohammad	209	„ , son of Idris	22
„ Ali Muhammad	209	„ , son of Khazru Vaih	349
„ Abdur Rahman of Nisa	468	„ , son of Haet	424
„ Ali Muhammed, son of		„ Vafiq	101
„ Abdul Wahâb Jubbai	424	„ Yadgar	109
„ Ali Saqiq	349	Ahle Hadis	28
„ Asud Doeli	277	Ahmad Hanbal, Imam	466
„ Baker	5, 13, 14, 17, 36	„ Midhat	101
„ Bakr Baqilani	432	„ Shah Abdali	55
„ Bakr Shibli	351	„ Shauqi	92
„ Daūd of Seistan	468	„ , son of Hanbal	27
„ Hanifa	27, 465	„ Zogu	58, 59
„ Hurera	461	Ahmediya Movement	33
„ Ishaq Isferaini	432	Ahmed Kabeer Syed	25
„ Mansur of Matarid	433	„ Sir Syed	32, 116
„ Musa Ashari	157	Ain-e-Akbari	109
„ Nasar Ismail Juhani	209	Aisha	6, 461
„ Nuwas	90	Akber, Emperor	164
„ Saleb	108	„ Nama	109
„ Sufyan	2	Akhir-Charshanba	536

A—Contd.

Akhtai	89
Akbwan-us-Safa	320
Akram Bey	100
Ala-ud-din Khilji	193, 194
Al-Azhar	174
Al-Aziz Khalif	123
„ Cazar of Seville	177
„ Hakim Library	125
„ Hambra	178
„ Hariri Muhammad Qasim	92
Albania	57
Albiruni	108
Ali	2, 3, 5, 14, 36, 37, 88
„ Akbar Khan Dakhau	108
„ Chalebi	97
„ Qulandar	25
„ of Hamadan	25
„ Qapi	189
„ , son of Yahya, Munnajjim	124
„ , the Fourth Khalif	299
Al-Kindi	161
Amama	6
Amartat	259
Ameena	2
Amelius	294
Amir, Ali, Syed	470
„ , son of A's	14
„ , son of Bahr, Jahiz	425
Ammar Yasur	348
Anaxagoras	270
Anaximander	267
Ananimanes	268
Anjuman-e-Danish	98
Anwari	105
Anul-Huq	401
Arab Commerce	147
Arabia	13, 39
Arabic Buildings	179
„ Literature	36
„ Poetry	90
Arabi Pasha	63, 64
Architecture in Egypt	172
„ in Syria	171
„ Islamic	169
„ Muslim, in China	205

A—Contd.

Architecture, Muslim, in India	192, 206
Aref of Qazvin	103
Arjamund Akram	102
Aristotle	276
„ , Writings of	277
Army, Muslim-Indians	75
Arsaka	260, 261
Artillery, Muslim-Indians	81
Arts in India	240
„ in Iran	240
Asa	259
Asadi	105
Asfar	107
Asha'ri Abul Hasan Ali	431
„ , Ali, Doctrine of	429
„ . School of	411, 427, 449, 450
Astrology, Works and Authors	131
Astronomy, Works and Authors	131
Āta Malak Juvaini	106
Atash	115
Atomists	447
„ , Greek	270
Aufi	106
Aurangzeb	23
Avestan Period	102, 103
Āzād Muhammad Husain	117
Azaduddoulla	124, 209
Azzahirah	179
Az-Zahra	179

B

Baba Nanak	577
Babism	30
Bab Mirza Ali Muhammad	108
Badruzzaman	92
Baghdad	16, 42
„ Muslim Buildings	183
Baha-ud-din Ameli	471
Bahadur Shah, Emperor	115
Bahai	107, 108
Bahmani Kingdom	111
Bahrur-Ræq	469

B—Contd.

Bai or Sale	495
Bait-ul-Hikmat	125
Bardesanes	262
Bashar-e-Hafī	350
Bāyāzid of Bistām	350, 385
Beauty	253
Physical	564
Biharilal	113
Birbal	112
Birth	524
Birthplace of Prophet	536
Abdul Qadir	
of Gilan	536
Bishr, son of Mutamir	424
Blood-feud	554
Botany, Works on	129
Buddhism	260
Buddhists, Northern	269
Buildings in Arabia	179
Baghdad	183
Deccan	199
Delhi	193
Gujarat	196
Jaunpur	195
Kashmir	193
Malwa	197
Mesopotamia	
and Iran	181
Sicily and Spain	176
Turkey	189
of Muslims in North	
Africa	174
of the Moghal	
Period	187
Bukhāri, Imām	468
Bulbul Shah	25
Burzuya	300

C

Calligraphist, China, Malay	213
Indian	212
Iranian	211
North Africa	213
Carpets, Muslim	221, 223
Cassius	297

C—Contd.

Chalpi	470
Chand Bardau	111
Chandulal	115
Charlemagne	122
Cheragh Ali	117
China	18
Christianity	18
Rise of	294
Christians, Persecution of	296
Circumcision	526
Colleges, Islamic	126, 127
Commerce, Arab	147
in Quran	148
Conception of God	7
Concubines	527
Cardova Library	125
Mosque	177
Ctesiphon	297
Cyrus	16, 268

D

Dabir, Mirza	115
Dahriyya	441
Damiriyyah	124
Daqiqi	104
Dara Shukoh, Prince	243, 253
Dard, Mir	114
Darya Doulat at Seringapatam	204
Daūd, Imām	466
Dawwani, Jalal-ud-din	332
System of Politics	335
Dead, Disposal of	530
Death	506
Deccan	111
Buildings	199
Delhi	193
Democritus	269, 270
Devotional Exercises, Forms of	544
Dhan	248
Diet	565
Dignaga	281
Diogenes	270
Divorce	487
Doctrines of Islam	506
Dome of Rocks	171

D—Contd.

Doulat Shah	106
Drawings, Muslim	230
Dress	565
Druses	444

E

Egypt	14, 15, 59, 172
<i>Egyptian Madrasa</i>	172
El-Aqsa Mosque	172
El-azhar	15
Empedocles	269
Eschatology, Sūfi	358
Esmail, son of Yasar	104
Ethics, Muslim	330
" Plato's	274
" Sūfi	361
Evil Eye	557
Existence (object of)	9
Expenditure under Muslim Government in India	84

F

Fabric, Muslim	221
Faizi	109, 112, 113, 252
Fakhr-ud-din	25
<i>Fana</i>	371, 386
<i>Faqr</i>	368
Farabi	161
Fārābi, Abu Nasar Muhammad	304
" as an Expounder of Sūfism	311
" Politics of	311
Fārābi's Influence on European Logic	312
Fārābi's Logic	306
" Metaphysics	307
" Philosophy	305
" Psychology	309
Farazdaq	89
Farid-ud-din	25
<i>Farz</i>	472
Fast	478
<i>Fatawa-ālamgiri</i>	470
Fate or Destiny	559

F—Contd.

Fatimid	15
Fatima	6
Faud	65
Feasts in Islam	534
Feher	1
Firdausi	104, 105
Furniture	565
Fususul-Hikam	381
Fuzuli	96

G

Galen	298
Gardens, Muslim	245
<i>Gātha</i>	103
<i>Gāthās</i>	258
Geography, Works on	126
Ghaleb	115
Ghaib	385
Ghanima	40
Ghazni	192
Ghazzālī, Imam	

Mohammad	434, 533
" Views and Doctrines of	436
Ghazzālī's Difference with the Philosophers	435
" Conception of God	436
Ghias-ud-din	106
Ghirdhar Das	252
<i>Ghool</i> or <i>Bhut</i>	557
Gorgias	271
Greek Atomists	270
" Philosophy	258, 267
Gregorius	294
Gujarat Buildings	196
Gulbarga, Tombs of Bahamani Kings at	199

H

Hafiz	106
" Ibrahim	92, 93
Hafiz-ud-din Ahamed	116
Hafsa	461
Haikal	93

H—Contd.

H—Contd.

<i>Hairat</i>	378	Hurufi	444
Haji Khalifa	97	Husain	37
Hakimi, School of	376	„ Rahmi	101
<i>Hāl</i>	380	„ , son of Ishaq	161
Hali	117	Husaini	116
Halima	2	Hyder Baksh, Syed	116
Hallaj, Husain Mansur	352	Hussain Wāez	336
Hamdulla Mustaufi	106	Huzailiyya	422
Hamza	5		
Handola Palace	197	I	
<i>Haq</i>	408		
<i>Haqiqat</i>	355	Ibn-e-Bajja, Abu Bakr or	
Haris	299	Avempace	321
Harran	298	Ibn-e-Bawwab	209
Hārūn-al-Rashid	122, 183, 187	„ „ Hazm	271
Hasan	36, 37	„ „ Khalledun	284, 449
„ Basri	349, 349 n	„ „ Maske-waih	312
„ Nizami	108	„ „ „ Ethics of	312
Hasbaniya	411	„ „ „ Philosophy	313
Hashim	1, 2	„ „ Muqaffa	300, 331
Hātam Asam	349	„ „ Tufail, Abu Bakr	
<i>Haurvatat</i>	259	Muhammad	322
<i>Hayula</i> or Matter	443	Ibn-Hisham	89
<i>Hayy Yaq Zān</i>	322	„ Kushajim	92
Hejaz	66	„ Miknaf	89
Heraclitus	269	„ Nabata	92
<i>Hiba</i> or Transfer of Property	495	„ Oqba	89
<i>Hidayah</i>	469	„ Sanwar	125
<i>Himmat</i>	386	„ Sina	161
Hindi Literature	110	„ Ziadun	92
Hindu Compositions in		„ Zia'la	162
„ Persian Literature	253	Ibnul-Arabi	382
„ Contribution to Muslim		Ibn-ur-Rushd or Averroes	285, 327
„ Arts and Science	247	Ibn-e-Sina or Avicenna	314
„ Nationalism and Islam	26	„ „ „ Works of	315
„ Writers of Urdu		„ „ „ Logic of	316
„ , 88, 254, 255		„ „ „ Psychology of	316
Hippias	271	„ „ „ Metaphysics of	317
Hisham, son of Amir	425	„ „ „ Soul in	319
History, Works on	128	„ „ „ Theory of Love in	318
House	565	„ „ „ Conception of	
„ of Wisdom	90	„ „ „ Physics in	319
Hujviri, Abul Hasan Ali	372	„ „ „ Pupils of	320
„ , son of Usman	375	Ibrahim Adham	349
Hulayl	1	„ Adil Shaw	112, 164
Human Being	358		

I—Contd.

Ibrahim Ahwal	209
„ , Musician	160
„ of Seistan	209
Ideas, the Doctrine of	273
Id-e-Milad	535, 536
„ Ramzan	535
„ Zuhu	534
<i>Ikhtas</i>	361
<i>Ikhtwan-us-Safa.</i>	161, 162
Ikram Ali	116
Ilhām	373
Iltamish, Emperor	193
Ilyas, son of Marun	94
Imam Raza, Tomb of	187
India	22, 68
Indo-Iranian Poets	109
Indrabhuti, Gautama	231
Inheritance	489
<i>Insan-e-Kamil</i>	403
Insha	115
Inspiration	448
Iqbal, Sir Muhammad	118, 340, 342
Iran	16, 42
„ and Mesopotamia,	
Muslim Buildings	181
Iranian Literature	162
„ Tunes in Indian Music	166
Ishaq, son of Ibrahim	209
„ , son of Hammad	209
Ishaq-Mousali, Musician	160
Islam in Europe	572
„ in India	576
„ , Future of	572, 583
Ismailiyya	442
Islamic Legacy to Europe	166
Ismail Pasha	62
„ Sabri	92
„ Sheikh	24
<i>Istab Sar</i>	468

J

Jafar Imām	466
„ , son of Muhammad	124
<i>Jahad</i>	485
Jahangir, Emperor	242

J—Contd.

Jahiz	425
Jahm, son of Siṭwan	419
Jains	269
<i>Jalāl</i>	402, 411
Jalal-ud-dīn Balkhi	392
„ Dawani	166
„ of Tabriz	25
„ Rumi	106
„ Syed	25
<i>Jamāl</i>	402, 411
Jamal-ud-dīn	29, 108
Jāmi	106
Jamil Mudavvar	93
Jaunpur Buildings	195
Jawan	116
<i>Jazyā</i>	297
Jebrail	555
Jewellery, Muslim	226
Jinn	560
<i>Jizyat</i>	40
Jubbai, Abu Alī Muhammad,	
son of Abdul Wahhāb	424
<i>Juma</i>	537
Junaid of Nehawand	351
„ , School of	375
Junde-Shahpur	121, 298
Jur'at	115
Jurji Zaidan	93
Jurisprudence, Formation of	
a System of	461
Juvaini, Abdul Malik	432
Jwala Prasad Barq	117

K

Ka'aba	1, 5, 180
Kabir	111, 112, 577
<i>Kaffarah</i>	484
<i>Kafia</i>	468
Kamal of Khujand	106
„ Pasha-Zadan	96
Kamal-ud-dīn Behzad,	
Artist	234, 236
Karbala Shrine of Imam	
Husain	185
Karim Khan	45

K—Contd.

M

Karnatak Music	164	<i>Madrasa</i> of Ak-Shehr	190
Kashafi	106	„ of Ala-ud-din	190
<i>Kashf</i>	362	„ of Egypt	172
Kashmir Buildings	198	„ Shah Husain	185
Kazemain	185	„ Shah Rukh	188
<i>Kehanah</i>	559	„ Sircheli	190
Keshab Das	113	„ Sivas	190
Khadija	2, 6	Magic or, Sehr	557
Khatifi	377	Mahadavia	29
Khaledah Adib Khanum	102	Mahmud Gaznavi	23, 68, 104, 124
Khalid	89, 121	„ son of Ibrahim	48
Khalif	417	„ Sultan	98
Khalifa	35	„ Zaman, Artist	239
Khalil Matran	93	<i>Makruh</i>	472
„ Prosodist	161	Malay Archipelago	20
Khaqani	105	Mālik, Imām	465, 466
Kharijite	417, 418	„ son of Anas	27
Kharrāzi	377	Malwa Buildings	197
<i>Khauf</i>	369	Māmar, son of Abbad	424
Khayyat	425	Mamelukes	15
<i>Khiraj</i>	39	Mamum, Khalif	123
Khilafat and Theology	38	Man	403
Khilji Family	69	Manka	248
<i>Khizar</i>	561	<i>Man la yas-tah-zirahul Faqih</i>	468
Khurramiyya	444	Mani	262
Khusroe I	267, 277, 296	„ Ethics of	264
„ II	17	Manichæism and the <i>Quran</i>	265
Kindi	302	Mashad	187
<i>Kitabur-Rijal</i>	468	Mansur	18, 300
<i>Konda</i>	541	<i>Mantaqut-Tair</i>	391
Konia, College of	190	<i>Maqām</i>	380
Koweit	66	Mar Abas	299
<i>Ksathra Vairya</i>	259	Marifat	355, 377
Kufa Mosque	183	Marriage	515, 517
		Mashad	187
		<i>Masnavi</i> of Rumi	392, 393
		Masudi	287
		Mataridiya	433
		Mathematics, Authors and	
		Working	135
		Mazdak	266
		Mazhar Ali	116
		Mecca	3
		Medicine, its Development	138
		„ Works and Authors	138

L

Labul-Lubab	106
Lal-Gumbad	195
Lallu Lal	116
Lattice, Muslim	229
<i>Lawāeh</i>	407
Leucippus	269
Libraries, Muslim	123
Love	564
„ , Ibn-e-Sina's Theory of	318
Luqman	563

M—Contd.

M—Contd.

Mesopotamia and Iran,		Mosque of Cordova	177
Muslim Buildings	181, 182	" of Delhi	194
Metal Works, Muslim	226	" of Egypt	173
Midhat Pasha	50	" of Kairawan	175
Mineralogy—Authors	137	" of Kairun	175
Mir Amman	116	" of Muhafiz Khan	197
" Apis	115	" of Sidi Mahrez	175
" Syed Ali, Artist	238	" of Sidi Syed	197
" Taqi	114	" of Sulaimaniya	191
Miracles	370	" of Sultan Hasan	174
Mirak, Artist	237	" of Sultan	
Mirza Ali, Artist	238	" Muhammad II	191
" Khan, Author of Music	165	" of Varāmin	188
Mithraism	260, 286	Motazala	420
Moarri (Abul-Ula)	91	" Theology	426
Moawiya	2, 121	Motazid Khalif	184
Modern Buildings in Iran	189	Mūāmlāt	435
" Hindi	117	Mubāh	472
" Urdu	117	Muhammad	1, 2, 3, 4
Moghal Emperors of India	70	" II	47
Moghals	18, 44, 105, 186, 187	" Ali Pasha	15
Mohabbat	369	" Baqir Majlisi	471
Moharrum	544	" Farid	93
Moin-ud-din Chisti	24	" Gisu Daraz	25
Momin	115	" Haji	25
Monasteries, Sūfi	172, 173	" Khavend Shah	106
Morocco	67	" of Khawrazm	162
Mosque, Ahmad Tulun	173	" Qasim-al-Hariri	92
" at Ispahan	185	" " Hindu	
" at Kalaun	174	" Shah	109
" at Kufa	183	" Rauf	101
" at Qazvin	185	" Shah	112
" at Shiraz	185	" " Toghlug	19
" at Srinagar	198	" , son of Murtaza	471
" at Tabriz	186, 133	" , son of Qasim	23
" of Ahmedia	191	" , son of Sanusi	22
" of Ahmed Shah in		" Syed, of Jaunpur	29
" Gujerat	196	Mahasibi, School of	373
" of Al-Azhar, also		Mukhtasare Qudūr	469
" El-Azhar	15	Muktafi, Khalif	184
" of Al-Hakim	174	Muslim Imām	468
" of Ayyub	191	" States, Progress of	578
" of Barusa	190	" Thinkers	301
" of Bayazid	191	Mulla Shiri	252
" of Bibi Khanum at		Multaqal-Abhar	469
" Samarkand	188	Muraqaba	369

ix

M—Contd.

Murder	499	Mutannabi Ahmed, son of	
Murjite	418	Husain	91
Mushafi	115	Muzaffer Ali, Artist	239
Music	157		
" , Early Development	159	N	
" , Its Theory	160		
" of Muslims in India	163	Nadir Shah	44, 45
" , Süfi	362	Naik Beyjoo	164
" under Umayyad	160	Najaf, Tomb of Immam Ali	185
Musical Instruments	165	Najib	94
" Literature in the		Nala Damayanti	109
11th Century	162	Nameq Kamal	99, 100
Muslim Administration	38	Naqib Khan	252
" " in		Naqshbandiyya	359
India 70, 73, 75		Nasar-ud-din Qujar	107, 108
" Architecture	169	Nasir-ud-din Tusi	332
" " in China		Nasikh	115
and Malay	205	Nasir Khusroe	121
" " in Egypt	172	Nasurid-din-Tusi	106
" " in India		National Movements in Asia	34
192, 200		Natural History, Authors	137
" " in Syria	171	Nauras	112
Muslim Calligraphy	207	Navy, Muslim	80, 154
" " in China,		Nawab, of Lucknow	114
Malay		Nawaz	113
and India		Nazr	299
212, 213		Nazir Ahmed Hafiz	117
" " in Iran	211	Nazzamiyya	423
" " in North		Nejd	66
Africa	213	Nematullania	360
" Missionary	24	Neo-Platonism	286
" Piping Instruments	168	Nesnas	557
" Pottery in Central		Nestorins	208
Asia	216	Nihal Chand	116
" " in Egypt	213, 214	Nijati	96
" " in Iran	213, 216	Nizami	105
" " in Spain	214	Nizam-ul-mulk	43, 105, 126
" " in Syria	213, 214	North Africa, Muslim Build-	
" " in Turkey	215	ings	174, 175
" Systems of Notation	166	Nou-roz	536
" Terms in European		Nur-ud-din	25
Languages	155	Nur-ud-din Jami	406
Mustafa Kamal	33, 51	Nuri, School of	375
Mustahab	472	Nusairi's	443
Mustansarieh, College of	185	Nusrati	114
		Nyaya	269

O

Obedullah, son of Abdullah	161
Orkham	46
Osmania University	118
Osrhoene	294
Ottaman Dynasty	47, 52
Overseas Trade of Muslims	148

P

Pahlavi	103
Paintings, Hindu Muslim	243
„ Muslim	230
Pandit Rathan Nath Sarshar	117
Parents, Position of	529
Pari, or Fairies	555
Parmenides	269
Partav Pasha	98
Paul	277, 299
Pilgrimage	480
Plato	272
„ , Ethics of	274
„ , Muslim Writers on	275
Plotinus	273, 287
Porphyry	294
Prayers or <i>Salāt</i>	474
Pre-destination	10, 447
Principle, Muslim Legal	472
<i>Prithwi-Raj Rāisa</i>	111
Proclus	294
Property	494
Protagoras	271
Poets in <i>Quran</i>	87
Pottery in Central Asia	216
„ in Egypt	213, 214
„ in Iran	213, 216
„ in Spain	214
„ in Syria	213, 214
„ in Turkey	215
Psychology	309
<i>Purdah</i> or Seclusion of Women	513
Pur Dawood	108
Pythagoras	268

Q

<i>Qadar</i>	338, 386
<i>Qāderiyya</i>	359
<i>Qajar</i> Period, Buildings of	189
<i>Qajars</i>	45
<i>Qalb</i>	358
Qasem Ali, Artist	237
Qassari, School of	374
<i>Qazā</i>	338, 386
Qerāmeta	441
Quliquṭb Shah	112
<i>Qurb</i>	369
<i>Quran</i>	452, 454
Qussay	1
Qutb-ud-din	69, 194
Qutub-Minar	193

R

Ramanuja	112
Rashid, son of Ishaq	92
Rashid-ud-din Fazlul-lah	106
Rāshid-ul-Khairi	117
<i>Rāvi</i> or Narrator	487
<i>Raza</i>	368, 373, 374
„ Abbasi, Artist	238
„ Khan	46
„ Taufiq	102
Rezi, Imam Fakr-ud-din	434
Resurrection	10, 506
Revelation and Miracles	359
Revenue, Muslim, Indian	81
<i>Rija</i>	369
Rijai Zadah	100
Rudaki	104
Rumi	308
Russia	17

S

Sabaktagin	23
<i>Sabr</i>	368
Sabzā Wāri, Haji Mulla Hadi	340
Sacred Places in Arabia	542
„ „ in Iran	542
Sacrifice	505
„ of Animals	482

INDEX

xi

S—Contd.

Sadi	106
Sadr-ud-din Qunavi	412
" Shirāzi	338
" Syed	25
S'ad, son of Vaqqas	18
Safavi Period of Iranian Literature	106
Safavid Period, Structure of	188
Safavids	44, 55
Safiy-ud-din Abdul Momin	160
Sahl, son of Abdulla	351
Sahli, School of	375
Said (Sa-eed) Pasha	61
Said-ud-din	97
Saints	538
Sajjad Husain	117
Salah-ud-din	15
Salāt or Prayer	474
Saleh, son of Bahlah	28
Salim, Sultan	15, 95
Salman	103
" of Sava	106
Sari-al-Saqati	351
Sassanian	183
" Period	295, 296
Sauda	114
Sayyari, School of	377
Sazai Bey	100
Scholastic Sects, Minor	441
" Teaching, Basis of	439
Scholasticism, Review of	445
Scholastics, Subjects Treated by the	419
Science, Authors of and Works on	129
Sculpture, Muslim	229
Seleucia	297
Seljukids	43, 96, 105
Shab-e-Barat	536
Shadhiliyya	360
Shafai	27
Shāfai, Imām	466
Shahabud-din	101
" Ghorī	69
Shahab-ud-din Suhrawardi	323
" , Philosophy of	324

S—Contd.

Shahab-ud-din, Works of	324
Shah Alam, Emperor	114
" Jahan, Emperor	164, 243
" Sharaf-ud-din Ahmed	111
Shahādāt	385
Shahbistari, Sad-ud-din Muhammad	399
Shahpur	297
" , son of Ardashir	125
Shah Valiyullah	438
Shams-ud-din	25
Shanuk	248
Sharastani, Muhammad, son of Abdul Karim	433
Sharhul-Ṭiqāyah	470
Shariāt	354, 370, 471
Shauq	369
Shiahs	27, 38
Shibli	117
Shinasai	98
Shirin-e-Maghrabi	106
Shrine of Nizam-ud-din	194
Shrines	538
Siberia	17
Sicily and Spain, Muslim Buildings	176
Sidi Movement in Africa	33
Sikandarah Akbar's Mausoleum	202
Sin	503
Sinan Pasha	97
Sirajīyah	470
Slander	501
Sobriety	375
Social life, the Ethical basis of	509
Society, Muslim	72
Sociology, Works, Authors	137
Socrates	271
Solomon or Sulaiman	563
Sophists	270, 271
Soul	8, 291, 377
" Ibn-e-Sina on	319
Spain and Sicily, Muslim Buildings	176
Spiritual Knowledge	373
Stages in Scholasticism	416

S—Contd.

Strings on Musical Instruments	167
Substances	411
Sufi Monasteries	172
„ Orders	356
„ Philosophy	353
„ Terms	380
Sufism and Vēdāntism	365
„ in India	413
„ Decline of	414
„ Works on	365
Sufis and Orthodox Muslims	364
Suicide	504
Sulaiman Nasib	101
„ Nazif	101
Sultan Hasan of Jaunpur	164
„ Muhammad, Artist	237
<i>Sunnah</i>	472
Sunnat Jam'at	17, 27
Superstitions in Islam	554
Suzani	105
Syed Ahmed Delvi	117
„ Akbar Husain	118
„ Ali Bilgrami	117
„ Ashruf	103
„ Husain Bilgrami	117
Symbolism in Islam	554
Syria	14

T

<i>Tafriqa</i>	407
<i>Tafukkur</i>	399
Tahirid	104
Tahsin-ud-din	114
<i>Tahzib</i>	468
Taifuri, School of	374
Taj Mahal	203
Tajut-ul-Maaser	108
<i>Tā'il</i>	378
<i>Tamkin</i>	380
Tansen	112, 164
<i>Tanvirul-absar</i>	470
<i>Tanzih</i>	382, 388

T—Contd.

Tarikh-e-Alai	109
„ Baihaqi	108
„ Daudi	109
„ Firuz Shah	109
„ Frishta	109
Tarikh-e-Masumi	108
„ Mubarak Shahi	109
„ Salatin Afghan	109
„ Tabaqat-e-Nasiri	103
„ Taheri	108
„ Yamini	108
Tariq	21
<i>Tashbih</i>	378, 382, 383
<i>Tauba</i>	361
Taufiq Fikrat	101
<i>Taviz</i>	559, 560
<i>Tawakkul</i>	362, 368
<i>Tayyun</i>	409
Textile, Muslim	221
Thaddæus	294
Thales	257
Theft	501
Theology, Centres of Study of	462
Tiles, Glazed	220
Taimur Brothers	93
Timurids	44
Tipu Sultan	23
Tirmiz, Abu Isa Muhammad	468
Todar Mal	112
Toghrel Beg	124
<i>Tohaful Kiram</i>	108
<i>Tohfatur Hind</i> , A Work on Music	165
Tomb of Bahamani Kings at Gulberga	199
„ Darya Khan	197
„ Imam-Abu-Hanifa	185
„ Imam Ali	185
„ Imam Husain	185
„ Imam Raza	187
„ Khan Jihan	
„ Tilangani	194
„ Safdar Jung	204
„ Sheikh Abdul Qader Gilani	185
„ Timurlane	136

T—Contd.

Tomb of Tipu Sultan, Seringapatam	204
Toti-nama	114
Trade	146
Tradition	460
Translations	491
Trigonometry, Authors and Works	135
Tripolis Library	125
Tughlaq Kings	194
Tulsidas	111
Turkey	19
Turkish Buildings	189, 190
„ Empire	46
„ Literature	94
„ Present Period	102
„ Poetry	96
„ Prose	97
Turks	37
Types, Iranian	210

U

Ukaz	120
Um Salama	461
Umar	5, 14, 458
„ Khayyam	91
„ Saif-ud-din	101
„ , son of Farid	92
Umman	66
Union and Progress (Society of)	51
Unity	367, 378, 400
„ and Attributes of God	356
Uns	369
Uqufat or Punishments	498
Urdu, Its Position among Indian Languages	118
„ Literature	110
Urs	541, 542
Usman	14, 18, 456
„ Jalal	94
„ , son of Siraj-ud-din	109
Usmanlis	46
Ustad Muhammed, Artist	238
Usury	493

V

Vazir	40
Vohu-manah	259
Vaisesikas	269
Vaisēshika System	281

W

Wahabis	28
Wahab, son of Munnabbih	104
Wajd, or Ecstasy	370
Wajid Ali Shah	115, 165
Wajūb	472
Wali	114
Walid, Khalif	171
Waqf or Endowment	496
War, The Great	574
Wāsiliyya	422
Wassiyat, or Bequest of Property	495
Wisāl	401
Wisdom	368, 389
Women, Position of, in Islam	510
„ , Orators and Speakers	587
„ Poetesses	592
„ as Rulers and Administrators	586
„ Warriors	585
Works, Indian	249
Worship, Place of	474

Y

Yahya, son of Ma'az	350
„ , son of Ahmad Hilli	471
Yaqin	369
Yaqut	209
Yazdagerd	18
Yaziji, Nasif, son of Abdulla	92
Yazzi Oghlu	96
Yemen	66
Yeni-Zade	96
Yuhanna, son of Batriq	161
Yusuf Zia	102
Yusuf-ud-din, Syed	25

Z

Z—Contd.

Zahir. King	56	Zarathusthra, Ethics of	259
Zahuri	113	„ , Philosophy of	258
Zainab	6	Zarir	89
Zainub, daughter of Jahsh	461	Zati	96
Zainulabedin, King	164	<i>Zarvan</i>	261
Zakat	40	Zia Kiyuk Alp	101
<i>Zakat</i> . or Alms	483	Zia-ud-din Barni	109
Zakaulla	117	Ziyad, son of Sulaiman	104
Zarathusthra	258	Zouq	115
		<i>Zuhud</i>	363

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page	Line	<i>For</i>	<i>Read</i>
91	13 and 14	Abul-Atahiya Ismail, son of Qasim (748-828, A.D.), an A.D.),	Ahmad, son of Husain, known as Mutanabbi (916-965 A.D.)
605	1	641	651 ,
605	10	BANI-UMAYYA	VI. Umayyad Dynasty (page 605, line 3)
605	28	BANI ABBAS :	VII. THE Abbasid Dynasty (page 606, line 28)
606	1	Al-Mustansir	Al-Muntasir
606	11	Al-Mustaqi-Billah	Al-Muttaqi-Billah

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